





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation


THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. V.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.



BY

EYRE EVANS CROWE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1868.



20252

6

PREFACE.

THE present volume completes a History of France, written after a careful study of every available original source, with the sole desire of ascertaining the truth, and without any bias of party policy or contemporaneous fashion. As the author announced in the first volume, his aim was to write French history from a point of view which should be English in its spirit, principles, and judgment, yet without jealousy or enmity towards a nation running the same race with ourselves, although in a different path. It is surely possible to be just and even friendly towards our neighbours, without adopting their opinions wholesale, and taking their rule as the measure not only of their merits but of our own. This nevertheless is what Englishmen have long been in the habit of doing. Of the histories of England which preceded that of Hume, the most popular and the most highly esteemed was written by a Frenchman. But although Hume's work displaced that of Rapin, Hume's views of England were taken altogether from the banks of the Seine, and his opinions were but the echoes of opinions current in French circles and saloons. What, again, is the new English school of thought which expresses sympathy with the acts of the French Revo-

lution, and an unbounded approbation of its results? We may admit that it was justly provoked by the shallow judgment which anathematised every liberal movement under the name of Revolution, until the public became first sated and at last disgusted. Still, what is the sympathy for Jacobinism but the echo of the opinions of those clever Frenchmen, who have contrived not only to excuse but to sanctify the Revolution by representing its cause as holy, its career as inevitable, its crimes as attributable to circumstances, not to persons, and its results as sufficiently glorious to cover any amount of meanness or of atrocity? It may be natural for Frenchmen to take this view, but it is obsequious folly on the part of Englishmen to adopt it. There is good and there is bad in the French Revolution. It may be more poetical to condemn it or laud it in the mass; but discrimination, though doubtless prosaic, is demanded by truth, morality, and sound judgment.

No more miserable and pernicious doctrine has ever been preached, than that which represents revolution as the result of an irresistible impulse, which it is treason to doubt and madness to resist. The era of revolutions is far from being closed; that of class struggles has indeed only recommenced. To enter upon such a period with the belief that the victory is reserved for those classes which stand lowest in the scale of education and resources, and that the excesses in which they indulge are to be patiently and submissively endured, is puerile and pusillanimous. Far more truly might it be said, that the physical force of multitudes, although it may for a time overbear intelligence and moderation, can always be resisted. If

the supremacy of intellect were never doubted by those who possessed it, that diminution or exhaustion of power which marked the last years of the great French Revolution would never have been experienced. In speaking thus it is far from the author's intention to make any allusion to the present, or to profess himself in the least an alarmist. His object throughout has been to write rather for the learner than for the partisan, for those who still have to form their opinions than for readers of a more mature age whose sentiments have assumed the hardened form of prejudice or passion. His aim has been to instruct, to make truthful representations, to pronounce just decisions, rather than to please the ear with the eloquence of the orator or the poet.

Some critics, indeed, insist peremptorily that a history should be either philosophic, or pictorial, or both. To the advantage or fairness of preaching philosophy under the guise of history, I must demur. To write a history in behalf of Deism, of Catholicism, of Benthamism, or of Socialism, is to take facts for counters and play a skilful game with them. To narrate the world's events after the manner of Bossuet, and see the hand of Providence directing and ordering all, would be to compose a homily. To follow Buckle in regarding man as the slave of clime, soil and circumstances, would lead us to a dead and dull materialism. There is no science so fleeting or ephemeral as the philosophy of history. Each generation forms one for itself, and expounds its theory—to be repudiated by the generation which follows.

The power of producing lifelike pictorial effects is as valuable as it is delightful in the chronicler of

cotemporary life, in the man who designs what he sees, and portrays what he contemplates. But vivid description and dramatic personification, at second-hand, made up of old materials and filled up by modern imagination, constitute romance, not history. Such devices may captivate and impose upon the ignorant and careless reader; but these are the achievements of the dramatist, not of the honest narrator. Scanty as are the records and dry the details of Roman history, for example, we find in the clever modern histories of that celebrated city a lavish elaboration of detail in the narrative of events, with full-length portraits of personages stippled with all the minuteness of Dutch painters. The design is admirable, the colouring just. One quality alone is wanting to its perfection, and that is truth.

I discuss these questions as generalities; myself they can scarcely concern. One of my reviewers, to be sure, is just enough to say that I have not done for France what Macaulay has done for England and Motley is doing for the Netherlands. I admit the truth of the charge. Macaulay devotes a volume to every three years. Motley not much less. A history of France on the same scale, and with the same space for portraiture and description, would require a room to hold and a horse to carry it. To give a clear yet succinct, a well studied and digested history of a great European country in a few volumes is a more useful, although it may be a more humble, task.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIFTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER XLII.

	Page
Comparison between Louis the Fourteenth's Reign and that of the Convention - - - - -	1
Comparison between the Directory and the Regency during the Minority of Louis the Fifteenth - - - - -	3
First Assembly of the Cinq Cents and the Senate, October, 1795 - - - - -	5
Election of the Five Directors - - - - -	6
State of the Finances - - - - -	7
The Clubs of Clichy and of the Panthéon - - - - -	9
Pichegru's Treachery - - - - -	10
The Anti-Terrorist Compagnies du Soleil - - - - -	11
Babœuf - - - - -	12
His Execution after the Attempt of his Followers on the Camp at Grenelle, September, 1796 - - - - -	13
The Count d'Artois in La Vendée - - - - -	14
Capture and Execution of Stofflet and Charette - - - - -	15
Bonaparte appointed to command the Army of the Alps - - - - -	17
Engagements of Montenotte and Millesimo, March, 1796 - - - - -	18
Armistice with Piedmont - - - - -	19
The Bridge of Lodi, and Capture of Milan - - - - -	20
The Battle of Castiglione, August, 1796 - - - - -	22
Moreau's Return through the Black Forest - - - - -	24
Battle of Arcola, November - - - - -	25
Battle of Rivoli, January, 1797 - - - - -	27
State of the Directory - - - - -	28
Austrians defeated on the Tagliamento, March - - - - -	30
Preliminaries of Peace signed at Leoben, April - - - - -	31
Treaty of Tolentino, February, 1797 - - - - -	32
Bonaparte more moderate than the Directory - - - - -	33
Lepaux's Theo-Philanthropism - - - - -	35

	Page
<i>Coup d'état</i> of Fructidor ; the Directors transport the Moderates	36
Lord Malmesbury comes to treat for Peace, but is sent away	38
Treaty of Campo Formio, October, 1797	40
Bonaparte in Paris	41
French Ambassador at Rome outraged, a Republic established there in Consequence, February, 1798	43
French invade Switzerland	45
The Expedition against Egypt sails May, 1798	47
Battle of the Nile, August 1, 1798	48
Siege of Acre	49
The Directory force the Elections in their Favour	50
Sièyes at Berlin	52
The Conscription	53
Outbreaks of Naples, Renewal of War, March, 1799	55
Battle of Stochach	56
Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt	58
French defeated by Suwarrow at the Trebbia, June	59
Sièyes and Barras get rid of their Brother Directors	61
Suwarrow defeats Joubert at Novi, August, 1799	63
Massena defeats the Russians at Zurich and at Naples ; British Expedition to the Helder	65
Bonaparte returns to France	66
On the 18th Brumaire Bonaparte disperses the Assemblies, and seizes the Government	70

CHAP. XLIII.

Establishment of the Consulate	74
Its first financial Measures	76
The New Constitution	78
Fouché, Minister of Police	80
The Tribunate	81
Moreau drives the Austrians from Swabia	82
Bonaparte crosses the St. Bernard with his Army, May, 1800	84
Battle of Marengo, June	85
Negotiations for Peace	88
Battle of Hohenlinden	89
Treaty of Luneville, February, 1801	91
The Emperor Paul's Hostility to England	92
His Assassination	93
Battles of Heliopolis and Aboukir	94
Preliminaries of Peace between France and England signed October, 1801	95

	Page
French Expedition to San Domingo - - -	96
Peace of Amiens, March, 1802 - - -	97
Explosion of the Infernal Machine, Christmas, 1801 - -	98
Done by the Chouans - - - - -	99
The Code - - - - -	100
Re-Establishment of the Church - - -	101
Legislature and Tribune rid of the Liberals - -	103
Population vote the Consulate for Life - -	104
French Encroachments upon Italy and Switzerland -	105
French Exposé, Bonaparte's Complaints of English Press -	107
The British Ministry's Mistrust of him - -	109
His Interview with Lord Whitworth, February, 1803, whom he attacks at his Levy, March - - - -	112
War declared, May, 1803 - - - -	113
Plot of George Cadoudal - - - -	114
Seizure and Execution of the Duc d'Enghien - -	115
Death of Pichegru in Prison - - - -	116
Bonaparte declared Emperor, May, 1804 - -	117
His Letter to the King of England - - -	119
Russia joins England, April, 1805 - -	119
Napoleon's Plans to be Master of the Channel - -	121
Upon their Failure he marches into Germany - -	122
Mack capitulates in Ulm, October - - -	122
Battle of Austerlitz, December, 1805 - - -	124
Austria accepts Terms of Peace - - - -	125
Battles of Jena and Auerstadt, October, 1806 - -	129
Berlin Decrees answered by Orders in Council - -	132
Battle of Eylau, January, 1807 - - -	134
Battle of Friedland, June - - - -	136
Treaty of Tilsit - - - - -	138
It forms the culminating Point of Napoleon's Career -	141
His Byzantine Court - - - - -	142
His System for subject Countries - - - -	144
Imperial Finance - - - - -	145
Milan Decrees - - - - -	147
The Pope carried off, and Rome annexed to France, 1808 and 1809 - - - - -	149
Meeting of Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt - -	150
The French invade Spain - - - -	152
The King and Prince decoyed to Bayonne - -	153
French defeat the Spanish Army at Rio Seco, January, 1808 -	155
Battle of Corunna, January, 1809 - - -	157
Austria prepares for War - - - -	159
Austria defeated at Eckmühl, April, 1809 - -	161
French enter Vienna again - - - -	162

	Page
Battles of Essling and Aspern - - - -	- 163
Battle of Wagram, July - - - -	- 165
Peace between France and Austria, October, 1809 -	- 168
Napoleon's Divorce with Josephine, and Marriage with Louisa - - - - -	- 171
Louis Bonaparte abdicates the Throne of Holland -	- 172
Election of Bernadotte to succeed to the Crown of Sweden -	- 173
Provocations offered to Russia - - - -	- 174
Its Fear that Napoleon will resuscitate Poland -	- 176
Napoleon evades its Demands, and the Czar retaliates -	- 177
Birth of the King of Rome, 1811 - - - -	- 178
Battle of Talavera - - - - -	- 179
Massena repulsed from the Lines of Torres Vedras -	- 181
Napoleon at Dresden, 1812 - - - -	- 182
Invades Russia, June, 1812 - - - -	- 183
Battle of Salamanca - - - - -	- 185
Battle of Borodino, or of the Moskwa, September -	- 187
After which the French enter Moscow - - - -	- 188
The Russians destroy it by Fire - - - -	- 189
Napoleon and his Army retreat from Moscow, October 19	- 190
Passage of the Beresina - - - - -	- 193
Napoleon quits the Army and reaches Paris, December 19, 1812 - - - - -	- 194
Malet's Conspiracy - - - - -	- 195
The Tugendbund - - - - -	- 197
York's Defection - - - - -	- 198
Battle of Lutzen, May, 1813 - - - -	- 200
Battle of Bautzen - - - - -	- 202
Prince Metternich's Interview with Napoleon at Dresden	- 204
Battle of Salamanca, July, 1812 - - - -	- 205
Battle of Vittoria - - - - -	- 207
Defeat of the Allies before Dresden, August - - -	- 209
Defeat of Vandamme - - - - -	- 210
The Allies march on Leipzig - - - -	- 211
Battles of Leipzig, October - - - -	- 213
Austrian Offers to France rejected - - - -	- 215
Lord Castlereagh replaces Lord Aberdeen in English Negotia- tions - - - - -	- 216
Napoleon's Address to his Legislative Assembly -	- 217
The Pope and Ferdinand of Spain set free - - -	- 218
Battle of La Rothière, February, 1814 - - -	- 219
Engagements of Champ-Aubert and Montmirail -	- 220
That of Montereau - - - - -	- 221
Royalists at Troyes - - - - -	- 222
Treaty of Chaumont between the Allies, March -	- 224

	Page
Congress of Chatillon breaks up	- 225
The Allies before Paris	- 226
They enter it, March 31	- 227
Napoleon at Fontainebleau	- 229
Marmont's Treachery	- 230
Napoleon's Abdication, April	- 231

CHAP. XLIV.

The Senate invited by Alexander to draw up a Constitution	- 233
Louis the Eighteenth at St. Ouen	- 234
The Bourbon Princes	- 236
New Frontiers of France	- 237
The <i>Charte</i>	- 238
Napoleon's Return from Elba, March, 1815	- 241
Re-enters the Tuileries	- 244
His new Constitution called the Additional Act	- 248
The Champ de Mars	- 249
The Battle of Ligny, April	- 251
The Battle of Waterloo	- 252
Napoleon at the Élysée	- 254
His second Abdication	- 255
Talleyrand and Fouché	- 256
The Provisional Government	- 257
New Royalist Ministry	- 260
Works of Art taken from the Louvre	- 261
Fouché's Proscription List	- 262
Royalist Reaction and Murders in the South	- 264
A Royalist Parliament	- 266
The Holy Alliance	- 267
Talleyrand resigns, and is succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu	- 269
Massacre of Protestants in the South	- 272
Lavalette's Condemnation and Escape	- 274
Trial and Execution of Marshal Ney, December	- 275
La Bourdonnaye's Categories	- 277
The New Electoral Law	- 278
Finance	- 279
Insurrection at Grenoble, May, 1816	- 281
Dissolution of the Chambre Introuvable, September	- 282
Government of the Bascule	- 283
Law of Election passed	- 286
Sedition at Lyons, June, 1817	- 289
Law of Conscription, 1818	- 290

	Page
Press Law - - - - -	- 291
Evacuation of France by the Allied Forces - - -	- 292
Decazes - - - - -	- 294
He becomes leading Minister, 1818 - - - - -	- 295
Proposes liberal Laws - - - - -	- 296
Madame du Cayla, Favourite of Louis the Eighteenth -	- 298
Struggles of Decazes against both extreme Parties -	- 299
The Duke of Berry assassinated by Louvel, February, 1820 -	- 300
Decazes falls in Consequence, Duc de Richelieu again Prime Minister - - - - -	- 302
Royalist Law of Election reduces Electors to 10,000 -	- 304
Conspiracy and the Result - - - - -	- 307
Revolution in Spain, March, 1821 - - - - -	- 308
In Naples - - - - -	- 309
Unpopular Measures against the Army and the University -	- 311
The Richelieu Ministry of Semi-Liberals, replaced by a right Royalist Cabinet under Villèle, December, 1821 -	- 313
Conspiracies of Béfort and Saumur, 1822 - - -	- 315
Four Sergeants of La Rochelle - - - - -	- 317
The Carbonari - - - - -	- 318
Châteaubriand proposes military Intervention in Spain -	- 320
Villèle's Reluctance - - - - -	- 321
Intervention decided and announced, 1823 - - -	- 322
Manuel expelled the Chamber - - - - -	- 324
Opposition secedes - - - - -	- 325
Ouvrard enables French Army to enter Spain - - -	- 326
Ferdinand brought to Cadiz - - - - -	- 327
Released by the French; he abolishes the Constitution -	- 328
Law of Septennality - - - - -	- 330
Proposal to reduce the Five per Cents - - - - -	- 331
Is rejected by the Peers - - - - -	- 332
Châteaubriand dismissed - - - - -	- 333
Prosecution of the Press - - - - -	- 334
Death of Louis the Eighteenth, September 1824 -	- 337
His Character - - - - -	- 338

CHAP. XLV.

First Words of Charles the Tenth—"No Halberts" -	- 340
His shortlived Popularity - - - - -	- 342
The Law of Sacrilege - - - - -	- 344
The Indemnity to the <i>Émigrés</i> - - - - -	- 345

	Page
The Coronation at Rheims - - - -	- 346
Death of General Foy - - - -	- 347
Interference in Favour of Greece, 1826 - -	- 349
Independence of Hayti acknowledged, 1826 -	- 351
Attempts to establish the Right of the Eldest Son to inherit -	- 352
Rejected by the Peers - - - -	- 353
Rivalry of Châteaubriand and Villèle - -	- 354
Peyronnet's <i>Loi d'Amour</i> for destroying the Press -	- 355
Opposed by La Bourdonnaye - - - -	- 357
The Duke de la Rochefoucauld's Remains outraged by the Police -	- 359
Peers reject the <i>Loi d'Amour</i> - - - -	- 360
King reviews the National Guards, April, 1827 -	- 361
The Guard dissolved - - - -	- 362
The Censorship re-established - - - -	- 363
Villèle dissolves the Chamber, November -	- 364
Discontent; first Barricades - - - -	- 365
Fall of Villèle, Ministry of Martignac, January, 1828 -	- 366
New Parliament stigmatizes Villèle's System as deplorable -	- 369
Liberal Measures of Martignac - - - -	- 370
Expedition to Greece - - - -	- 371
Discontent of King and Royalists with Martignac -	- 372
Polignac puts himself forward - - - -	- 375
Martignac's Law of Municipal and Departmental Organization	376
The Liberals go against him; Martignac withdraws the Law -	- 378
Ministry of Polignac, August, 1829 - - - -	- 380
La Bourdonnaye withdraws from it - - - -	- 382
Parliament denounces the Ministry in the Address -	- 384
Expedition against Algiers - - - -	- 386
Chamber dissolved - - - -	- 387
The Ordonnances, 24th of July, 1830 - - - -	- 391
The Journalists commence the Revolution - -	- 393
Government resistance of the 27th - - - -	- 394
Hôtel de Ville and Notre Dame, seized by the People, on the 28th - - - -	- 395
Marmont's Efforts fail - - - -	- 397
Deputies at the Tuileries, on the 28th - - -	- 399
Capture of the Louvre, on the 29th - - - -	- 401
Marmont's Evacuation of Paris - - - -	- 402
Court's vain Endeavour to treat - - - -	- 404
Semonville, Mortemart, the Duke of Orleans -	- 405
Duke of Orleans appointed Lieutenant-General -	- 400
His Visit to the Hôtel de Ville - - - -	- 412
Duke d'Angoulême's Anger with Marmont - -	- 413
The Royal Family quit St. Cloud on the 30th, and reach Rambouillet - - - -	- 414

	Page
The Parisians march against him. The King consents to abdicate and withdraw from the Kingdom - -	415
Louis-Philippe King of the French - -	416
Charles the Tenth sails for Cherbourg - -	417

CHAP. XLVI.

Châteaubriand proposes to maintain Henry the Fifth - -	419
The Republican Chiefs at the Palais Royal - -	420
First Ministry of the new Reign - -	421
People demand the Heads of the Ex-ministers - -	422
Prussian Menaces to enter Belgium met by Declaration of Count Molé - - - - -	423
The Doctrinaires and Périer retire from Office, leaving Laffitte Prime Minister, November - - - -	424
The Belgian Revolution - - - -	426
Prince Talleyrand Ambassador in London - - - -	427
Insurrection in Warsaw, November - - - -	428
The Sentence upon the Ex-Ministers - - - -	430
Lafayette removed from the Command of the National Guard -	431
The Elective Law again discussed - - - -	433
Election of the Duke de Nemours as King by the Belgians, 1831 - - - - -	434
Violent Death of the Prince of Condé - - - -	435
Sack of St. Germain l'Auxerrois - - - -	436
Laffitte in Difficulties - - - -	438
His Resignation, March, 1831 - - - -	439
Is succeeded by Casimir Périer - - - -	441
Périer's Policy - - - -	442
Republicans prosecuted - - - -	444
New Chamber gives but Majority of One to Périer - -	446
He resigns, but resumes Office on learning that the Dutch had attacked Belgium - - - - -	447
The French Army enter Belgium, August, 1831 - -	448
Diebitsch and Paskévitch - - - -	449
Fall of Warsaw, September - - - -	450
Should the Peerage be Hereditary - - - -	451
St. Simonianism in Lyons - - - -	453
Insurrection there, November - - - -	454
Entry of Soult into Lyons - - - -	456
Troubles at Grenoble - - - -	457
And in Paris - - - -	458
Périer occupies Ancona, February, 1832 - - - -	459

	Page
His Interview with the Ambassadors - - -	460
Périer dies of Cholera, May - - -	462
The Duchess of Berry, and La Vendée - - -	464
Berryer sent to dissuade her Attempt - - -	466
The <i>Compte rendu</i> - - -	467
Funeral of Lamarque - - -	468
Attempted Insurrection twice put down - - -	470
Interview of Arago and Barrot with the King - - -	471
Thiers Home Minister and Soult President of Council, 11th October, 1832 - - -	473
Duchess of Berry taken, November - - -	475
Dutch surrender Antwerp, December - - -	477
Thiers and Guizot - - -	480
Law against Associations, 1833 - - -	482
Another Insurrection at Lyons, April, 1834 - - -	483
And in Paris - - -	484
Death of Lafayette - - -	485
Soult displaced by Gérard, July, 1832 - - -	487
Duc de Broglie, Minister, March, 1835, - - -	488
The Quadruple Alliance - - -	490
Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi - - -	491
Monster Trial - - -	492
Plots to assassinate the King - - -	494
Fieschi, July, 1835 - - -	495
Severe Laws of September - - -	496
• Humann's Purpose of reducing the Five per Cents breaks up the Cabinet - - -	498
M. Thiers Prime Minister, February, 1836; Don Miguel and Don Carlos reduced - - -	500
Thiers for Intervention in Spain - - -	501
An Austrian Princess sought for the Duke of Orleans - - -	503
Count Molé Prime Minister, September, 1836 - - -	504
Louis-Napoleon's Attempt on Strasburg, October - - -	505
Clausel's Expedition to Constantine - - -	506
Dotation for the Duke of Nemours - - -	509
It is rejected as well as the Law of Disjunction, which occasions the Formation of another and more liberal Cabinet, still under Molé - - -	510
Coalition against Molé - - -	512
Whom it overthrows; Difficulties and Delays in forming a Ministry - - -	514
Provisional Ministry, March, 1837 - - -	515
Insurrection, May, 1837 - - -	517
Soult forms an Administration - - -	518

	Page
The Coalition set aside; it adopts the Cry of Reform -	- 519
Carlist Insurrection in Biscay put down - -	- 520
M. Guizot Ambassador in London; England consents to restore the Remains of Napoleon - - -	- 522
Second Bill of Dotation for the Duc de Nemours -	- 523
Its Rejection causes fall of Soult - -	- 524
Thiers' Second Ministry, February, 1840 - -	- 525

CHAP. XLVII.

Mistaken Theories about <i>bourgeoisie</i> and People -	- 527
French Patronage of Mehemet Ali - - -	- 529
Defeat of the Turks at Nezib, June, 1839 - -	- 530
Lord Palmerston's Offer to the French Government -	- 532
It is not accepted - - - -	- 533
Treaty of the 15th of July, 1840 - - -	- 534
Thiers' Views of Retaliation - - -	- 535
Louis-Napoleon's Attempt at Boulogne - -	- 537
Admiral Napier before Alexandria - - -	- 538
Fall of Thiers, a New Ministry with M. Guizot at its Head as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, October, 1840 -	- 540
Proposal to admit the <i>Capacités</i> to the Suffrage -	- 542
The Rights of Labour - - - -	- 544
Commercial Distress, and Turbulence of Working Class -	- 545
Treaty of July, 1841, closing the Straits - -	- 546
Fortifications of Paris - - - -	- 547
M. Humann too rigid as Finance Minister - -	- 548
Growing Unpopularity of the Government - -	- 549
Princes fired at, September, 1841 - - -	- 550
Guizot, like Canning, mocks the Idea of Reform -	- 552
Jealousies between France and England - -	- 553
The Right of Search - - - -	- 554
Occupation of Tahiti - - - -	- 556
Marshal Bugeaud's Policy in Algeria - - -	- 559
Hostilities of the French against Morocco - -	- 560
Battle of Isly, 1st of August, 1844 - - -	- 561
The Duke of Orleans' Death, July, 1842 - -	- 562
Views of the King and His Minister respecting Spain -	- 564
Lord Aberdeen's Weakness - - - -	- 566
The Queen of Spain's Marriage; a Difficulty - -	- 567
Sir H. Bulwer's Proposal - - - -	- 568
Russian Activity - - - -	- 569

	Page
The Marriage of the Queen, and her Sister precipitated against the Wishes of England, and the Promises of Louis-Philippe, October, 1846	- 750
Troubles in Switzerland	- 572
Unpopularity of the Pope in 1847—France unable to interfere for the Liberal Cause, owing to the Quarrel with England	- 573
The Prince de Joinville's Letter	- 574
Ministerial Corruption; Teste and Cubières convicted	- 576
Financial Crisis and Famine	- 578
New Chambers; Cry for Reform, 1847	- 579
M. Guizot scouts Reform	- 581
The Opposition get up Banquets	- 583
Ministers hesitate whether to forbid them or not	- 584
They determine to do so	- 585
The Chief Liberals determine to refrain; but the Seditious prepare an <i>Émeute</i> , whilst the Government determine not to employ the Troops	- 587
Revolution of July, 1848	- 588
Precipitated by a Discharge of Musquetry before the Office of Foreign Affairs	- 590
Marshal Bugeaud sends forward the Troops, and then recalls them	- 591
People victorious	- 592
King abdicates	- 593
The Duchess of Orleans and the Chamber	- 594
Provisional Government decided at the Office of <i>National</i>	- 595
Lamartine supports the Idea of a Republic, and carries it, the Majority of the Members having been frightened from the Chamber	- 597
The Royal Family escape to England	- 598

CHAP. XLVIII.

What Class is Republican, what Monarchie?	- 601
Prospects of a Republic	- 603
The First Ministry	- 604
Lamartine struggles against the Populace in the Hôtel de Ville	- 605
The Garde Mobile	- 606
Invasion of the Socialists	- 607
Louis Blanc	- 608
The Red Flag	- 610
Taxes augmented by 45 per Cent. additional	- 611

	Page
Socialists object to convening a Parliament immediately	- 613
The Flank Companies of the National Guard make a foolish Procession - - - - -	- 614
Somewhat similar to that led by Blanqui to overturn the Government - - - - -	- 615
Their Plan defeated - - - - -	- 616
Meeting of the New Assembly, May 4 - - - - -	- 617
Executive of Nine - - - - -	- 618
Socialists dissatisfied - - - - -	- 619
The Clubbists march on the Assembly and break into it, May 15 - - - - -	- 621
The Attempt to appoint a New Government defeated - - - - -	- 622
Candidates for Power - - - - -	- 624
National Workshops closed - - - - -	- 625
Insurrection of June - - - - -	- 627
Triumph of Cavaignac - - - - -	- 630
The <i>Enquête</i> - - - - -	- 632
Napoleon elected President of the Republic, December, 1848	- 635
His first Ministry - - - - -	- 637
New Election, - - - - -	- 638
Expedition to Rome - - - - -	- 639
Mission of Lesseps - - - - -	- 640
Attempted Insurrection of June, 1849 - - - - -	- 643
Napoleon and the Monarchists - - - - -	- 646
Socialist Members returned for Paris - - - - -	- 648
Franchise limited by Law of 31st of May - - - - -	- 649
Changarnier forbids the Troops to cry <i>Vive Napoléon</i> - - - - -	- 650
President dismisses him - - - - -	- 652
Napoleon demands the Revision of the Vote prohibiting his Re-election - - - - -	- 654
Failing to carry that he meditates a <i>Coup d'état</i> - - - - -	- 655
He also demands the Repeal of the Law limiting the Suffrage - - - - -	- 656
The Questor's motion to empower the President of the Assembly, to summon and command the Military - - - - -	- 657
The Prince preparing, should this be carried, to march on the Assembly, November, 1851 - - - - -	- 658
Generals consulted if they will support the President - - - - -	- 660
<i>Coup d'état</i> of December the 2nd, 1851 - - - - -	- 662
Dissolution of the Assembly - - - - -	- 662
Deputies arrested - - - - -	- 664
Napoleon elected President by Universal Suffrage. A similar Vote proclaimed him Emperor in November, 1852 - - - - -	- 665
INDEX - - - - -	- 669

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE DIRECTORY.

1795—1799.

It is strange to find, but impossible not to see, a considerable resemblance between the reign of Louis the Fourteenth and that of the Convention. Both were supreme and terrible dictatorships; the one of a personage who concentrated in himself all the pride, prejudice, and powers of a dominant upper class; the other of the very antipodes in the social scale, of not merely the people, but of the most destitute and reckless of the people—the very dregs, in fact.

It would be difficult to say which was more intolerant or more cruel, the monarch or the mob; for St. Just had reason to plead that the republic sacrificed no more victims than the monarchy. Louis striped, branded, and slaughtered, chiefly the middle and lower class of the south. These, brutalised by his persecutions and proscriptions, took, after a century's lapse, their revenge, the hordes of Marseilles and Avignon bringing

CHAP.
XLII.

CHAP.
XLII.

to the capital their frantic taste for bloodshed. The dominant passion of the monarchy, military conquest, was that of the Convention also; and the result the same—exulting triumphs followed by menacing reverses, which demanded of the country to meet them almost its last man and its last coin. The financial exhaustion of both periods was the same; in what fashion bankruptcy could be best committed being the problem left to their successors by the grand monarch and the great assembly. The trade and industry of the country was almost as much annihilated at one epoch as at the other. Nor was the internal administration very different. The royal intendants were the conventional commissaries, equally arbitrary; and if not equally oppressive it was because the intendants had merely to press down the weight that already existed, whilst the Convention had to reverse it. This placing of the poor in the position which the rich had held produced the aggravated horrors of social revolution, the more horrible because it was in some degree called for; each class when it was uppermost abusing its power, and effacing the Christian law of fraternity by that of the wild beasts which regard each other but as objects of rivalry or prey. Nothing could be more similar than the principles which actuated Louis the Fourteenth and the Convention. Both believed that they had each the right to dictate the moral, religious, and political opinions of their subjects. To want loyalty was treason to the king, to profess it was treason to the republic. The worship of birth enjoined in one epoch was a capital crime in the other. An embroidered coat betokened authority at the beginning of the century, rags were the garb of sovereignty in 1792. But in nothing perhaps did the exaggerated systems come more closely together than in their ultimate consequences, which were in both cases to destroy utterly, and render next to impossible, the principles and political system which they strove to found. Louis the Fourteenth

strained the sinews of absolute monarchy till they broke. His successor sate upon the throne, but without force to hold the sceptre. The convention so degraded and disgraced democratic government, that a free general election at its close would have extinguished the republic at once. The Conventionals, however, managed to prolong their own reign, and by so doing merely gave time to enable a soldier to found a military empire, in the place of the constitutional one, which might much more easily have been established in 1796 than it was twenty years later.

If the Convention bears such strong resemblance to the most brilliant reign of the monarchy, the likeness between the governments which each begot as its successor is stronger still. The Regency and the Directory are twins. Under both oppressed mankind began to breathe, to talk and to live more freely, yet it was to make no good use of such freedom. The austerity of Louis and the terror of the Convention had suppressed all vice save that of cruelty and servile fear. Society, the moment it was freed from both, rushed into the extreme of dissoluteness and pleasure. Religion, scoffed at one epoch, was proscribed in the other. The Convention had abolished it, as well as the ties of marriage. Barras, the director, was a man of much the same stamp as Cardinal Dubois. The Luxemburg became a Palais Royal. The fall of *assignats*, and the attempt to replace or bolster them up, led to jobbery as frantic as that which Law inaugurated. Wealth became the sole aim and worship. And complete epicureanism succeeded to the fanaticism, religious or antireligious, of the preceding epochs. The epicureanism of the Regency differed indeed from that of the Directory. In the former epoch it was young, sanguine in its moral and political aspirations; it was looked to as a principle that might regenerate mankind, and save it from bigotry if not from despotism. It produced Voltaire, grew and

became developed during the progress of the century, until it broke out in an extravagance and fanaticism of its own. All this had been worn out and evaporated during the terrible experience of the Convention. The epicureanism or disbelief in all things, which followed, was no longer the young elastic sentiment of the commencement of the century. It was old, effete, and capable of inspiring little more than a few books of drivelling philosophy. As the Convention had destroyed all schools and all studies, and as Napoleon himself, when he reached power, could but establish priests as uneducated as the age throughout the land, its sons continued to hold the revolutionary faith; but it was a negative or dead faith, not a living one—that utter distrust of things and men which still continues the character of the principal portion of the population. Nothing indeed could have vivified the epoch, or reawakened the enthusiasm of such a people, save military glory. That Napoleon gave, and by it he came to supersede all other idols and all other influence. His history in fact begins where that of the revolution ends, and the image of the Five Directors forms but the frontispiece to his romantic story.

It has been before remarked that hope was the characteristic of the National Assembly, and fear that of the Convention. Its fears indeed often produced the courage of despair. The consciousness that they had made enemies of all the world, and that any change of men in the legislature or the government must necessarily bring punishment upon themselves, impelled them to prolong their power, by the decree which rendered it compulsory that the old Conventionalists should form two-thirds, thus constituting the majority of the new assemblies, and consequently should have the power of choosing the members of the coming government. This was indeed put to the vote in the primary assemblies. But the provinces refrained from voting, believing that

they could not reverse the decisions of Paris. And these were enforced against the express will of its own citizens, who hated the very name of the Convention, by the cannon of Bonaparte.

On the 27th of October, 1795, the members of the new legislature met. Instead of 500 members, the two-thirds, to be chosen from the members of the convention, the elections had returned but 379. As the deputies for the colonies were to retain their seats, 104 new members were left to be chosen by their colleagues. These were of course the dregs of the Convention, which the country refused to name, and of these, "the least bad," according to the expression of Thibaudeau, were selected. The number of 750 being thus completed, the one-third, consisting of the elder and of the married, were set apart to form the Council of the Ancients, and allowed to occupy the hall of the assembly in the Tuileries. The remaining 500 adjourned to the old *Manège*, or place of sitting, where the present Rue de Rivoli is situated.*

A more important act than even the completion of the assemblies was the choice of the Five Directors who were to form the new government. By the constitution the choice lay with the Council of the Ancients, out of a list presented by the Cinq Cents. These agreed to place at the top of the list the five of their own selection, and name after them the most obscure and incapable members of the Convention, such as the ancients could not approve. All, they resolved, should be regicides, and yet not members of the old terrorist committees. The men they fixed upon were La Reveillere Lepaux, Barras, Rewbell, Sièyes, and Letourneur. La Reveillere, deformed, studious, and retiring, was the philosopher of the party; he was one of the seventy-three expelled from the Convention for

* Moniteur, Thibaudeau.

CHAP.
XLII.

objecting to the unjust condemnation of the Gironde. He had most votes. Barras and Rewbell were Thermidorians, friends of Tallien. Barras was noble; had served as an officer, and subsequently, as a terrorist pro-consul. He and Rewbell had soon all the jobbers and contractors, the corrupt of society, attracted to them. The female portion especially flocked round Barras. Letourneur was chosen as a military man, and at the same time a harmless one. Sièyes was the only member elected for his brains. But he at once declined to form a government with men in whom he had no confidence.* It became thus necessary to choose another Director. The newly elected third of the assemblies, all moderate and anti-conventionalists, were for nominating Cambacérès. He was a moderate man and an able juriconsult, who as member of the Convention had laid the foundation of the future code. To defeat Cambacérès, Carnot, who had been elected by fourteen departments, was put forward and was named the fifth Director, although by no very large majority of the Ancients.

The Luxemburg, by turns throughout the revolution a prison and a palace, had been designed as the residence of the Directors. They found with difficulty a chair and table, to write the proclamation announcing their assumption of power. There was not a livre in the treasury. And their first act was to demand of the councils the permission to issue 3,000,000*l.* of assignats, or about 120,000,000*l.* sterling, which, exchanged for coin, would produce 1,000,000*l.* Having obtained this the Directory, or its finance minister, Faypoult, drew up an elaborate financial report. From eighteen to twenty milliards of assignats had been issued since the commencement of the revolution. The government proposed completing the sum of thirty milliards, and

* According to Carnot, he and Rewbell were declared enemies, and Rewbell a passionate man, with

whom Sièyes would have had eternal war.

then prohibiting further issues. They estimated that there were upwards of seven milliards' worth of confiscated property to be disposed of, which, as the assignat had fallen to one hundred and fiftieth part of its value, might be made to satisfy the holders of paper. Such a proposal terrified the Council of Ancients, with whom lay the final voting of all laws. The bankruptcy which it declared displeased the revolutionists, and even they were alarmed at the prospect of destroying the assignat and its fabric without any other money forthcoming. The scheme was accordingly rejected, and the Directory obliged to substitute for it the right revolutionary levy of a forced loan of 600,000,000 on the rich. It was to be progressive. Assignats were to be taken at one-hundredth part of their nominal value, and the issue was allowed to the amount of forty, not thirty, milliards. A new kind of assignat was subsequently invented, with a peculiar portion of land or houses mortgaged and inserted in it. The scheme had no success. So that in July, 1796, the Directory found itself obliged to decree that all taxes should be paid in coin, or in assignats, only at the current value. The ordinary expenses were at the same time estimated at 450,000,000 of livres, the war expenses 550,000,000 in addition.*

* The budget of 1797 was fixed at 450 millions ordinary, 650 extraordinary expenses. It was proposed to meet these with

250 millions of land tax.

50 do. of personal tax.

150 do. of customs and
other taxes.

Thus, leaving the extraordinary or war expenses to be met by extraordinary means, such as the sale of national property or loans.

It will be remarked, that in this account of revenue and expenditure there is no mention of the public debt, that debt which Cambon re-

ceived such praise for consolidating. In that consolidation he had comprised 89 millions of rentes or interest annually due, 415 millions of capital in debts to be reimbursed at fixed epochs; other debts, equal to 625 millions, arising from liquidation. Cambon fixed the annual interest due at 200 millions. In 1798 the interest was 258 millions, when two-thirds were cancelled by the Directory, or nominally allowed to be received in payment of national property. The remaining third constituted the debt at 5 per cent. One hundred francs of it did not pro-

The finances, however entangled and exhausted, did not form the chief difficulty of the new government. It was like so many of the ignorant attempts of the revolution to frame a constitution, in which the executive, isolated from all other powers, and antagonistic to them, was still expected to rule by their support. The Directors, however objectionable and obscure, entered upon office with a laudable desire to avoid and keep down the extravagance of contending parties. On one side were the Moderates, comprising the new third of the assemblies, with some few Royalists amongst them, but the greater numbers merely bent upon closing the revolution, and weaning the government from arbitrary ways. On the other was the disappointed herd of Anarchists, crushed since Thermidor, but partly resuscitated by the aid which they were called to give, and did give, in the struggle against the sections.

Of these parties the Directors thought the Moderates the most formidable. Their opening proclamation announced their peculiar mission and care to be for the extinction of royalism. That they fell short of the cannibalism of the terrorists they showed by releasing from the Temple the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth, and handing her over to the Austrians upon the Rhine, in exchange for the French deputies in their hands, Camus, Drouet, and Beurnonville, together with Maret and Semonville, seized during a diplomatic journey through north Italy. Yet lest this should be considered a weakness, Barras and his colleagues proposed a fête to celebrate the 21st of January, the anniversary of the late king's execution. This was intended as a mortification to the supposed Royalists of the Cinq Cents.

The chief strength and security of the Directory lay

duce more in the market than 17 frs., whilst 100 frs. of the *deux tiers*, which could purchase national property, fell as low as three sous. Such

was the end of republican credit and finance.—Calmon, *Finances de l'Empire*.

at first in the publicity and freedom which accompanied its installation. The public felt as free as in 1789, and showed it by the formation of clubs and the issuing of journals representing every party. The reactionists or Royalists, as some of them no doubt were, met in the Rue de Clichy, which gave its name to their club. The anti-Jacobins, who did not go such lengths, formed a constitutional club in the Hôtel de Salm, of which Barbé Marbois, Tronson Du Coudray, Thibaudeau, and Talleyrand were members. The *sans-culottes* met in the refectory of the Genovéfan Convent, long after the public library of the Pantheon, behind which it was situated. Here were renewed the eloquence and the politics of the Jacobins and Cordeliers.*

To such menaces and obstructions the Convention had not only opposed the guillotine and the terror, but latterly the successes of its armies. Both these resources at first failed the Directory. The true strength of the republic lay indeed in the army, the members of which had gained more by the revolution than any other class. The lowly-born saw the privilege of birth disappear before them; military talent found a quick reward. The royalist princes of ancient France were in the ranks of their enemies, and whether on the Rhine or on La Vendée, were the inveterate foes of the modern French soldier such as the revolution had made. With the generals, however, this attachment of the military masses to the existing government did not hold. The Convention had been cruel and unjust to them. The Directory promised no better. And although the far greater number remained true to the faith and fortune of the republican colours, there were some who, like Dumourier, foresaw the restoration of royalty as a necessity, and were ready to be the instruments of that change. Amongst these was Pichegru, the conqueror

* Thibaudeau, Dumas Souvenirs.

CHAP.
XLII.

of Holland, who first a soldier, before the revolution, had been promoted, and made a sergent by the Prince of Condé. They thus knew each other. In August, 1795, the prince by an agent sounded Pichegru, who appeared but too ready to serve the Bourbons. He could have done so at once but for the hesitation of Condé. The French general consented to conduct the operations of his army in concert with the general of the enemy.* He repassed the Rhine; Jourdan, who was on the right bank farther north, being thus left unsupported, was obliged to withdraw. The French were subsequently beaten from their lines before Mayence. The Directory warned, recalled Pichegru in time, but the reverses of the campaign could not be prevented.

To discover and defeat the underground efforts of the Royalists and Jacobins, the Directory in December, 1795, established what became a permanent institution of the country, a ministry of police. Cochon first held the office, and it was certainly no sinecure. Royalist agents were ubiquitous and active; the Anarchists at first more menacing and open. As of old, they addressed most furious petitions to the assembly. One, drawn up and presented by the *sans-culottes* of the south, aroused all the passions of the Cinq Cents. The petitioners were not without cause of complaint. The terrible excesses of the Anarchists in the towns of the Rhone and Mediterranean had, as may well be supposed, created a host of vindictive enemies, the relations of the thousands despoiled and murdered. These relatives, since Thermidor, had returned from emigration or raised their heads from terrified submission. They found Jacobins in possession of their lands and houses, living in the presbyteries, and tilling the confiscated property of the churches. The anti-terrorists formed societies for the purpose of vengeance,† called *Compagnons de Jésus et du*

* Memoirs of Montgaillard, of Faucheborel, and Gouvion St. Cyr.

† For their doings see Souvenirs de Charles Nodier.

Soleil. They massacred the Jacobins and all those who had imbuéd their hands in the blood of royalist or civic victims, and in a lapse of time slew if not as many victims as the revolutionists, certainly enough for large expiation. The terrorists of the south, thus terrorised in their turn, complained that since Thermidor the government commissaries did not hold out to them sufficient aid or protection. An animated debate ensued, which called forth once more an indignant speech from the Girondin Isnard, who exposed the recent attempts at resuscitating Jacobinism in Marseilles. Under its influence the Cinq Cents set aside the petition by the order of the day.

Such a cool dismissal of their complaints proved to the ultra-revolutionary party, the resuscitated Jacobins of the Pantheon, that nothing was to be hoped from the assemblies which formed the legislature under the new constitution. The restoration of the old constitution, that of 1793, and the Convention, or a Convention, became in consequence their fixed idea and dominant aim. To mature and accomplish it, they formed as of old an insurrectionary committee of public safety, which met in secret, re-enlisted all the old agents of insurrection, and exerted their utmost to rally and reconstitute the revolutionary army of the rabble, which had well nigh lost its vocation.

The original Jacobins were numerous enough to divide their respective duties. The Marats and the Desmoulins blew the trumpet of the press, the Legendres and Santerres marshalled the masses, the Robespierres and Dantons perorated. But the men of action had been cut off; there remained but the theorists and the scribblers. Babœuf, originally a land-surveyor, was one of these. He was a journalist of the school of Marat, and who had consequently spent almost as much time in prison as out of it. This gave him leisure for reflection and for the concoction of

theories. The Jacobin doctrine of transferring to the poor the property of the rich was nothing new, and had been practised all through the revolution. Babœuf erected it into a system, and first preached that community of goods which has grown up to be a philosophy and a creed in our days. He came too late in the revolution, however, for his or any other theory, to be listened to. The working class was disgusted with the revolution, which had brought to it nothing save decimation and famine. But there were still some thousands of professional insurrectionists in Paris, and Babœuf's system promised them plunder. It was not the more unwelcome for the plunder being necessarily prefaced by bloodshed. The plan of Babœuf's conspiracy was to slay all the authorities, recal and recomplete the convention with the Babouvians, restore the *maximum*, the requisition, and the terror, and resuscitate the state of things which Thermidor had interrupted. A captain named Gressel disclosed the whole plot to Carnot, and almost all the conspirators, with their papers, were seized in one night in May 1796.

Babœuf was so confident, that almost his first act, when arrested and his whole plot discovered, was to threaten the government and make an offer of forbearance only on condition of his scheme of social revolution being adopted. He was under a profound delusion. The men and the ideas so formidable in 1793 had become powerless and effete in 1796. The people, still closely pressed by famine,* were not to be moved. No party in the councils or no large portion of the population could succeed in making political capital out of anarchy. Drouet alone, the former postmaster of Varennes, was implicated in Babœuf's plot. His being absent from France in an Austrian prison left him unaware how

* The people of Paris received but three-quarters of a pound of bread each per day through the greater

part of 1796.—Decree of Directory in Aug.

much public opinion had progressed. He contrived, however, to escape from prison.* Amongst those who were sent to Verdun were the well-known insurrectionist names of Amar, Verdier, Chaudieu, Antonelli, Rossignol. They were sent to Vendome, where a high court of justice was selected to try them.

There were some feeble attempts to create a tumult in the night appointed for the removal of Babœuf and his accomplices, which was towards the end of August. A more serious effort was made on the night of the 9th of September. Some four or five hundred Anarchists, incompletely armed, collected in Vaugirard, and favoured by the darkness penetrated into the military camp then formed on the Plaine de Grenelle. Their hopes were built upon a certain regiment of dragoons, the 21st, which was to favour them. But when they approached its cantonment, they met with no signs of adherence, whilst the soldiers in general prepared to resist and capture the fellows, who came crying, "Down with the Convention and the Directory." A major of the 21st regiment of dragoons, named Malo, mounted on horseback, collected some men and charged the intruders, who were soon dispersed and taken to the number of between two or three hundred. Some thirty were condemned by court-martial and shot, the rest were ordered to be transported. This tumult rendered it necessary to treat Babœuf and his accomplices with severity. Their trial lasted long, but Babœuf and his second Darthé were condemned to death, and executed after having made feeble attempts at suicide. Some more were condemned to transportation; amongst them Buonarotti, who lived to be the historian of the conspiracy.†

The ease with which the Directory put down this last

* Changing his name, Drouet managed to earn his bread as an artisan.

† Buonarotti, Hist. de la Conspi-

ration. Procès de Babœuf. Fleury's Babœuf. Granière de Cassagnac, Histoire du Directoire.

conspiracy of the Anarchists, with the little sympathy shown by the people for them, evinced that the time of popular insurrection had passed. The people, as the French say, had given in their resignation. It was for professional politicians to continue the struggle. Could they have done so within the constitutional arena, and with merely such power and influence as civilians wield, liberty might still have survived; but unfortunately, from the commencement of the revolution to its close, party strife was decided not by opinion, violent as that might be, but by force. For five disastrous years the populace had formed that force. It was now to be sought elsewhere, and the army offered itself. It had during the revolutionary years deserved well of the country, kept its soil uninvaded, and even made conquests more important than those of Louis the Fourteenth. But it was not till the year 1796 that its exploits, and the fame of the general who achieved them, shone with a brilliancy that soon eclipsed and flung into the shade all civilian efforts, merits, and authority.

The year 1796 promised well for the Directory in its prosecution of the military struggle. The last months of the previous year had seen La Vendée finally succumb. The efforts of England and of the French princes, not dismayed by the disaster of Quiberon, had renewed the attempt of landing an English auxiliary force with a French prince upon the coast. The Count d'Artois embarked. Charette once more raised the standard of insurrection, but Hoche, who commanded the republican army, was too energetic and too able. He kept possession of the sea-coast, and rendered it a perilous task for the pretender or his auxiliaries to land. That personage had been landed on the Isle Dieu, off the coast of France, by the English fleet, which remained in the neighbourhood waiting an opportunity for disembarking. This, possible at first, became of course each day more hazardous, the republicans being more vigilant and

better prepared. Neither Charette nor Stofflet were able to raise anything like the old Vendean armies, and so open a passage from the sea to its foreign auxiliaries. The Vendean expected everything from England and the prince. The prince and the English expected not merely the promise but the appearance of an army from them. Both were disappointed. The English thought that under such circumstances the prince should at least have flung himself upon his native soil, and have struck a blow for the throne and its partisans. But the Count d'Artois was not made to *chouanner*. He begged to be recalled, gave voluminous directions to the Vendean for another rising, with a few thousand English pounds, and sailed away, leaving Charette and Stofflet to their fate. These could not even unite, so vigilant was the guard of Hoche. Stofflet could not number three hundred men. Soon tracked and seized, he was carried to Angers, and shot in February. Charette did his utmost to break through the toils with which Hoche surrounded him. But it was in vain; the spirit of the Vendean was broken, and Hoche completed it by an adroit mode of disarmament. He seized all the eatables, corn, and principal inhabitants, and only delivered them up on the district surrendering its arms. This trial of life or death, the Vendean, a year or two back would have answered at the point of the bayonet; not so now. Hoche prevailed. Charette became the daring leader of a band instead of the general of an army; and hunted by numerous detachments he at last fell into an ambuscade, laid for him by general Travot. He resisted capture with desperation; but it was effected, and the last Vendean chief died about a month after Stofflet, with his wonted fortitude, on the public place of Nantes.

The attempt to raise La Vendée was an abortive effort of England to take part in the continental war against France. This was by no means easy to accomplish,

CHAP.
XLII.

since the republic was mistress of the coast of Holland, since Spain had made peace, and Prussia in the treaty of Basle (1795) had acquiesced in the French conquest of the Low Countries and of Holland. Austria alone remained to reduce, and even she so far wavered as to render it necessary for England to encourage her resistance by a subsidy of six millions sterling. At the same time an aggressive war was indispensable to the Directory. In peace it could not hope to maintain its power, the national reaction of the time leading back to royalism. The old Conventionalists, who nominated and composed the Directory, must combat this; and the armies, which wanted to continue their career—there was no other for any man—were of the same opinion. But war, to be carried on, must be bold and aggressive, for government had no money to feed the armies on its own soil.*

They must advance to find food, as well as acquire glory, in the enemies' provinces. It was therefore insisted on that the generals on the Rhine should cross it and march into Austria, and that those on the Alps should force their way into Lombardy or Piedmont. It was hoped that they might "join hands" over the Tyrol, and then advance in concert. Bonaparte had long recommended the invasion of Piedmont, and Carnot was of the same opinion. Both were for driving the Austro-Piedmontese from the *Riviera*, or strip of coast between the mountains and the Mediterranean, and from thence crossing the low passes between the Alps and Apennines into the plains north of them. The Austro-Piedmontese were quite strong enough to have defended the Riviera against the French, and they showed it by driving back Kellerman.

But the peace with Spain (July 1795) allowed the Directory to draft the army of Catalonia to Nice.

* Carnot to Scherer.

Scherer and Augereau came with it, the former to take the command. Finding himself at the head of 40,000 men and urged by Carnot, he advanced up the Riviera. Piedmontese and Austrians kept on different sides of the Alpine range. By taking possession of the crest of these the French might separate them. Scherer employed Augereau and Massena to do this, whilst he himself fell upon the Austrians at Loano in November. They expected no attack so late in the year, and were completely driven from their positions, leaving open those passes to the north through which the French had intended to penetrate. Scherer, however, contented with the defeat of the Austrians and with the opening communications with Genoa, shrunk from crossing the Alps into Piedmont at the commencement of winter. For this he was strongly censured by Buonaparte, who pointed out how easily he might have taken Ceva and conquered Piedmont, doing in November, what Buonaparte himself did in the following April. He insisted that it could best be done in winter.*

The Directory could only stop the mouth of such a critic by transferring to him the command, which he accordingly assumed in March, 1796, of the army of Italy, 45,000 strong. To engage him to set out, they promised that he should find 500,000 livres at Nice. They could only forward to him 24,000;† these were all he brought to the famished army, which had to look to victory for supplies. The Piedmontese army under Colli, of nearly equal force, had its head-quarters at Ceva. Beaulieu commanded an army of 34,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, with which he imagined he had but to defend Genoa. To keep him in this opinion Buonaparte marched a division towards that city. The Austrians attacked it on the 10th at Voltri, beat it back, and

* To Napoleon's letter, included in his Correspondence, the date of October is wrongfully given. It

must have been written after Loano.

† Mémoires du Duc de Gaeta.

CHAP.
XLII.

Beaulieu intending to annihilate his adversary, sent a strong corps to the mountains, from whence he hoped to fall upon their flank or rear. The greater part of the French had, however, already marched thither, and those driven from Voltri also took that direction. So that when Beaulieu occupied the heights of Montenotte with 13,000 men, he found himself beset on the 12th by far greater numbers of the French, whose divisions attacked him on all sides. The Austrians were overwhelmed and beaten, 2,000 of them made prisoners; the rest fell back upon Dego.

The Piedmontese were not in time to aid their allies at Montenotte, and not in force sufficient to aid them at Millesimo; Buonaparte was thus able on the 15th to send Augereau against the Piedmontese at Millesimo, whilst Massena drove the Austrians from Dego. On both points the French continued to be superior in numbers. A small Austrian division under Provera had advanced into the gorges of Millesimo to form a junction with the Piedmontese; but were driven back upon Ceva, after a smart action, and Provera compelled to surrender. The action of Dego was more fatal to the Austrians, who were expelled from the village with the loss of 3,000 killed and 9,000 prisoners. They lost all their artillery. The looseness of the Austrian tactics were proved, when on the following day, a strong corps of no less than 7,000 Austrian grenadiers stumbled upon Dego, drove the French from it, and placed the entire movement and victory of Buonaparte in jeopardy. To dislodge them was indispensable, yet, the troops worn with fatigue and fighting were scarcely equal to it. They were three times repulsed, from whence it is evident that had this corps arrived in time the former victory of Dego would not have been won. It was only on the fourth assault, led by General Lanusse with his hat held high on his sword, that the French succeeded in recapturing Dego.

The Piedmontese showed by no means the staunchness of the Austrians. They abandoned Ceva, and the French came up with them at Mondovi, to complete their rout. The victors were in high exultation. Buonaparte had shown them from Montezemolo, a little beyond Millesimo, the rich plains of Piedmont, the promised land of Italy. Hannibal, he said, may have forced his way through the Alps, we have done as much by turning them. Arrived at Cherasco, within ten leagues of Turin, Buonaparte found the plenipotentiaries of the Sardinian court empowered to make every sacrifice. An armistice was concluded (28th of April) and the final conditions of peace referred to Paris, the fortresses of Ceva, Tortona and Alexandria being in the meantime placed in French hands.

Buonaparte, or Bonaparte as he henceforth called himself, well deserved the immense credit which he obtained from this series of victories, fought with few soldiers perhaps, yet decisive in their results. The French generals of division, Augereau and Massena, showed as much heroism as their commander did skill. And yet there was no miracle in their first achievements. The Austrians, who fought also most gallantly, were inferior to the French in number. And if Beaulieu allowed them to be irreparably so, it was that he counted on the support which the Piedmontese ought to have given his right. But the armies of that effete monarchy gave no serious support and made not even a decent resistance. Their inaction and retreat left the Austrian general no resource but to withdraw behind the Lombard rivers.

On the 7th of May the French passed the Po at Piacenza whilst Beaulieu expected them at Valenza. After a show of resistance at Fombio, he proposed defending the passage of the Adda. Instead of breaking the bridge over the river at Lodi, Beaulieu thought it sufficient to enfilade it with a battery, whilst to support this battery, the Austrian grenadiers were posted too far

CHAP.
XLII.

behind. The French generals Lannes, Berthier, Massena were thus enabled to carry the bridge at the head of their grenadiers, receiving the first discharge that killed 200 men and bayoneting the Austrian artillerymen ere they could be succoured. The crossing of the Adda gave Lombardy to the French, as Napoleon wrote, and the Austrians retired behind the Mincio.

The French commander entered Milan in triumph. The Duke of Parma thought fit to make his submission. Bonaparte made him pay down two millions, and surrender twenty of his best pictures for the Louvre. He at the same time pressed the Government in Paris for reinforcements, promising if he had them, not only to repel the Austrians, but march on Rome and Naples. The Directory took him at his word, and proposed sending him to the South of Italy with one army, whilst Kellerman should continue the conquest of North Italy with the other. Bonaparte replied by an offer of resignation. The majority of the Directors too were for not concluding the treaty with the King of Piedmont, which left the arms of the French general free. Its conclusion was only due to the efforts of Carnot.*

The month of June was spent by the French in awing and reducing the southern and central states of Italy. Tuscany had long since negotiated with the Republic; and Napoleon now visited it, hoping, yet failing to surprise the English vessels at Leghorn. Augereau occupied Bologna. Naples itself felt compelled to conclude an armistice and withdraw its troops from the Austrian army. On first entering the territories of the Venetian republic Bonaparte had announced by a proclamation his wish to remain in amity with its government. He strongly advised later that its system should be changed, and some modifications made in its ultra-aristocratic form. The proposal was scouted.

* Gourgaud. Carnot's Memoirs by his son.

The Venetian government displayed its sympathies for Austria, and the language of the French became that of hostility and menace.*

The fate of Italy was not yet decided. Wurmser was coming to replace Beaulieu at the head of a new army chiefly drawn from that commanded in Germany by the Archduke Charles; 30,000 men had at the same time been despatched from Moreau's army to reinforce Bonaparte.† The latter calculated his force at but 56,000 men in June, whilst the Austrians, he said, had been reinforced to the number of 67,000.‡

This *avalanche* came down the Tyrol on both sides of the Lake of Garda, towards the end of July, when Bonaparte wrote, § "This is our unfortunate position. The enemy has pierced our lines on three points. He is master of Rivoli and the Corona. Salo has been abandoned. The Austrians have taken Brescia and the Ponte San Marco, cutting off our communications with Milan and Verona." He in consequence immediately ordered the abandonment of the siege of Mantua, with the guns in position, and bade the baggage to be directed back upon Milan.

With a force so slightly outnumbering that of the French, it was a hazardous plan which Wurmser adopted, of sending one portion of his army by the left of the Lake of Garda to capture Salo and Brescia, whilst with the other he descended the course of the Adige, driving Massena from Rivoli. His object was to unite the two divisions on the Mincio, and in this he might have succeeded, had not the Austrian commander marched to relieve and revictual Mantua, in the siege of which he supposed the French still engaged. Taking advantage of his absence, Bonaparte on the 31st marched westward from the Mincio to repel the division

* Zschokke's *Untergang*.

† Carnot.

‡ Napoleon Correspondence.

§ *Ib.*

CHAP.
XLII.

under Quasdanowitsch that had captured Salo and Brescia. This was fully accomplished on the 31st of July, the French marching all that night to Brescia, and driving Quasdanowitsch back into the gorges of the Tyrol. On the 2nd Bonaparte marched back from Brescia and found that in his absence the division which he had left to guard the Mincio, and had ordered at least not to retrograde beyond Castiglione, had been driven in, that the Austrians already occupied Lonato, and were extending between it and the lake to form a junction with Quasdanowitsch. They were not more than 30,000, Wurmser himself being still at Mantua, the French somewhat inferior. But in extending their right towards Salo, the Austrian commander weakened his position at Lonato, which Bonaparte immediately attacked on the 3rd. He drove in their centre, one portion of the Austrians withdrawing to the Mincio; the rest cut off from the main army, were after a time obliged to surrender, to the number of 3,000 with a score of guns.*

On the day after the battle one of these divisions came suddenly upon the French commander-in-chief, as he was engaged hurrying up his rearward troops to Castiglione. They called on the small corps to surrender. Bonaparte, surrounded by his staff, ordered the Austrian officer to be brought before him and affirming that he was there with his whole army, demanded in turn the instant surrender of the Austrians; these could not believe that the commander-in-chief would be there without his army, and surrendered in consequence—several thousands to a handful.

The battle of Castiglione, fought upon the 5th against Wurmser's force, brought back from Mantua, and rallying those which had retreated from Lonato, bore considerable resemblance to the battle fought at Solferino in our time.

* Napoleon's Mémoires, Gourgaud. Correspondence. Las Casas, Mémorial de Ste. Hélène. Joubert's

despatch and Augereau's account in Pièces Justificatives of the Mémoires de Massena par Koch.

Both began on the same plain. Napoleon despatched Serrurier the night before to fall upon the Austrians' left wing. Massena fell upon their right. "Augereau," writes Napoleon in his correspondence, "attacked the centre of the enemy which leaned upon the tower of Solferino, and driving it in decided the victory." * According to Napoleon, these five days' fighting cost the Austrians 8,000 in killed and wounded, from 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners, and 70 guns. They cost the French, he says, 7,000 men. By the 7th of August the French had recovered all their old positions.

Wurmser, indeed, did not give up his cause as lost. He had retreated into the Tyrol, but still held Roveredo and Trent with the remainder of his beaten army, swelled by a reinforcement, according to the French, of 20,000 men. Bonaparte followed him up the Tyrol and fought with him the battle of Roveredo on the 4th of September, the French penetrating into that town along with the Austrians. Wurmser, though beaten, directed his march not back into Germany, but sideways towards Bassano, from whence he projected to return upon Verona whilst the French commander was still in the Tyrol. It was a bold but unfortunate idea. Followed closely by Bonaparte, beaten at Bassano as well as before Verona, he was nearly surrounded, but succeeded in escaping into Mantua with the mere relics of his army.

Whilst the genius of Bonaparte thus drove the Austrians from the plains of Lombardy, the efforts of his brother generals at the head of far superior armies could make no impression upon the Imperialists in Germany. Yet it was the desire and interest of the Directory that the young general should not monopolise victory. The French armies under Moreau and Jourdan on the upper and lower Rhine numbered 150,000 men. The Arch-

* The victory of Solferino in our day, and the capture of its tower by the French, were chiefly owing

to the defection of an Hungarian corps, posted to protect the defence. An Eye-witness.

CHAP.
XLII.

duke Charles, even after the departure of Wurmser with 30,000 men for Italy, was nearly as strong. The French passed the Rhine with two armies, Jourdan at Cologne, Moreau at Kehl, with the intention of meeting in the centre of Germany. The Archduke Charles at first retreated before them, but gave Moreau battle on the 11th of August at Neresheim. The combatants lost each about 7,000 men, the French kept possession of the field, but the junction of Moreau with Jourdan was prevented. On the 3rd of September, Jourdan gave battle to the Archduke for the purpose of effecting what Moreau had failed in accomplishing. The engagement took place at Wurzburg, but the French were defeated by the archduke and Jourdan's army driven back upon the Rhine. Moreau advanced as far as Munich, and was thus in Bavaria in the first days of September, whilst Bonaparte was engaged with Wurmser. The latter believed that the two French generals would unite, and in this belief he made his unfortunate *point* upon Verona. But Moreau could go no farther. The Archduke Charles, after the defeat of Jourdan, watched every opportunity for overwhelming his brother general, and all Moreau could do was to bring back his army to Strasbourg. His retreat across the Black Forest is compared by French writers to that of the Ten Thousand. It is not easy to discern the similitude.

These successes of the Archduke Charles compensated at Vienna the victory of Bonaparte, and even after the last defeat it was determined to send a fresh army down the Tyrol upon Verona, under the command of Alvinzi, to the relief of Wurmser, who was by no means provided for supporting a long siege in Mantua. The force collected for this purpose amounted to some 50,000 men, of which one portion under Davidowitsch was to take the accustomed road down the Adige to Verona; the rest Alvinzi proposed to bring to Vicenza, and thus approach Verona and Mantua from Venetia. In both

directions the Austrians were successful. Early in November, Davidowitsch drove General Vaubois from the valley of the Adige back upon Verona, whilst Massena and Augereau were obliged to retire from Vicenza to the same town.

The Austrian generals took post on the heights of Caldiero, eastward of Verona. Bonaparte marched from this city on the 12th to attack them, but was repulsed, and for the first time found himself worsted. He vented his anger and despair, the latter more than half affected, in a despatch to the Directory, complaining of their leaving him so inferior in number to the enemy. To rest under defeat was, however, to draw down destruction. He had tried in vain to dislodge the Austrians from Caldiero by attacking them from Verona. To reach them from the other side was difficult, for the only way led through marshes, and to attempt this would expose Verona. Yet the French general risked it. He marched from Verona south-east by the Adige, passed over it to the marshes, and directed his column on the 11th of November along the raised roads by which "he hoped to reach Villanuova and the enemy's rear by the first light of morning." * He was stopped, however, by the Alpon river and the bridge of Arcola which crosses it, where a regiment of Croats kept guard. Not to force a passage seemed to be to lose the whole aim of the expedition, and accordingly every effort was made by the French to do so. Attack after attack failing, the last was led by Napoleon in person, who planted a flag upon the bridge and led on a truly forlorn hope. The generals and aides-de-camp covered him with their persons, but all were shot or wounded, and he himself, dragged back from the inexpugnable bridge by his soldiers, was well nigh drowned in the morass which engulfed him to the middle. There was no taking or passing the bridge till the next day, the Alpon having

* His Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLII.

then been passed higher up. The aim was thus not attained of turning or reaching Caldiero from the east, but an equal result was obtained by Alvinzi quitting that position to fight the French column on the *chaussées* or roads through the marshes, on which the heads of columns alone could take part in the combat. The contest continued on the two following days in the open plain, where Alvinzi's troops, no longer sheltered by their position, were completely beaten. Napoleon says they were chiefly raw recruits. Alvinzi in this engagement lost half his force, and finally withdrew into the Tyrol.

The victory of Arcola and the retreat of Alvinzi were followed by negotiations which occupied December. They having failed in producing an agreement, Alvinzi reappeared in January, 1797, with an army as strong as ever. Its numbers were completed and spirit invigorated by volunteers from the chief towns of Austria. Those of Vienna had received their colours from the hands of the Empress. The French troops, however, had been reinforced too, and were thus more equal to the new contest than they had been for that decided at Arcola.

This time with merely a feint attack upon Verona from the east, the chief force of Alvinzi came down the valley of the Adige, it and the French staking at once the issue of the campaign upon the possession of the high plain of Rivoli. The French had collected their principal force there, and held it with a formidable artillery. It thus became the task of Alvinzi to assault this position on several sides with his infantry, it being impossible to use at first either cavalry or artillery. Fighting under this great disadvantage, the Austrian columns gallantly ascended the heights of Rivoli, and one portion especially drove in Joubert, and had well nigh established themselves on the *plateau*. They were driven from it, however, when Massena arrived with the last reinforcements. It was a day-long struggle, which

ended in the complete failure of the Austrians to take the *plateau*. As they attacked from all sides in different divisions, these once defeated, could not unite or rally, so that the consequence of failure was the loss of half his army to Alvinzi. Such was the battle of the 14th of January, 1797, known as that of Rivoli.

Meantime 7,000 or 8,000 of the Austrians under Provera had left the main armies combating, and hurried to Mantua, to surprise the French corps of besiegers. They resisted for the night, and by the morning some of the troops that had so lately fought at Rivoli arrived to prevent the revictualling of the fortress. In vain did Wurmser make a desperate sortie and Provera do all that a gallant general could, to penetrate into the place. Wurmser was repulsed, and Provera obliged to surrender. The campaign was over. The Austrians had not resources for marching a sixth army to save Italy. Mantua surrendered on the 2nd of February. And the war, if continued, had at least not to be fought on Italian ground.

Previous to the last expedition of Alvinzi, England and France, more from regard to popular opinion than to the convictions of the government, had made an attempt at negotiation. Lord Malmesbury came to Paris, and had several interviews with Delacroix the minister of Foreign Affairs. But neither had any idea of making the concessions requisite for peace. The English could not stomach the French hold of Belgium, and the hopes and efforts of the Directory were centered on the expedition of twenty odd thousand men who, with Hoche at their head, were about to land in Ireland. They sailed for that purpose, and returned as they came, having battled only with the elements. But it showed the animus of the French—to strike a deep blow at England, not conclude peace with it.

The Directory proposed a separate peace with Austria, and sent Clarke, subsequently the Duke of Feltre, for

CHAP.
XLII.

the purpose. But he was as little successful with the Austrians, as Lord Malmesbury had been with the French. Bonaparte was averse to the mission and the instructions of Clarke, which went to leave the fortress of Mantua to the enemy.

The astounding success of the French army of Italy, and the glory of its commander, not merely cowed and prostrated Europe, but threatened to do the same by the parties which struggled against the Directory at home. It would be difficult to find a government less calculated to command obedience or respect. It had obtained and prolonged its reign against the popular choice, and by doing it absolute violence, whilst every man of respectability and moderation scorned its members as incapable and corrupt. The directors indeed soon perceived that they could not survive in an atmosphere of freedom. To gag the press, falsify the elections and keep up the laws excluding from office all who were not Terrorists, formed their only means of retaining power. The majority of Frenchmen were unmistakably returning to their old convictions and their old habits, to religion, to monarchy, or to the rule of those who had some claim and right to govern. Had the Bourbon family possessed a prince of eminent qualities, all eyes would have turned to him, but the legitimate princes merely looked to restore the reign of long years previous. The Duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his campaigns, had not redeemed the crimes of his father. Hence moderate men were more anti-revolutionary than royalist, and would not have objected to a Directory of honourable men, governing constitutionally, in harmony with the people and the assemblies. The majority of the directors, however, consisting of Barras, Rewbell and Reveillere would not consent to this. The lately elected Third of the representatives was decidedly hostile to them; the second Third, which with the First, would come in to constitute a majority in the spring of 1797, promised to

be still more so. And the elimination of terrorists and conventionalists from the government was to be expected.

In this sinking state of its fortunes several events came to the aid of the Directory. The first was the folly of its enemies in conspiring and meditating violent revolution. The accomplices of Babœuf displayed to the citizens the spectre of the Terror behind the more moderate tyranny of the Directory. And whilst the moderates carried on a constitutional opposition, the royalists plotted and concocted conspiracies not only for the overthrow of the government, but the restoration of royalty under its most objectionable form. In vain did constitutionalists, such as Thibaudeau, separate from those who actively conspired for royalty and dominated in the club of Clichy; they were implicated all the same, and all who opposed the Directory came to be confounded in the common and still odious appellation of royalist.

The majority of the civilian world was, however, decidedly adverse to the Directory, as the elections proved. But on the other hand the armies and the greater number of the generals upheld its cause. Pichegru indeed had placed himself at the head of the royalists, and Moreau who knew his treason, showed his impartiality by concealing it. But Hoche was violently republican, and what was more important, Bonaparte decidedly revolutionary. When he first took the command of the army in Italy, the Piedmontese general sent a French *émigré* to make some demands. Bonaparte caused him to be seized, and threatened to shoot him; and he would have fulfilled his threat but for the interference of the Directory. This shows how deeply imbued with revolutionary feeling was the young general, who indeed sufficiently evinced this in the battle against the Sectionaries. Royalism, in fact, would have closed the career which opened before him

CHAP.
XLII.

and the soldiers born of the revolution. He already saw how vast that career might be, and he sent from himself and his armies zealous promises of support to Barras and his friends against the reactionists of the Assemblies.

If his splendid campaign of 1796 had raised Bonaparte's reputation to the highest, his mode of finishing the war in 1797 was calculated, if possible, to add to it. Whilst Moreau and his army were vainly endeavouring to save the little fortress of Kehl, Bonaparte, in the wintry month of March, set out to cross the Carinthian Alps to Vienna. The Archduke Charles had taken the command of the Austrian army, and large reinforcements were promised him. But ere they came, Bonaparte, who was at the head of 70,000 men, advanced against the enemy. He crossed the Piave on the 13th of March, and the Austrians were defeated on the Tagliamento, three days later. Seeing the march of the French, the Archduke Charles had hurried up with what force he could collect to defend the passage of the Alps at the Col de Tarvis. He there met Massena coming from the Tyrol, and a struggle ensued of equal gallantry between them, which terminated in the French retaining possession of the crest of the Alps. The French commander had by this time received his reinforcements from the Rhine; the Archduke Charles had not.

Whilst the French general was thus pushing his way victoriously into the German provinces of Austria, the Venetian towns, which the French had by their presence revolutionised, burst forth into insurrection against the capital. The authorities of the republic mustered what troops they had to reduce them. And the French officers left behind, found it impossible not to support the insurgents. They had an easy excuse for this in the fact that the mountaineers and peasants of the Venetian territory, with their priests, armed against the revolutionists, with whom they confounded the French.

And there arose a time of anarchy and mutual slaughter which was universal: two hundred Poles belonging to the French army were massacred at Salo, and those French who happened to be isolated, fared no better. Bonaparte paused in his invasion of Austria to find some remedy for this disorder. He sent threats and offers alternately to the Venetian authorities, but these were equally powerless against French soldiers and native insurgents, and were quite unequal to the task of recovering their power or restoring order. Meantime, Bonaparte advanced and had encounters with the Archduke on the 1st and on the 3rd of April at Neumark, and at Unzmark. The latter was unable to resist, and at Leoben, on the 7th, plenipotentiaries arrived from Vienna to demand a suspension of arms, which Bonaparte consented to for five days. He had offered the Directory to continue the war, and press it to the gates of Vienna, if they would strongly reinforce him and put the armies on the Rhine in motion. But they hesitated, and showed at once a desire not to make peace, yet to refuse Bonaparte the means of dictating a more favourable one.* He therefore signed the Preliminaries of Leoben. The Austrians offered to recognise the French Republic—Recognize the sun in heaven, observed Napoleon. They ceded Belgium and Lombardy, the former to be a French province, the latter to become a republic. Austria asked an indemnity for these losses, and France proposed giving it in the Venetian provinces all round the northern shore of the Adriatic, whilst Venice it offered to indemnify with the Papal Legations.

These had already become French. After the defeat of Alvinzi, and previous to his crossing the Tagliamento, General Bonaparte had marched an army into the Roman territories. Ample proofs had been discovered of the full complicity of the papal government with the

* Bourrienne.

CHAP.
XLII.

Austrians, which was natural enough, as the French had long since seized Bologna. Some papal soldiers and more priests under the conduct of a cardinal, attempted to resist the French. The latter pushed their way to Ancona, and from thence by Loretto to Rome. Bonaparte was puzzled as to how he should treat the pope. The Directory were for annihilating what constituted the unity of the Catholic church. But to do this, the French should occupy Rome permanently, and Austria was yet in arms. Bonaparte first proposed giving Rome to Spain, but he thought better of it. Bonaparte felt a respect for all the elements of power. However he might have come to Italy a mere Jacobin; his sojourn, with the practical experience of government and its necessities, which he there acquired, his negotiations with foreign powers, and the knowledge which he was called upon to acquire and to weigh of their nature and services, had greatly modified in him that policy of mere revolutionary instinct, which still actuated the then dominant members of the Directory. He therefore altogether swerved from their order to persecute priests and destroy the popedom. He held out on the contrary a protecting hand to the poor French refugee ecclesiastics.* And whilst he shored the pope of the Legations and Ancona, stripped our Lady of Loretto of her jewels, and sent her wooden image to Paris, he showed such respect for the spiritual power, that when told that the Inquisition was now purely spiritual, he refrained from insisting on its abolition. Rome submitted to these terms, and the heavy payment and sacrifice of its best works of art in the treaty of Tolentino (Feb. 19th, 1797).

It is singular enough that all Bonaparte's policy in Italy should thus be in real accord with that of the moderates and constitutionalists in Paris, whilst yet he

* See his Correspondence.

and they denounced each other, they treating him as a Jacobin, he spurning them as royalist. The first question which formed the ground of quarrel in the Cinq Cents and Ancients, was the treatment of nobles, of priests, and of those prosecuted by the revolution. The Thermidoriens of the Directory, and the Conventionalists of the Assemblies were for maintaining the old revolutionary enactments, exiling priests, prosecuting nobles, and excluding from office all who had emigrated, or been connected with emigration. The Constitutionalists were for abrogating or modifying those severe laws, and were for allowing priests to ring their bells and perform their rites. When Sièyes concocted a law of puritanic democracy to banish the well-born, the majority of the public as well as the Assemblies scouted it. During the terror those who dominated had forcibly imposed upon children brought to be registered the names of Marat, Clootz, and Sans-culottes. The Moderates wanted to allow persons to change these odious names; not so the Directory. In a host of minor matters, national guard, observation of the decade, or tenth day, instead of Sunday, wearing of cockades and so forth, the Directory employed its police to enforce what the people universally rejected. The revolutionary tyranny in minute matters survived the guillotine. The sceptre of the Directory was, as Bonaparte expressed it, “of lead.”

In Italy the general reversed the Directorial policy. He took the poor exiled French priests under his protection, and refused to sacrifice the Pope to the Theophilanthropy of La Réveillère. When the Genoese in framing their new republic proposed to banish their noblesse, Bonaparte told them, that to proscribe any one class of citizens was just as pernicious and unjust as to proscribe another class.*

Bonaparte's principle of foreign policy was equally

* Memoirs of Napoleon.

CHAP.
XLII.

the reverse of that of the Directory. It was for revolutionizing every country in Europe, preparatory to robbing them. It would not hear of peace, and breathed nothing but war and revolution. Bonaparte declined to follow such rules: he treated with Piedmont, with the Pope, and with the Austrians, and no doubt he would have treated with England too, had he at the time had any influence over the negotiations with that power.

Unfortunately the Constitutionalists in Paris, and the general in Italy, were too far removed to understand each other. Instead of allying, they indulged in mutual denunciation. The prints of the Moderates in Paris denounced Bonaparte as a rank Jacobin, whilst he retaliated by threatening to put them down as royalist. These looked for other military leaders. In Pichegru they showed confidence by electing him president of the Cinq Cents; whilst Moreau, who had discovered Pichegru's relations with Condé without disclosing them, was considered more as a tacit and cautious friend to royalism than an enemy.

That the opposition to those Directors who were for persisting in the fanaticism and intolerance of the revolution was not royalist, is sufficiently proved in the fact that Carnot favoured it. He too, like Bonaparte, had gathered wisdom from practical experience. He was for effacing in domestic politics the line of demarcation between the men of the revolution and those who had held aloof from it. As Bonaparte in Italy, he protected the priests and did not consider gentle birth a crime. He moreover approved Napoleon's refusal to revolutionize South Italy.*

In these moderate views Carnot was supported by Letourneur, and was for a time and to a certain degree not opposed by La Réveillère Lepaux, who of a

* Carnot's Memoirs and Letters.

studious and visionary character naturally leaned to moderation. Unfortunately Lepaux conceived the idea of founding a new religion, that of the Theo-Philanthropists, a dreamy worship of the invisible without priests or dogmas or even rites. To establish this sect, La Reveillère was for proscribing the priests of the old religion and immolating the Pope. Carnot smiled in derision at the project, which Bonaparte coolly set aside. La Réveillère did not forgive this, and when Letourneur as Director gave way to Barthelemy, Carnot at once found La Réveillère to be estranged from him, and united to Barras and Rewbell, whilst Barthelemy was of too royalist a colour to be the safe ally that Letourneur had been.

As the summer of 1797 advanced, the Cinq Cents, hostile to the Directory, broke into more flagrant opposition. Motions more and more menacing were passed, many even threatening impeachment. The debates assumed a strong anti-revolutionary colour. A deputy named Bailleul denounced the many murders committed in and near Lyons, by the royalist associations, upon the old Terrorists. Camille Jordan, the eloquent orator, excused as much as condemned such excesses. The Constitutionals themselves thought the Royalists were going too far; and proposed a reconciliation and alliance with the Directory, the terms of which were to be a more moderate policy and a new ministry of both parties. Madame de Staël laboured in favour of such a coalition. Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère declined, and appointed a new ministry still more hostile to the Constitutionals. The triumvirate reckoned on Hoche, who, under pretext of pressing the invasion of the British Isles, was to move his army from the Rhine to the vicinity of Paris. He did so, ere the three Directors were quite prepared for the *coup d'état*. Summoned to account for his movement Hoche hesitated, hoping that Barras would extricate him from the

CHAP.
XLII.

difficulty. But Barras was embarrassed too, and Hoche indignant withdrew.*

Towards the middle of July Camille Jordan denounced in the Assembly the concentration of troops towards Paris. There was a plot, he said, to assassinate the deputies, and the organization of the national guard was necessary to protect them against attempts of the kind. General Pichegru was chosen to draw up the report at first, and was subsequently to take charge of the organization. The three Directors feared a *coup d'état* being operated against them.† Whilst the two parties were thus at open strife in Paris, arrived the address of the commander-in-chief of the army in Italy, made on the anniversary of the 14th of July, threatening extermination to the Royalists, and to the enemies of the constitution. He had in a previous month made offers of service to the Directors. They now besought Bonaparte to come to Paris and head their *coup d'état*.‡ He declined, but sent the hot-headed Augereau. Yet whilst furnishing the Directors with so able an instrument of violence, Bonaparte took care to procure information of all that was passing from cooler heads. General Bernadotte proceeded to Paris soon after Augereau. Lavalette, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, had preceded both, and warned his general of the emptiness and extravagance of both the contending parties.§

At three o'clock on the morning of the 18th Fructidor (September 4, 1797) Augereau with two divisions forced his way into the gardens of the Tuileries, and proceeded to invest the palace, where the Assembly usually sat. Rameau, the commander of the guard of the Assembly, was sent to the Temple; Augereau was accompanied by the old revolutionary brigands Santerre, Rossignol,

* Carnot.

† Directoral Letter of 24th of June in Bourrienne.

‡ Barras says, "Si nous sommes

décrits d'accusation, nous monterons à cheval."

§ Lavalette's Letters in Bourrienne.

and Fournier. Their appearance presaged the resuscitation of the Terror. Barthélemy was arrested at the Luxemburg. Carnot escaped through the garden. The members of the Cinq Cents, or at least those in the secret of the *coup d'état*, met at the Odéon, and at the School of Medicine, to pass the requisite decrees, whilst the majority hastened to the Tuileries and were either excluded, or, if members of eminence, arrested. The three Directors sent to such of the Cinq Cents as had collected at the Odéon a list of the members they proscribed, with their reasons for the *coup d'état*. The chief ones were the proofs, but too authentic, of the treason of Pichegru. Such a pretext might have the appearance of validity against that general and a score of Royalists, but to implicate the Constitutionals and republican opposition of the Directory in the same accusation, was a calumny worthy of the Terror.* The Conventionalists of the Cinq Cents lost no time in passing their decree, ordering the transportation of their colleagues. There were 42 members of the Cinq Cents, and 12 of the senate, amongst them the most respectable and revered names of the legislature, such as Matthieu Dumas, Barbé Marbois, Portalès, Siméon, Boissy-D'Anglas. Carnot and Barthélemy were also in the list, as well as Camille Jordan and of course Pichegru. All these were visited with the same punishment as the Terrorists, Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, viz., deportation to Sinamari, on the South American coast, a punishment little more merciful than the guillotine. The press furnished its quota of victims. The proprietors, editors and writers of 54 journals were placed on the list of persons to be transported; amongst them were the names of Suard, La Harpe, Fontanes, Lacretelle, Fievée, Bertin, in fact the most promising men of the rising generation. A great many fortunately

* Carnot estimates the Royalists number. Delarue, Hist. du 18 of the Assemblies at some fifteen in Fructidor, makes them 80.

CHAP.
XLII.

made their escape. At the same time most of the revolutionary laws abrogated by the Assemblies were restored to vigour. Émigrés were to be put to death, those connected with them excluded from office. Priests were transported. The revolution was completed by the election of Merlin and François de Neufchâteau to be Directors in the place of Carnot and Barthelemy. Thus as the Directorial form of government, based on a majority of Conventionalists, was inaugurated by the cannon of Bonaparte, the continuance of the same men and principles in power was secured by the sabre of Augereau. The Conventionalists would not allow public opinion to prevail, nor the people to exercise their free choice. Rather than this should be permitted, they handed over the government of the country to the military, gradually indeed and on that account the more surely. After Fructidor the names of liberty and republic were a mockery.

It was not merely the introduction of more humane and liberal principles of government, which was defeated by the *coup d'état* of Fructidor, but the conclusion of peace with Europe. However the English government upon Lord Malmesbury's first embassy to Paris might be reluctant to acknowledge the French possession of Belgium, the defeats of Austria in Lombardy had brought it to make a virtue of necessity, and acquiesce even in the possession of Antwerp and the Scheldt by its enemy. Lord Malmesbury came to Lille on his second mission in 1797 prepared to make every reasonable concession. Carnot, Barthelemy, and the Constitutionalists of the Assemblies, were for making peace with England on these conditions. Barras even conveyed an insinuation, that for half a million of money he would bring about peace. But receiving no answer to his offer, he, Rewbell and La Réveillère were hostile to any accommodation. The sole hope of it lay in the prevalence of the Moderate party. When this was crushed

in Fructidor, the Directory insolently dismissed Lord Malmesbury, he having declined on the part of his government to cede all its conquests to France.*

The treaty between France and Austria, although the preliminaries had been signed at Leoben, was still in jeopardy from the same cause and the same men. The Directors did not want peace, they refused what had been promised at Leoben, some indemnity to Austria for the loss of Lombardy. Bonaparte was for giving them Venice and the line of the Adige; this Carnot approved, but his successors peremptorily opposed it. Bonaparte, however, was not prepared to continue the war to suit their interests or caprice. He declined to run a-muck against Europe, and dethrone all its powers in order to replace them with rickety republics, scarcely able to support themselves, much less to give efficient aid to the French in a prolonged struggle. The Directory counted on the revolutionised and regenerated Italians, and proposed to reduce Germany to the same state. Bonaparte refused to embark in such a crusade. The essay he had already made of a Cisalpine republic sufficed him as an experiment of which he already perceived the difficulty and danger.† The accumulated wealth of the North Italian cities had been despoiled and spent by Bonaparte in the maintenance and equipment of his armies, and in sending succours to those on the Rhine, and subsidies to the Directory. To follow this up by severe taxation would indispose the Italians and convert the peninsula from a friendly into a hostile country. He therefore persuaded the Directory to leave the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, Rome and Tuscany, as they were, and to make peace with Austria on the terms which he had indicated at Leoben. To do this was no easy task, for not only did the Directory,

* Malmesbury Diaries, vol. iii.

† Bonaparte's Letter to Talleyrand of Oct. 7.

CHAP.
XLII.

elated by its triumph in Fructidor, throw obstacles in the way, but Austria also raised impediments. Its plenipotentiary Cobentzel assumed a tone as if Austria was still in a position to dispute Italy with the French. "If you persist in raising such obstacles," exclaimed Bonaparte, sweeping from its stand a magnificent *cabaret*, that had been given him by the Empress Catherine, to break in fragments on the floor, "I will shatter your empire as easily and as surely as I have done this porcelain." The Austrians felt the threat to be serious. Whilst Bonaparte, in despite of the fanfaronnade, saw, in the winter snow already covering the mountains, the difficulty of resuming any advance upon Vienna in such a season.* Such being the disposition on both sides, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed on the night of the 17th of October, 1797. Austria ceded its Belgian provinces and waived any objection to France pushing its frontier to the Rhine. It was in consequence to take possession of Mayence. In exchange for Lombardy, which the Emperor also ceded, he was to obtain Venice with Istria, Dalmatia, and the territories to the Adige. The territory south of that river, with Mantua, was to be united to the Milanese and the Roman Legations in order to form the Cisalpine republic. The Ionian Islands were ceded to France, the Austrian Brisgau to the Duke of Modena as indemnity for his Italian dominions. The remaining details and arrangements of the treaty of Campo Formio were to be discussed and completed by plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. One of the minor conditions of the treaty, and not the least honourable to Bonaparte and the Directory, was the liberation of General Lafayette from the prison of Olmutz.

Bonaparte reached Paris in the month of December. In a public reception prepared for him by the Directory, he presented to them the treaty of Campo Formio,

* Bourrienne, who denies the correctness of the story of the *cabaret*.

which he had concluded against their express desire but upon which they found it convenient to compliment him highly. Talleyrand, whom Madame de Staël had persuaded Barras to appoint to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, introduced the victorious general as one so totally given up to the love of retirement and the study of Ossian, that the difficulty would be to make him interest himself again in the affairs of the earth! If ever there was an epoch which might be called the grave of the representative system, it was that which succeeded to the tyrannical acts of Fructidor. Bonaparte, however, took the opportunity of pronouncing it to be the true era of representative government. It seemed as if M. de Talleyrand and General Bonaparte strove as to which of them should pronounce the most egregious falsehood.

The general impression left by Bonaparte upon almost all whom he came in contact with, was that of marked superiority. He was reserved indeed, and mistrustful of all men and all things, covering his thoughts with either silence or an evasive smile. What perhaps has most prepossessed the world against him, is the opinion then formed by Madame de Staël. She found him cold, without enthusiasm, and she concluded that he was actuated by the most unmixed selfishness. This was not a fair or a true conclusion. Bonaparte had been a witness from the first of every phase of the revolution. He had no doubt shared with others each successive delusion, and had seen the brilliant hopes of 1790 drowned in the convulsive era of anarchy and blood. He perceived how abortive had been every attempt at liberty or representative government in France, and whilst De Staël, despite repeated disappointments, had still confidence to believe in both, Bonaparte turned his back upon such chimeras. Holding but too naturally these opinions, he still could not express them; and Madame De Staël condemned him as a Mephistopheles, because

CHAP.
XLII.

he could not hold to his young belief in the realisation of that popular system of government to which she still clung. Enthusiasm he had no doubt, but it was the enthusiasm of the soldier, to which he joined the dissimulation, but nothing more than the prudent dissimulation, of the man of the world and the politician.*

The first thought of the Directory was to cut out work for their hero. A descent upon England was their chosen experiment, the more hazardous the better for their purpose. But it did not suit Napoleon. One of his reasons for putting an end to the war with Austria was, that his victories went to support and glorify the most corrupt and incapable of administrations. Closer communication with the members of the Directory merely increased Bonaparte's contempt for them. Although he had lent his aid in Fructidor, he disapproved of the barbarous and aimless severity inflicted on the most estimable men. But miserable as the Directory might be in policy and in persons, there was no possibility of overthrowing or superseding them for the moment. The soldiers of the army of Italy were far from being imperialist, and many of the generals were either royalist or republican, at all events not yet disposed to accept the supremacy of Bonaparte. If, however, the Directory were allowed to follow up the idea of revolutionising the world, and continuing to govern as the mere end of the revolution, repelling and proscribing the moderate and sensible men of revolutionary as well as of other tendency, their reign must end in discredit.

It was indeed soon evident that the Directory would not hold to the wise arrangements of their general with regard to southern and central Italy. Joseph Bonaparte had been sent thither as ambassador, with his brother's injunctions to respect the Pope and keep the peace

* One of his letters to Joseph (Mémoires de Joseph) contains a simple and truthful account of his

disillusion, the overthrow of his belief in a republic.

with him, insisting at the same time that his holiness should avoid too close a connexion with Austria, and should dismiss the Austrian general Provera. Instructions of quite a contrary nature came from the Directory, ordering Joseph to support the Roman republicans, and to insist on their chiefs being released from prison. They were so, and their first effort of course was to get up an insurrection to dethrone the Pope. They communicated it to the French ambassador, who tried to dissuade, scarcely to prevent, for the ambassadorial precincts gave them shelter. The insurrection soon showed itself, first at the Villa Medici, then around the French embassy. They hoisted the French cockade, and cried, *Vive la République Romaine*.^{*} The Papal troops charged them and drove them into the court of the Palace. The ambassador went with his suite to interfere and put a stop to the struggle. But whilst there, Duphot, a young French general betrothed to Madame Joseph, Bonaparte's sister, was shot. The ambassador, indignant, lost no time in quitting Rome, and General Berthier was ordered to march thither. His army entered Rome on the 10th of February. On the 15th the Roman Republic was proclaimed and the Pope sent off, first to Tuscany, and then to France. A contribution of 4,000,000 francs was levied chiefly on the princely families. But this was a mere commencement, for the agents of the Directory entered every palace that was not occupied by the proprietor, declared it belonging to an emigré, and applied the French law of confiscation and plunder. With most ill-judged selfishness these civic officers of rapine kept all the spoil to themselves, and gave no share to the military, not even applying the treasure to pay the arrears and meet the wants of the army. These were excessive. And the consequence was a complete revolt of the French army in Rome, not of the generals indeed but of officers as

^{*} Joseph to Talleyrand. *Mémoires du roi Joseph*, t. 1.

CHAP.
XLII.

well as soldiers. Massena succeeded Berthier, but was unable to enforce his authority. At Mantua a similar mutiny took place. A narrative of the events reached Bonaparte as well as the Directory. But the former, who saw in this but the necessary results of such a system of rapine and disorder as the government of Barras, Rewbell, and Lepaux, shrugged his shoulders and declined, as far as was prudent and decorous, all responsibility.

To avoid sharing in it, yet without setting up any flagrant opposition, to augment his military reputation and glory without imperilling both in the exclusive service of the Directory and furtherance of its ideas, and to do this upon some scene too remote for either subordination or recall, was what Bonaparte sought. And he found precisely what he wanted in an expedition to Egypt. The project of invading England he resolutely declined, after having made a survey of the enemy's coasts. The Directory could not but be aware that the despatch of their best general and soldiers across the Mediterranean, at a time when the English were strongest at sea, and when they themselves were exciting revolution and provoking Austria to renew the war, was an act little short of insanity. But it had at least the advantage of getting rid of Bonaparte, and in all probability of damaging or sinking his reputation.

The great difficulty was how to find money for the purpose. The cancelling of the assignats, and the obligation to pay taxes in gold had but scantily supplied the treasury. Bonaparte had to send money from Italy, the produce of its spoils, to aid the Directory to establish its tyranny in Fructidor. As to credit, the government had shut the door in the face of it by the first use it made of its absolute power, which was to cancel two-thirds of the debt, whether inscribed or floating. But there was Switzerland with a certain amount of treasure deposited at Berne, easy and convenient to rob.

Barras and his two colleagues had long turned thither their greedy eyes; Carnot protested against the barefaced spoliation and subjugation of a republic. But Carnot's voice was heard no more. One of the consequences of the revolution of Fructidor was to fill every place with Jacobins, and active revolutionists. These men kept down for a time, started up again and treated all the countries adjoining France as their prey. Since Bonaparte had left Italy, they were let loose upon it.* And they soon overran Switzerland under the guidance of a personal friend and relative of the Director Rewbell. The apt name of this individual was Rapinat.

Early in 1798 insurrections broke out in different parts of Switzerland, the chief one being that of the Vaudois against Berne. The French who had already invaded a portion of Basle Canton, marched at once to occupy Lausanne. The Diet of the country summoned its little army, which under D'Erlach stood on its defence. But the days of a handful of Swiss with pikes and halberds defending their country against Burgundian hordes were passed. Marshal Brune found the Swiss without artillery and cavalry. Notwithstanding the gallant defence they offered, the French forced their way into Berne, March the 3rd, where they seized some 17,000,000 of livres in lingots, besides arms and provisions in abundance. This was not enough. An equal sum was ordered by the French Directory to be levied on the property of the Swiss proprietors—Rapinat was appointed police minister to superintend the wholesale robbery.

The chief excuse of the dilapidation of Roman and of Swiss treasure, was that immense sums were required for the expedition which was preparing under the supervision of Bonaparte in the ports of Italy as well

* The letters of Bonaparte, however, plainly show that he contributed to the revolutionising Swit-

zerland, and that he enjoined the authorities of the Cisalpine to aid in producing the disorder.

CHAP.
XLII.

as France. The army destined for it, and called that of the East, was ordained secretly on the 12th of April by the Directory. It was to capture Malta, take possession of Egypt, cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and thus open a way to Hindostan. It was to consist of 36,000 men, a rather insufficient number for the conquest of Asia. It was accompanied by almost a corps of scientific men. Bonaparte, elected member of the Institute, had either felt or affected more sympathy for men of science than any other class. And he hoped to derive subsidiary glory from their labours on the scientific field of Egypt, whilst he reduced the Mamelukes and restored the empire of the Pharaohs.

Just as all was ready and the expedition about to start, it was suspended by one of those popular tumults which the French diplomacy of the day was sure to excite. Bernadotte had been sent ambassador to Vienna, with orders to show more arrogance than courtesy. He was enjoined to hoist the tricolour flag in front of his hotel in Vienna, an unusual act in that capital. The flag appeared on the very day of a national and patriotic fête, and the Viennese crowd assembled for this purpose, took umbrage at the tricolour, and pulled it down. Bernadotte intervened personally with his staff, as Joseph Bonaparte had done at Rome, and on a pistol-shot being fired by one of them, the Austrian mob retaliated, broke into the embassy, and destroyed the furniture. A guard of troops alone saved Bernadotte and his family from being captured and outraged. Notwithstanding the protest of the Imperial Government, that the *émeute* provoked by the French flag was most contrary to its policy and offensive to its wishes, Bernadotte left Vienna. The Directory felt their wonted propensities favoured by these means. To throw up the Egyptian expedition and send Bonaparte to conquer Vienna, was the first thought. But the general declined. A war with Austria was not to be improvised but prepared for.

And the Directory had made preparations on the contrary for weakness and defeat. It had no money, its troops were in mutiny for want of pay and management. The institution of the Roman Republic had provoked the Catholic world, and the Swiss revolution had disgusted every man of liberality and humanity. The Directory, he said, had better make peace with Vienna and not allow Bernadotte's folly and presumption to precipitate the country into war. He on his part was bent on proceeding to the Nile, not the Danube.

The expedition sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, 1798. Until the month of October in the following year Bonaparte was lost to France, the Directory pushing its fortunes and its policy alone. The events of the Egyptian campaign are thus almost strangers to those of France, and England and its forces have taken so large a part in them, that they may be consulted more at length in English than in French history. The principal circumstances will thus be no more than briefly recorded here. An amazing fact it was that the English were unprepared with a fleet to blockade Toulon, to watch or intercept the expedition. But Nelson was moving about at first with a few vessels, and not till after the French had sailed, with sufficient to combat or arrest them. Yet Bonaparte took twenty days to reach Malta from Toulon. Jacobin emissaries had already done their work with the knights and population.* The Order of Malta, established to combat the Turks, had long forgotten its mission, and gave up at once its own existence and the island to the French. In the relative position of the naval forces of the countries, this was but conquering the island for England. The French general had gone out of his way to brave his principal foe on its own element. And Bonaparte had scarcely landed in Egypt, when Nelson attacked the

* Napoleon's Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLII.

French fleet on the 1st of August, at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, ran between it and the land, and destroyed three-fourths of it, the remainder escaping. Whilst the French army was thus losing its communications with Europe, it had advanced to Cairo and totally routed the Mameluke cavalry in the battle of the Pyramids, presenting solid squares to their flying horse, and then slaughtering them with grape.

In possession of Egypt, and shut out from communication with home, it became necessary to levy large contributions from the different towns* as well as enforce the old taxes. To this was added the spoil of even the families of the conquered.† Such extortion drove the people of Cairo into rebellion, which was only put down by bombardment, and wide destruction of edifices as well as men.‡ This discontent emboldened the dispossessed beys to try to recover their domination, and a Turkish force was collected in Syria for the purpose. Bonaparte lost no time in marching against them. He took the frontier fortress of El Arisch in mid February and Jaffa on the 7th of March, the successful storming of which led to the most indiscriminate massacre.§ On the 18th was commenced the siege of Acre. The French commander had won the adhesion of the mountain tribes, at least of the Druses and Mettualis,|| and the reduction of Acre would have made him master of Syria as well as of Egypt. But Djezzar, pacha of that town, declined all his offers, and reinforced by the guns and sailors of Sir Sydney Smith's fleet defied the French assaults, and repelled them with unexpected vigour. It was this admiral, indeed, whom Bonaparte denounced as a madman, that

* See the amount in the Napoleon correspondence.

† The women of the Harem were obliged to give up their jewels, or redeem them.

‡ See Napoleon's letter ordering the destruction of the great Mosque.

§ Napoleon says he never saw anything so hideous.

|| Correspondence.

kept the French at bay from Acre for the space of two months, after which, despairing of the capture, Bonaparte retreated, first inflicting a severe bombardment on the town. In his despatch to the Directory it is stated that the presence of the plague in Acre induced him not to force his way into it.* In the open field however the French had been victorious. The Turkish cavalry united with the remains of that of the beys, were defeated by French in the combat of Nazareth, and the battle of Monthabor. But this did not shake the constancy of the defenders of Acre. The French retreated from it to the valley of the Nile in June.

Much has been said of the vast schemes entertained by Bonaparte, and marred by his repulse from Acre. If victorious he represented that he might have marched on Constantinople, and from thence upon Vienna. He also spoke of invading India, and wrote to Tippoo in January proposing their co-operation. But his original 36,000 soldiers had dwindled to one-half the number. He proposed filling the void by enlisting young negroes.† But despite his patronage and almost adoption of Mohametanism, the religionists did not trust him, and he saw it accordingly to be impossible for the French ever to retain Egypt.

Liberated from the fear, even before they were quite rid of the presence of Bonaparte, the Directory pursued their way. Councillors of a deeper revolutionary stamp than even they, recommended them not to do things by halves. A large portion of the nation consisting of the better born and better educated, was hostile to them, and however crushed by the military, and their chiefs condemned to transportation, they still remained formidable.

Sièyès was for proscribing and turning out of the country all save the *Sans-culottes*. This pedant, who

* Moniteur.

† Napoleon to Desaix.

CHAP.
XIII.

shrank silently in his cowardly skin all through the reign of Terror, dreamed of nothing less than renewing it for others the moment he had ceased to tremble for himself. And Siéyès was perhaps the most eminent man in France. Such scum did the revolutionary ebullition throw to the surface. The directors were not men to shrink from any amount of severity of proscription, if feasible. But such a scheme could not be realised without penal laws and enactments, equal to those of the Terror. This neither the public nor the army would have tolerated. The latter had mutinied in several places against the wholesale robbery of the government agents. Had murder been added, the country itself would have risen. The Directory was therefore compelled to prolong its sway not by proscription, but by *coups d'état*.

The victory of Fructidor had got rid of the moderates of the assemblies, and the decrees of that period had sufficiently terrified candidates and electors, so that few constitutionalists were likely to be returned. The majority of the electors were, however, bent upon returning members who, whatever their colour, should at least be enemies and opponents of the Directory. As they might not elect royalists, they were determined to choose Jacobins, such of them at least as detested the thermidoriens and Barras. The government could thus count but on its own little clique, with hostile majorities on either side of it. Less scrupulous men would have shrunk from such a position, but they, to whom constitutional guarantees were but playthings, soon invented a mode of getting rid of them. They directed that in every electoral district in which the government candidate was in a minority, the minority should secede, and proceed to a second election, leaving the majority to return their candidate also. A commission of five members was then appointed, all of course in the interests of the Directory, to enquire into,

and decide upon the elections; these presented a list in which all those favourable to the Directory were declared valid, those opposed to it cancelled.* A more barefaced annihilation of the electoral power could not be imagined. The *Cinq Cents* and the *Anciens* since the scheme of these *Scissions* had been sanctioned in Floreal, and since the previous *coup d'état* of Fructidor, could be regarded in no other light than as the nominees of the Directory.

Foreign affairs were conducted in the same cavalier manner as domestic administration. Bonaparte, before setting out for Egypt had offered to go to the Congress of Rastadt, and remove the difficulty that Bernadotte had created. The Directory would not permit him to do so. They feared he would conclude peace, and peace they did not want. War alone brought plunder and spoil. The proceeds of Italian ransom, church plate and robbery had been already dissipated. Bonaparte had required the treasure and the contributions taken from the unfortunate Swiss. Fresh countries to revolutionise and rob was all they wished.

Their chief eyesore was England. Bonaparte had declared their scheme for invading it vain, unless they were first masters of the sea, and of this there were less hopes every day. They made use of their military superiority to dominate over states which possessed navies. Holland they had conquered. Portugal they tried to bind by treaty. But the English soon annihilated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. And their presence in the Tagus kept the court of Lisbon true to the maintenance of its own independence.

But if the Directory were averse to peace, the Continental powers, even those who had suffered most by the last war, grew less and less inclined to make sacrifices for it. Each day's news brought fresh provoca-

* The list is in Buchez et Roux

tion. The conquest of Switzerland, the republicanising of Rome as well as Lombardy, alarmed Austria, Sardinia, and Naples. The capture and appropriation of Malta was another cause of offence; whilst the departure of Bonaparte and his victorious legions, left the Directory without what seemed most formidable to its foreign enemies. This temptation to the courts of Vienna and Naples to break with the Directory was increased when news arrived of the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, and the isolation of Bonaparte and his forces in Egypt.

But what gave the strongest impulse to a new coalition against France was the change in the policy of Russia. The Czar Paul had brought a violent and capricious temper to influence affairs of State in lieu of the mild temporisation of Catherine. He embraced the project of restoring the Bourbons to their throne and their emigré followers to their possessions in France, and moved Austria and Prussia to join him in this new crusade. Emboldened by such offers the negotiators of Austria no longer lent an obsequious ear to the imperative demands of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.

All at once the directors were alarmed by the prospect of the hostile coalition of Europe being renewed against them. A Russian envoy had come to persuade the court of Berlin. Siéyès offered to proceed thither. Bonaparte had been known to lean to an Austrian alliance. The Directory hoped to succeed better with a Prussian, and Siéyès went to Berlin. But no influential person, save the young king, would speak with a regicide envoy. Prussia would not coalesce with the enemies of France, but was determined to retain a neutral position. Another envoy, the ex-director, Francois de Neufchateau endeavoured then to renew Bonaparte's negotiations with Cobentzel, but without a victorious army at his back, his assumption of the dictatorial tone of the victorious general failed of its purpose (July, 1798).

In a fortnight after the departure of Bonaparte and his army for Egypt, it became evident that war was impending. The French government took steps to be prepared for it. The principal one was, the Law of Conscription. It had been often proposed. Jourdain had introduced it at the commencement of the year. In July, the necessity of adopting it was felt, and the law, subjecting every male of France at the age of 21 to a compulsory enrolment, was passed. It was acted upon by a decree to raise 200,000 men. The French population accepted the decree, but the Belgian provinces arose in insurrection, and had the European coalition been in time to support them, France would have found itself reduced to its ancient limits on the North. To employ the English at home a division of troops under General Humbert was sent to Ireland. More enterprising than Hoche, Humbert contrived to land, but it was only to be made prisoner with his little army.

The crime of the Directory in sacrificing the old republic of Switzerland to its rapacity met now with its punishment. The Grisons were not then numbered amongst the cantons, but formed a league apart. French agents laboured to persuade the more democratic of the Grisons to annex their valleys to Switzerland, now become French, whilst the Valteline, also appertaining to them, was to be left to the Cisalpine.

As violence and threats were employed to induce the vote, the Austrians from the Tyrol opposed it, and at last occupied the Grison territories: this was war. The Directory did not at once accept the challenge; they had armies to prepare not merely for the Rhine and for Italy, but for Switzerland, whose neutrality had hitherto rendered such augmentation of forces unnecessary.

Switzerland in fact became a kind of centre to both contending armies; those on the right of it being occupied with the attack or defence of Lombardy, those on the left with the campaign beyond the Rhine. The

command in Italy was offered to Bernadotte. There were upwards of 100,000 French soldiers there, but scattered at all points between the Adige and the Bay of Naples: a sufficient army according to Bernadotte's opinion could not anywhere be collected to resist, not merely the Austrians but the Russians, who under Suwarrow were marching to take part in the renewed conflict. Bernadotte refused the command in consequence.

The first outburst of war, however, came from the court of Naples. It had been rendered exultant by the victory and subsequent presence of Nelson and his fleet, and had rushed into extensive military preparations. Those inhabitants of the Roman states who disliked the republic established there, began to collect in bands and prepare for insurrection. If the Neapolitan court was rude to French agents, the French official journals menaced the court of Naples with still less courtesy. Recriminations followed. Naples asked the French to evacuate Malta and Rome, which was tantamount to a declaration of war. General Mack took the command of the Neapolitan army, and towards the close of November pushed it in three divisions upon Rome and upon Ancona. General Championnet, who commanded the French, flung a garrison into the castle of St. Angelo, and retreated to Civitá Castellana, where he hoped to be reinforced. The King of Naples entered Rome on the 29th. Meantime the Neapolitan division that was advancing towards Ancona was met by the French, beaten and driven back into the Abruzzi, and Championnet was reinforced by the victors. Mack had not 30,000 men in Rome. He left a large garrison there and dividing the rest into several bodies, as if he were hunting game, not pursuing soldiers, he allowed each to be fallen upon separately by the French, who in fifteen days totally defeated the Neapolitan army and drove it in disastrous retreat from Rome.

Championnet decided to pursue them at once. The

King of Naples no longer putting faith in his army or his Austrian general, summoned the peasantry of the Abruzzi to resist the French in a guerilla war. But at the same time the middle class of Naples, disgusted with their monarch, resolved to imitate Rome in proclaiming a republic. The advance of the French encouraged them, whilst the flight of king and court on the 21st of December, to Sicily on board two English frigates left them no other alternative. The lazzaroni, however, would not submit; they determined on resistance and the citizens on submission, a civil war and massacre would have followed, had not the French taken advantage of these divisions to penetrate into the city, and by affecting a great respect for St. Januarius, allayed somewhat the fury of the mob. The Parthenopæan republic was thus established at Naples.

In March 1799 war was solemnly declared. The French army under Massena instantly entered the Grisons, and surprised an Austrian division in Coire. Jourdan, simultaneously passed the Rhine at Basle, and marched by Schaffhausen to the northern end of the Lake of Constance, putting himself in communication with Massena. The latter hoped to penetrate into the Tyrol by the Vorarlberg, whilst Jourdan in concert with him might advance across South Bavaria. In both these purposes the French generals were baffled. At Feldkirch the entrance to the Vorarlberg, and at Mayenfeld, Massena met with a resistance that he could not overcome, whilst at Stochach north of the Lake of Constance, Jourdan and the Archduke Charles fought a memorable battle on the 25th of March.

Stochach, the position for which both armies fought, is the point where roads and rivers meet, both leading or flowing from it towards the Lake, and towards the Danube. The French had some 40,000, the Austrians some 50,000 men. Jourdan had been already driven back with loss on the 22nd; on the 25th he attacked,

CHAP.
XLII.

directing his chief efforts to carry the heights of Nellemberg, near Stochach. But the brunt of the battle was not there. On the northern wings of both armies, Soult was victorious, driving his enemies before him through the woods of Liptingen. This endangered the Austrians' centre, and the archduke flew to his right with reinforcements, charging in person at the head of his cavalry, and not only drove in Soult, but completely routed that wing of the French. The rest of Jourdan's army was obliged to retreat: the loss was great on both sides. But the result of the engagement of Stochach was that Jourdan retreated to the Rhine; indeed had the Archduke Charles followed him, he would in all probability have destroyed the French invading army. But the Austrian court peremptorily enjoined him to turn his efforts against Massena in Switzerland.*

It would require descriptions very minute and detailed to render intelligent the military operations through the valleys and over the passes of the Alps. They were unimportant in their results, except so far as that Massena was driven finally from the valley of the Rhine to that of Zurich and the lakes, and even there, though he fought a successful battle in defence of his positions, he found it necessary to abandon them, and withdraw further westward.

The main struggle was in Italy. There were 120,000 French soldiers in the peninsula; a third occupied Rome and Naples, under Macdonald, Championnet having been dismissed by the Directory for doing what Bonaparte had often done—slighted its agents. There were not more than 50,000 men on the Adige, opposed to a number of Austrians under Kray, somewhat superior. Bernadotte having refused the command in Italy, Joubert having resigned in consequence of Championnet's disgrace, and Moreau being suspected of *moderantism*,

* Clausewitz, St. Cyr, Archduke Charles's Feldzug.

Scherer obtained the command at the instance of Barras. The Directory thought they might order him to perform what Bonaparte alone could have attempted, cross the Adige in face of a superior enemy, that enemy possessed of Verona. Scherer had to obey, and first penetrated between Verona and the lake, attacking and carrying a fortified camp which the Austrians had formed at Pastorengo; but afraid to follow up his own movement, he retreated, leaving one of his divisions to be severely handled and in part made prisoners. He then tried to pass the Adige on the other side of Verona, when he was attacked by Kray on the 5th of April at Magnano, a little to the east of Villafranca. A smart action resulted in the loss of several thousands on both sides. But it was no longer Austrian but French divisions which remained prisoners. Such was the difference between Bonaparte and Scherer. The latter was panic stricken, he gave orders for retreat, not only behind the Mincio, but the Oglio and the Adda. All the fruit of former victories was lost.

The French public received the news of these losses and reverses without surprise. Nothing better could be hoped of a government so contemptible. Soldiers said it was all owing to the reign of the *avocats*, constitutionalists alleged it was the natural fruit of tyranny, the patriots attributed all to lukewarmness and moderantism. There would have ensued a general outburst of discontent had not an event occurred to influence the national passions and turn them for the moment from the domestic to the foreign enemy. The French plenipotentiaries still continued their residence at Rastadt; though at war with Austria, they hoped to make peace with Germany, a hope and pretension which greatly provoked the spleen of the Austrians. As their armies overran the duchy of Baden in consequence of the retreat of Jourdan, they interrupted the communication of the French plenipotentiaries, and obstructed

CHAP.
XLII.

their efforts at negotiation. To persuade the German powers not to take part with Austria in the war, the French revealed to them that the court of Vienna had agreed to secret articles in the Treaty of Campo Formio, which made over Mayence, the bulwark of Germany, to France, in order to facilitate its own appropriation of Venice. The Austrians vowed vengeance. They compelled the French plenipotentiaries to leave Rastadt, and when they did so on the 28th of April at night they were, at a short distance from Rastadt, waylaid by Austrian hussars; two of them, Bonnier and Roberjeot, murdered, the third, Jean Debry, escaping badly wounded back into Rastadt. The resentment of the French at such an unparalleled outrage may be conceived. The Archduke Charles disowned it. The Austrian government aimed no doubt at seizing the papers of the plenipotentiaries, but that murder was also intended as well as perpetrated was but too clear. It proved a God-send to the Directory, changing altogether the object of popular animadversion and exciting once more in the whole nation that ardour for prosecuting and sustaining the war which had begun to flag in consequence of the incapacity and unpopularity of the Directory.*

Such rekindled enthusiasm was too late to save Italy. Suwarrow had joined Kray with a corps of 30,000 Russian soldiers, and forced the passage of the Adda, in the battle of Cassano, towards the end of April, one of the French divisions being cut off. Moreau, who had served as a lieutenant under Scherer, took the command. Instead of falling back upon Turin, Moreau betook himself to the Apennines towards Genoa, where he hoped to await the arrival of Macdonald with his fresh army from the south. In this object he altogether failed. Instead of remaining in the line by which Macdonald must emerge from Tuscany, Moreau kept too

* Mém. d'un Homme d'État, French Procès Verbal of the circumstances, &c.

much to the westward, himself at Novi, and some of his forces, scant as they were, down in the Riviera by the sea coast. Macdonald in the mean time descended from the Apennines into the plains of Piacenza, and approached the Po, placing the three streams of the Nura, the Trebbia and the Tidone between him and Moreau, Suwarrow having mustered his army behind these very streams. Could Moreau and Macdonald have communicated they might have attacked simultaneously from east and west, but they were unable to do so; and Macdonald with about 50,000 men fought a three days' battle on the Trebbia with Suwarrow on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, in which the French were completely worsted. Macdonald lost some 15,000 men and retired to Genoa, leaving Moreau to make some similar movement. Italy was lost.*

A new government, be it the produce of a constitution or of violence, or both, as was the Directory, could not survive such disaster and disgrace. It had gagged the press, decimated the assemblies, shut up the clubs, and terrorised society. But the administration of the Directory was so weak and so corrupt; its policy such an accumulation of blunders as of tyranny that every voice and every look condemned it. It had provoked the war gratuitously, for all European nations had been inclined to peace. The armies had not been recruited, and were in men and horses far inferior in number to the accounts furnished, and the pay demanded.† Then the armies were scattered at a time when expected onslaught from the enemy peremptorily required their concentration. The Directory had disgusted or dismissed every commander of talent, and entrusted to generals of no ability critical positions and superior command. The finances were in no better state, the revenue being totally inade-

* Clausewitz, Jomini, St. Cyr, Archduke Charles.

† Report of Genissieux.

CHAP.
XLII.

quate to meet an expenditure of 800,000,000 francs. And when the government proposed to add to the burdens of poor and rich, throwing upon the former a new salt tax, and extorting from the latter a forced loan, both classes murmured. Lucien Bonaparte opposed and defeated the salt tax. The conduct of affairs by the Directory had been in fact so bad, so miserable, that no one, not even those members of the Assembly who had been forced into it by the Directory itself, would act as its supporters or confess themselves its partisans. This manifest and open want of adhesion, rendered the directors powerless to operate another *coup d'état* to falsify the elections of 1799. Public opinion was allowed to predominate and the public choice to prevail, unresisted and undisturbed. The consequence was that the new Third was composed of ardent liberals and revolutionists, for amidst the military reverses and dangers which menaced, the electors looked to revolutionary energy to save them.*

The spirit which animated not only the lately elected Third but the majority of the Assembly, began to show itself in motions hostile to the government. The *Cinq Cents* addressed an injurious message to the government, complaining that it had not been informed or consulted respecting the dangers which threatened the republic. This was followed by an Address to the French People, which accused the Directory of rapine and dilapidation. Within a short space of time the most scandalous fortunes had been made by contractors and jobbers, the aim of the acquirers being to spend and display rather than hoard or conceal. The Revolution had spoiled and slain the aristocracy of birth; that of wealth now sprung up as proud and as influential, but far more immoral. Nor was this disguised even from the people. The dress of the fashionable female imitating the nudity and

* Thibaudeau, Gohier, Moniteur.

looseness of those habits which the Roman matron wore when in the seclusion of her palace, was seen not merely in the Directorial saloons, but in the public theatres. There vice no longer affected decorum.

To have got rid of the whole of the Directory would then have been a just and a popular measure, but to effect this without open and military revolution, it was necessary to make use of at least one of that body, as a support for the lever which was to displace the others. For this part they chose Barras, the worst and most corrupt of the lot, but the most pliant. Barras promised to get rid of the other four. It was the turn of one to go out, the lot fell or was made to fall upon Rewbell, unpopular from his connection or relationship with Rapinat, the plunderer of Switzerland. Many were for filling his place with a military man of eminence. This the civilians deprecated, and Boulay de la Meurthe, the foremost man of the majority, recommended Siéyès who had been his ally in the endeavour to ostracise the noblesse, and who was considered to have achieved a diplomatic success in securing the neutrality of Prussia and preventing its king from joining the coalition. Siéyès, who so often during his long career had refused to take place and associate with those in power, now considered his time come. What were his aims? According to some, he admitted the restoration of the monarchy as inevitable, not a prince of the Bourbons, but of a foreign prince of gallantry and genius, like the Archduke Charles, who might espouse the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth.* He could not have entertained such a scheme, except in the contingency of the French being completely beaten. He told Gohier that the government of which they had both just become members was an ice-field about to break up, out of which, however, it would not be difficult to save one's self.

* Letter of Louis the Eighteenth to St. Priest.

At all events Siéyès co-operated with Barras for the removal of the remaining directors, and for renewing the government in accord with the majority of the Assemblies. To this Treilhard, La Réveillère and Merlin offered a stubborn resistance. The assemblies assailed them all the month of May with messages and representations. They took advantage of an informality in his election to cancel the rights of Treilhard to be a director. He had been elected within the period required to elapse since his previous hold of a seat in the legislature. Gohier, a lawyer and a nullity, was chosen in his place. The majority of the Assembly pressed the more the resignation of La Réveillère and Merlin. Boulay accused them of plotting to mutilate the Assembly.* In order to prevent it, a Commission of Eleven was formed, and the *Cinq Cents* declared themselves *en permanence*, until they received an answer from the directors to their complaints. These were addressed solely to Merlin and La Réveillère. The former especially was accused of keeping the army at Paris to be employed against the Assembly, instead of sending it to combat the enemy. There was no alternative for the two obnoxious directors save resignation or impeachment. After much obstinacy and many struggles they consented to withdraw. They were replaced by Roger Ducos and General Moulins, Siéyès being answerable for the former, Barras for the latter. New ministers were at the same time appointed. Talleyrand was superseded by Reinhard, a native of Wurtemberg, Cambacérès became minister of justice. Robert Lindet took the finances. The most important appointment was that of Bernadotte to be war minister; and, after a time, of Fouché to be minister of police.

The party which had struggled to establish the direct influence of the Assembly in political conduct was thus

* Debates, Gohier, Thibaudeau, Thiers.

triumphant in what was called the Revolution of the 30th Prairial. To restore superiority to the army, and as introductory to it, vigour to finance and administration, was the paramount aim. The spectre of Bonaparte suddenly rising up from the other side of the Mediterranean, was present to the minds of both Assembly and directors. To conjure the apparition could only be done by success. The Directory or at least Barras looked to Joubert to redeem the late reverses in Italy. He was at once appointed to the command. Unfortunately for the new Directors and their party, Joubert resembled Bonaparte merely by his youth and his courage. Had the latter been at this time appointed to defend Italy against the victorious Suwarrow, he would have shown activity as well as a fixed and able plan of campaign. His whole soul would have been in his task. But Joubert with all his zeal, chose the moment to marry, and to spend his honeymoon in Paris.* When he did reach Italy with less than 50,000 men, Suwarrow had reduced the fortresses of Alexandria and Mantua and was able to bring 60,000 men into the field against him. Joubert was recommended to stand on the defensive in the Apennines. But he had come to fight a battle; and fortune favoured him at first, for, whilst with his whole army in position on the semicircle of heights around Novi, he was attacked by Suwarrow, before that impetuous general had all his force under his hand. Melas who commanded his left wing, was not able to take part in the action till the afternoon. Hence the French having but to defend their centre and right, succeeded fully in doing so, and in repelling the Russians in all their attacks either to gain a footing on the heights, or to penetrate behind them. Joubert perhaps might have taken advantage of the superiority thus left him, had he not fallen early in action, whilst mingling amongst

* Moreau's words to Bonaparte, preserved by Gohier.

CHAP.
XLII.

the skirmishers. Moreau took the command. And when in the afternoon the Russian forces were complete and their attacks general, the French were driven in and Moreau ordered retreat. Even this was too late, for many of the French divisions were broken. The Russians had at last penetrated to the rear of the heights, and converted the retreat from thence into a rout, where guns, horses and men were intermingled.*

It was now fortunate for France that one of its armies under an able general held strong positions in the mountains of Switzerland. The other commanders of the republic had suffered signal defeats both in Germany and Italy, and both countries had been cleared of the French. Nothing remained for the victors but to march into France where their superiority in pitched battles and in open fields might result in the final subjugation of the republic. It was, however, first indispensable to clear the Alps. For this duty it was thought best to employ the Russians. The French had not been able to resist them in the plains of Italy. How much less would they be able to resist the hardy sons of the north in their own climate of snow. So reasoned the Austrian court of Vienna, when it ordered Suwarrow to take the place of the Archduke Charles on the line of the Alps, bidding the latter lead his disciplined Austrians to form the nucleus of an invading army on the Rhine. These military councillors forgot that decisive actions amidst the Alps are almost impossible, they offering such facilities for defence; and moreover that the Russian troops accustomed to stand like rocks and bear any amount of fire in the plain, were not accustomed to climb or perform the feats of mountain war, in which the soldiers of Massena had grown expert.

But indeed no superiority or excellence of troops could repair or compensate for such a defective plan of operations, as that ordained from Vienna, which drew

* St. Cyr, Jomini, Clausewitz.

away the greater part of the Austrian army from the Upper Rhine and the Limmat, with the intent to supply their place by two Russian divisions marching from different points. Massena of course seized the opportunity of the diminished force above and below Zurich to attack, whilst Suwarrow was forcing his way over the St. Gothard. Why he crossed that Alpine pass, no geographer, much less tactician, could divine, since the road over it led not to the contested valley of the Rhine or Limmat, but to the Lake of Lucerne, whose waters completely blocked up farther advance. The result of such complicated blunders was that Massena defeated Korsakoff under the walls of Zurich and nearly made him prisoner, the Russian general only cutting his way through with the loss of his artillery and baggage. The Austrians were driven up the valley of Glaris. And Suwarrow, after gallantly driving the French down the valley of the Reuss, was obliged to climb over a pass of 9,000 feet to descend into the Muotta Thal and Glaris, which he reached after the decisive battle had been fought and the superiority of the French decided. Suwarrow tried to redeem the terrible defeat, but, worsted himself at Nœfells, he was forced to escape by another mountain pass into the upper valley of the Grisons.*

This success of Massena, achieved towards the end of September, somewhat redeemed the disaster of Novi, whilst, in another quarter, the failure of an English expeditionary army threw a gleam of success over the last days of the Directory. Some 18,000 British troops with 12,000 Russians landed at the Helder, early in September. The project was to capture Amsterdam, an aim to be only accomplished by celerity; for the French and Dutch, commanded by General Brune, though unequal at first to the 30,000 invaders, were certain to be reinforced largely in a few days. The Russians and

* Jomini, Archduke Charles.

CHAP.
XLII.

the English, however, did not well agree. The Duke of York had no plan of campaign, and was incapable of forming one. He fought an indecisive battle, feeling unable to force his way farther, retreated, and in the end capitulated, stipulating to evacuate the peninsula within a certain time, if allowed to do so. Such was one of the many abortive schemes of the British Government to gain military footing on the northern continent.*

Whilst the Directory were trumpeting the successes of Massena and Brune, Bonaparte anchored in the Bay of Fréjus, on the 9th of October. Soon after his defeat of the Turkish cavalry on the beach of Aboukir in July, he was furnished by Sir Sydney Smith with a file of European journals, revealing to him the state of the war, and of the Directory. He instantly embarked, leaving his Egyptian army to Kleber, and in six weeks' voyage succeeded in crossing the Mediterranean to the coast of Provence. The Directory received him in appearance fraternally, but with ill-disguised mistrust.† He strove at first to remove it by declaring that his sword should never be drawn but for the republic. Yet, whilst he received his brethren in arms with cordiality, he was cold towards the Directors. He expended caresses on Moreau, whilst he scarcely deigned to speak to Siéyes. The government took umbrage at this kind of semi-hostile attitude, and lost no time in putting the intentions of Bonaparte to the proof. They offered him the command of the army, or of any army. This offer he coolly declined, on the pretext that he had need of repose. To Bonaparte's credit it may be observed, that he first had offered his alliance to Gohier and Moulins, the moderate and most constitutional members of the Directory. He merely asked to be elected a member of their body. They at once

* Sir Henry Bunbury's Campaign in Holland.

† Gohier.

showed their affright, in lieu of confidence, and pointed out the law requiring the age of 40 in a director.

He then turned to Barras, Fouché acting as intermediary, and taking the utmost pains to make them understand each other. But Barras was too cunning, and declined to speak first, except in terms little to the purpose, on which the general said nothing, and went his way. In fact, Bonaparte had determined to do the thing by himself, or with the aid of the generals attached to him. The greater part were prepared to uphold his authority; others, such as Moreau and Augereau, hesitated, but did not oppose. There was no commander whom the Directors could set up in opposition to him. It was, however, necessary that his usurpation should have a civilian aspect, and that government and governors should wear a constitutional garb. For this the co-operation as well as the ideas of Siéyes was requisite. Had the latter any hope or aim of effectually controlling the military power which was about to take possession of the state, he would have first laid down the foundations of a constitution, and stipulated the observance of certain principles. Siéyes did nothing of the kind. He agreed to resign with Ducos, and to force the resignation of the other three directors. Siéyes was assured of the Council of the Ancients. The resistance of the Cinq Cents was to be forcibly overcome. As the result, three consuls were to be proclaimed in the place of the five directors, and the assembly suspended till a new constitution could be prepared and promulgated.*

According to Bonaparte, Siéyes proposed commencing by the arrest and imprisonment of the ardent republicans. The general shrank from any such revolutionary or violent measures. He knew that the overthrow of the Directory, and the substitution for it of a

* Gourgaud, Gohier, Bourrienne.

CHAP.
XLII.

government of which an able general was at the head, would be popular except among the actual legislators themselves; and thus, not fearing public opinion, he wished the revolution to have the appearance of being in accordance with it, and doing it no violence. It was therefore arranged, that the sitting of the Cinq Cents should be transferred to St. Cloud, and that the more violent republicans should *not* be served with letters of convocation. On the morning of the 18th Brumaire, the day fixed for the revolution, whilst generals and troops mustered at Bonaparte's small house in the Rue Chantereine, the Council of the Ancients was assembled; and it was announced to them that a conspiracy had been discovered, which it was necessary to defeat, the best mode of doing so being to transfer the sitting of the Cinq Cents to St. Cloud, and to entrust Bonaparte with the military command. In despite of some opposition, the Ancients passed the decree, which was fully within the limits of their authority.

A deputation immediately brought this decree to Bonaparte, and hailed him as the saviour of the country. "Save it we will," was the reply; "the troops shall instantly take the oath." "You had better take it at the bar of the Cinq Cents, to whom we go to announce it," observed the deputation. Bonaparte then addressed the numerous generals present, none of whom objected, save Bernadotte. It was at first thought it would be necessary to arrest him, but he gave his word to remain neuter, and was allowed to depart. Bonaparte then proceeded to show himself to the soldiers, and proceeded not to the Cinq Cents, but to the Senate, before which he took the oath. He then returned to review the troops and address them:

"In what state did I leave France, and in what state have I found it? I left peace, and I find war. I left the country victorious, and I find the enemy pressing on

our frontiers. I left millions, the spoils of Italy; I find nothing but misery and spoliation. What has become of the 100,000 companions of my glory? They are dead."

Whilst Bonaparte made sure of the troops and their commanders, Fouché and Talleyrand were equally adroit in winning or in silencing the municipal bodies, and keeping the capital calm. The Cinq Cents met for a moment, to be told of the transfer of its sitting to St. Cloud, where it was to assemble on the following day. Bonaparte had appointed Moreau to the command of the Luxemburg, the residence of the Directory. Strange that, with his opinions, he should have accepted the duty! Siéyes and Ducos had resigned. Barras, who had tried to bend Bonaparte, remained in the Luxemburg. Talleyrand undertook to alarm and persuade him. They offered him any amount of money, and no pleasing alternative if he refused. The Cerberus swallowed the sop, and went off escorted by dragoons to his country house at Grosbois. Gohier and Moulins were, on the contrary, obstinate. They counted on Bernadotte, and came to brave Bonaparte. Gohier was enabled to do this by his familiarity with the general and his family. They were indeed to have dined with Gohier on that day. The general tried to pacify his friend. Moulins he threatened. "Santerre is your relative," observed Bonaparte; "I am told he is trying to raise the Faubourg St. Antoine. Tell him I shall have him shot." Gohier and Moulins refused to resign, and withdrew to the Luxemburg. Whatever their intention, they were prevented by their instant arrest and seclusion.

The revolution, consummated or at least not opposed in the capital, had still to triumph over the councils. Before midday on the 19th, the members had collected in the gardens of St. Cloud, the Orangerie and the other hall destined for them not being yet fitted with benches and chairs. The members of the Cinq Cents were furious, the Ancients uncertain. The troops and generals

were for Bonaparte, save two or three, who, whilst adhering in appearance, were ready to welcome an opportunity of declaring for the republic. In such opinions were Augereau and Jourdan. The sittings opened at two o'clock; the clamorous of both assemblies dominated there. They voted a message to the Directory. They were told it no longer existed, and Barras's letter of resignation was read. The Bonapartists proposed a commission to report on the state of affairs. The opposition, on the contrary, demanded and carried the motion for renewing the oath to the constitution. To put a stop to this Bonaparte resolved to address each council.

He first appeared before the Ancients, towards four o'clock. He told them, with some truth, that they were standing on a volcano. He had been summoned to save the republic, and would do so without being either a Cæsar or a Cromwell. He was determined to respect liberty and equality. "And the constitution?" cried out several voices. "How can you invoke the constitution," continued Bonaparte—"you, who have violated it on three several occasions, and in the name of which the most disgusting tyranny was established? Content yourselves with securing liberty and equality. I will help you, and abandon power when my task is done." Bonaparte concluded by saying he counted on the Ancients, and not on the Cinq Cents, who wanted to reconstruct the Convention, and who had already sent to excite an insurrection in Paris. "These people talk of proscribing me, putting me *hors la loi*," added he. "If so, I will appeal to my companions in arms."

Having made an impression on the Ancients, Bonaparte hastened to the Cinq Cents; but he no sooner showed himself at the door, accompanied by his aides-de-camp and followed by grenadiers, than a terrible tumult arose. As the general advanced, the deputies surrounded, apostrophized, and hustled him. "Down

with the dictator!"—"Death to the tyrant!" were the exclamations. Overtopped by men superior to him in stature, Bonaparte was more stifled than confounded. The soldiers, who had remained at the door, perceived their general disappear, whilst poignards were brandished in more than one hand. They rushed into the hall immediately, and extricated him from the crowd. It was then proposed to draw up an accusation, and vote the general *hors la loi*. His brother Lucien, who presided, resisted to the utmost of his strength, but was obliged to desist, it being necessary to send soldiers to rescue him also from those who threatened and surrounded him. Both brothers appealed at once to the troops, Bonaparte declaring that the members had attempted to assassinate them. General Leclerc, at the head of some grenadiers, was then ordered to clear the hall. This he proceeded to do, with beat of drum. The explosion of rage was great amongst the members when the grenadiers with fixed bayonets pressed forward. In vain they appealed to the soldiers, and equally in vain did some generals. Jourdan, for one, protested. The members, to avoid the points of the bayonets, were obliged to escape by the large open windows of the Orangerie, which feat, performed by legislators clothed in long togas, provoked more ridicule than commiseration. The most part of the deputies dispersed for Paris, but some fifty were retained, brought again together, and induced to vote the adjournment of the councils and the formation of a Consulate. Commissioners from both chambers, twenty-five in number each, were appointed to prepare, with the aid of the consuls, a new constitution.*

The Revolution, which had run a ten years' career, was thus brought to a conclusion. A fortunate soldier stamped out its last embers with his boot, amidst the

* Gohier, Bourrienne, Napoleon; Notice Historique published in Buchez and Roux, Lavalette, &c.

CHAP.
XLII.

indifference of the population. Most of the actors in the commencement of that fearful drama had disappeared in its convulsions. Saturn, as Vergniaud said, devoured his children. They had embraced it as the religion and regeneration of humanity. Such illusions had long vanished from the minds of the few survivors, who looked for security from anarchy and repose from strife as boons for which all else might well be sacrificed. The nation had certainly thrown off a dreadful *incubus*, consisting of the privileges and prejudices of a dominant class, royal, aristocratic, sacerdotal; and if again obliged to bow to one, it was at least to one who wielded power first for the defence, and then for the grandeur and glory of the country, and who, in exchange for representative government and individual liberty, communicated the largest satisfaction ever given to national pride. The economical existence and relations of every class had been completely overthrown during these years of convulsion, and the dominant desire was to put an end to these oscillations of the social earthquake. By it the agricultural classes had enormously profited, provided they were allowed to enjoy their profits in security. Farmers and tenants had become proprietors. The middle class, which used to risk its savings in the purchase of government place, had since the Revolution vested in land, and, order and peace being now restored, were ready to do so in industrial enterprises. Those who had embraced the military profession and survived its dangers dazzled other classes by the brilliant career they had run. More civilian tempers were eager to rival them in peaceful walks, and the reorganization of the administrative hierarchy by Bonaparte soon opened for them the way. All this, indeed, was not in the sense of either liberty or equality. The Revolution forsook that road, almost as much as the ancient monarchy itself. There was no such thing as a free and public forum opened, either for law or

for letters, for politics or for trade. Men were allowed to institute nothing of themselves, but to take their place in the regiment or the rank that government assigned. There was no press, no association, nor anything that was not reached by the long arm of the minister of police. No one invoked liberty—that was sacrificed to glory. But Frenchmen still boasted of equality, as if there could be equality between that portion of the population which, from chance contact with the government, wielded administrative power, and the larger portion, which had but to doff the hat to every functionary, from the great ruler to the rural guard. A functionary aristocracy took the place of an hereditary one; a military court superseded a feudal one. Centralization and domination formed the spirit of both. And the survivors of 1789 saw the régime they had overthrown stand up once more erect before their eyes and upon their necks, with merely colours, customs, and titles changed. What animated both was the same old spirit of absolutism.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

1800—1814.

CHAP.
XLIII.

No better pretext or excuse for getting rid of the Directory and suspending the Councils need have been given than that they left unfulfilled the first duties of government. The representative body had discovered this failure on the part of the Directors, and had sought to remedy it on the 30th Prairial by renewing the members of the government, and taking political management into its own hands. The result was all the same. Scarcely any revenue reached the treasury, so that the most necessary officers of the administration received no salary; whilst the armies were left to starve, or to try to escape starvation by mutiny or by begging.*

The attempts, in fact, to govern France as a republic had completely failed. No matter what the form of constitution, the politicians put forward by the popular choice were unable to work it. After a few weeks' trial the machine stopped, and its parts fell asunder. The country was too rustic, its interests and ideas too divergent, for provinces and capital to hold together of themselves. And as in the olden time the only link to bind them was the absolute power of the king, so under the republic the only power that could suffice to hold together

* Thiers.

the scattered members of France was that acme of tyranny called the Terror. When the Thermidorians and the Directory tried to govern without that, their efforts were as feeble and as futile as those of Louis the Sixteenth. They could no more raise a revenue to meet the exigencies of the state than he. And the disjointed absolutism of the old monarchy did not call more loudly or more effectually for the Revolution of 1789, than the effete republic of 1799 called for and obtained a military dictator.

When the three members of the consular commission, Bonaparte, Siéyes, and Roger Ducos, met in the council-room of the Luxemburg on the 20th Brumaire, (11th November), Ducos was the first to break silence, which he did by telling the general to take the chair. Money was the first question. The Directors had a secret *caisse*, or fund for emergencies. It contained scarcely 300,000 francs, and to the demand of Siéyes, what was to be done with this, Bonaparte replied, "Divide it between you, and set it down to the account of the expenses of the 18th Brumaire!"* A more important question was how to pay the armies when 100 livres 5 per cent. were offered at the Bourse, and not taken for eight livres! Siéyes recommended Gaudin to manage the finances. He had offered this humble clerk the place of finance minister six months before. Gaudin would have none of it. "If you do not accept," said Siéyes, "Robert Lindet will be appointed, and you know he is utterly incapable." "He will but the better suit the government," thought Gaudin, who persisted in refusing. But when now told that General Bonaparte had taken in hand the reins of the state, he accepted.†

The first measure of the new finance minister was to annul the forced loan, and to add $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to the

* Memorial de Ste. Hélène, Thibaudeau, and Gohier.

† Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte.

direct taxes, half of which were to be paid in coin. On the strength of this 12,000,000 livres were borrowed. The Directory had met the necessary expenses from day to day, by giving orders or *delegations* upon the returns in coin which came into the provincial or metropolitan treasuries. Gaudin suspended such payments, and when the holders applied to him, he compelled them to advance each an amount equal to their claims, in return for an order engaging definite payment of both. He thus obtained 50,000,000 livres.* The same rule was extended. The receivers-general were obliged to pay again their securities in money, and to sign bills at fixed epochs for the coming revenue. All this was high-handed, and severe especially to those who dealt with or were employed by the government. But they and capitalists in general began to have faith in its capacity and resources, and consented to make sacrifices to maintain its favour. At the same time, government assumed more direct power to ascertain, distribute, and enforce throughout the provinces the quota and payment of the direct taxes.†

If the abrogation of the forced loan restored confidence to the rich, that of the cruel law of hostages served to pacify the royalists, and to quench the rising insurrection in La Vendée. The relatives of nobles seized and imprisoned, as well as the unfortunate priests and *émigrés* whom the Directory had incarcerated, were set at liberty. Those transported in Fructidor were allowed to return. The churches were restored to the clergy, on condition of their promising obedience to the consti-

* Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte.

† The Constituent Assembly having abolished all taxes on consumption, direct taxes alone remained. For the nine years between 1791 and 1800 they produced not more than 300,000,000 livres a year, or about three milliards

in that time. The sale of national property produced three millions and a half. Calmon (*Finances de l'Empire*) calculates that about one milliard taxes and one milliard loan were raised each of these years. The issue of assignats was four milliards and three-quarters nominal.

tution. It was bold to show this spirit of clemency and fairness to the aristocracy and priesthood, whilst ordaining the *déportation* of thirty-seven members of the democratic party, opposed to the late revolution, and the confinement at La Rochelle of twenty-eight more. This, to be sure, was but a threat, uttered too in answer to threats from the republicans, to hoist their flag in opposition to the consulate.* Strange to say, they fixed on Toulouse, the headquarters of every sanguinary fanaticism, as the place of their assembly. But their menaces evaporated, and so did that of the new government. Republicans and royalists both submitted, the latter with the vain hope of finding in the new ruler a Monk for the restoration of the legitimate monarchy.

When the three consuls first met, and when, Bonaparte taking the chair, the two others took the money, it was plain who was to be the master. Still Siéyes was left to produce his model constitution. No one more fully concentrated in himself the experience of the Revolution. It had left no basis of power save the sovereign choice of the people. This, however, was a wild beast, which it was requisite to muzzle. Siéyes managed on this wise. The men of each district were called to elect one-tenth of their number, out of which all municipal councillors were to be chosen. These district colleges in every department were again to elect one-tenth, which was to furnish departmental authorities; and these again a third list of one-tenth, out of which all higher functionaries were to be taken. The two former categories Siéyes prepared to leave altogether to election. But it was settled that all higher functionaries were to be chosen by the Senate, with the

* On the list of *déportés* was Jourdan. General Bonaparte addressed to him a most conciliatory letter on the 24th of November. He must have sent a rude answer; for on the 25th his name was in the

second category, then ordered to proceed to La Rochelle. The difference was soon made up, and after Marengo, Jourdan was sent as envoy, or rather proconsul, to Piedmont.

exception of ministers, military officers, ambassadors, councillors of state, upper judges, and members of local administration. There was to be a legislative body of 300 members, elected by the Senate, and comprising at least one citizen of each department. Their sole duty was to pass and promulgate laws, which a tribunate of 100 members were previously to discuss. It will not surprise an English reader to be told, that these pale ghosts of representative assemblies were not destined long to move or to live. But by their side was placed an assembly of councillors of state, which did and does still live. The system that was founded in 1799, and soon grew into the empire, was, in fact, that of absolute rule, with a functionary aristocracy. The Council of State was the House of Peers of that aristocracy. To it all veteran officials were promoted. To it was entrusted the real work of legislation, and a great portion of jurisdiction. For it came to be ruled that no functionary could be accused without the permission of that council, which meant to say, otherwise than before it.

There remained but to constitute the executive. Siéyes proposed a grand elector, who was to choose a war consul and a peace one—in fact, two ministers. Who was to be the grand elector? Siéyes had thought on himself, but durst not propose it. Bonaparte presumed such office as intended for him, and declined at once, observing, “Do you take me for a pig to be fattened?” He soon set aside the grand electorate, made himself first consul, lord of peace as well as war, for ten years, with two shadows, called second and third consuls, with consultative powers. Cambacérés and Lebrun aptly filled these subordinate places. Bonaparte, as first consul, endowed with full regal authority, took up his abode at the Tuileries. He had, even when general, assumed the superiority of more than military rank, keeping his aides-de-camp and generals at a

distance, and being careful whom he invited to his table. Neither did he disguise his ambition. As far back as 1797, he observed to Melzi and Miot, "What the French want is glory, and to have their vanity gratified. As to liberty, they don't know what to do with it."*

As he exchanged his private abode for that of the Tuileries in town, in the country he removed from the Malmaison to St. Cloud. He at the same time banished the classic frippery which the Revolution had introduced and the Directory patronized. Togas and tunics were declared no longer the fashion, and military uniform became the court costume. Far more serious changes than these were effected by a law reorganizing provincial administration. If Siéyes had, by concentrating power in the hands of a body of notables, favoured despotic power, he had contemplated counterbalancing this tendency by leaving *communes* and municipalities free. This indeed he sought to insert in his constitution, which Bonaparte insisted on omitting, and in its place soon inaugurated the imperial system of centralization. He appointed prefects in every department, subprefects in every district, and kept to himself the nomination of mayor in every *commune*. If the republican government had stricken root and worked beneficently in rural districts, such a complete reversal of it, as well as of all local authority, would not have been possible. But, unfortunately, the rustic and provincial authorities sprung from election had abused their power as much as conventionalists or directors. Entrusted with the levy and repartition of the public contributions, they had exercised this duty as violent and selfish partisans, and in such a way as to stop all flow of revenue from the provinces to the capital. The confiscated property of *émigrés* and clergy had been as badly dealt with. Mayor and council obeyed the terrible commissioners of the

* Mémoires du Comte Miot de Melito.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Convention, who came with the guillotine in their train. But they would obey nothing less, and decentralization came to be synonymous with disorder. After such unhappy experience, it was easy for Bonaparte to suspend communal and municipal liberty, allowing the assemblies indeed to remain, and to elect *juges de paix*; but all real power in province and district was transferred to the prefect, and to the herd of political, fiscal, and judicial functionaries which soon invaded the provinces. If the disorder and embezzlement traced to the municipal authorities during their revolutionary reign rendered the re-establishment of the old monarchic intendants easy, under the name of "prefects," the prevalence of factions in the provinces, either Chouan or republican, served as a pretext for the extension of police superintendence over the country. A minister of that name and functions had been created by the Directory, but his authority and exertions were confined to the capital. Now, however, the police minister (Fouché) was empowered to appoint commissaries in every provincial town, and thus envelope the future empire with a network of police. Fouché, indeed, was as greedy of power as Napoleon himself. Lucien Bonaparte, as home minister, offuscated him, and he having committed the blunder of publishing a pamphlet entitled "Monk and Napoleon," well intended but premature, was obliged to quit office, and abandon the field to Fouché.*

Stern republican as Lucien had been, the public liberties did not lose by his resignation. He sanctioned and executed a large proscription of the press, the first consul having inaugurated his reign by the immolation of all the journals save thirteen. And these existed under the permission of the police. Individual liberty need not be mentioned, although each successive code appeared to secure it. The jury, which was promised,

* Miot. Thibaudeau.

was soon set aside. And the military ruler had always courts martial or special tribunals at his command, when it was his object to avoid or supersede the regular courts of justice.

The tribunate which commenced its sittings and orations with the new year raised a feeble voice against the worst of these dictatorial acts, and merely attacked the less consequential. The revolution had abrogated the right of willing property, by establishing a fixed and forced division. The First Consul sought to restore parental authority somewhat, by allowing it to bequeath a larger portion to one child. This supposed attack on equality, this tendency to aristocracy, was a fertile subject of declamation, which indisposed rather than hurt the First Consul. He was, in fact, obeyed as no monarch had ever been, not even Louis the Fourteenth. One left as little liberty to the population as the other, but the chains and the burdens of Frenchmen in the nineteenth century were equally borne by all. There were neither corporations, nor professions, nor class, nor institutions, that could resent or even show discontent. If there was a murmur it must be a general one, and the mass of the people were too well pleased to have escaped, some from the starvation, others from the extortion or the tyranny, of the republic, to repine either at the revival of the worst taxes of the monarchy, salt and drink duties included, or at the new burden of the conscription, far more onerous than the *corvée* or any feudal exaction. All this went to throw power into the hands of the government, power unwisely spent, first in the domination and subjection of other countries and races, but soon used to teach them the selfsame modes of concentrated administration and levyings of men and resources, which the conqueror employed. The conscription first tried in France was soon applied to the German and Slavonic races. And Napoleon at last did but create a military world, intended to combat for

CHAP.
XLIII.

him, but quite certain to combat against him, sooner or later. It was impossible to organise the modern world into dominant and subject races. No event so efficaciously contributed to this as the French revolution. Yet Napoleon was induced to attempt to apply the old feudal law of domination and subservience to Europe. He failed and must have failed. Although the world is so tardy in perceiving the true cause of his fall, or deriving the true lesson from it.

This iron sceptre required to be gilt with glory, no easy achievement even for Bonaparte. The French armies had been beaten upon almost every field. The loss during 1799 was estimated at little less than 200,000 men.* Massena's reduced army was menaced with capture in Genoa, the remains of the Egyptian expedition in the same predicament. The Russians, to be sure, had retired in disgust from the war, but Austria had a powerful army on the Rhine, and a veteran one in Piedmont. Had the Austrians acted fairly and wisely, they would have at once restored his dominions to the King of Piedmont, and made him raise a native royalist force to defend them. But Austria had determined on keeping Piedmont, thus rivalling the foe in rapacity, and throwing away the natural support that might have swelled their armies.† The principal desire of Bonaparte was to reverse the triumphs of the latter. His reputation, and consequently his power, were built on his Italian conquests. To recover these was the surest mode of dazzling the French, and making them acquiesce in his government. With this aim it was also necessary to free Italy by one decisive blow, not by a long campaign, during which the absence of the First Consul from the capital would give an opening to a host of dangerous conspiracies and intrigues. His plan was therefore not to fight his way over the Alps, or through

* Enquête.

† Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. v. p. 3.

their passes from Provence, but to convey an army *en masse* through Switzerland, at once into the plains of Piedmont. This could not be attempted at a very early period of the year, nor at any time whilst the Austrians had a large army in Swabia. To drive them behind the Inn became his first object. Moreau was given the command of the army in Alsace, and his mission was to force the Austrians back into Bavaria, whilst an army destined for Italy was mustered and equipped at Dijon. But Moreau was cautious. He himself had failed in a previous attack of the same kind, Jourdan had suffered a defeat from the Archduke Charles, whilst engaged in a similar enterprise. But the archduke no longer commanded. He had recommended the emperor to make great reforms civil and military,* as well as to observe peace for the present, but the court with its wonted fatuity replaced him by Kray. That general spread his 100,000 men in an extended line from the Maine to the Tyrol, the French were far more concentrated near Basle. Bonaparte wished Moreau to pass the Rhine at Schaffhausen, to get in the rear of the enemy's centre. But Moreau insisted on moving straight forward, and he succeeded in beating Kray in three successive actions, the principal one being at Moeskirch, and obliging that general to shut himself in the entrenched camp of Ulm.†

Some 40,000 men had, in the meantime, been collected and equipped at Dijon. And no sooner did Bonaparte learn that Moreau had driven the Austrians so far eastward as to break off their communications with the Lake of Constance and Switzerland, which was effected towards the middle of May, than he ordered the army at Dijon to proceed round the Lake of Geneva, and reinforced by 20,000 men, which had formed the right

* For the reforms, proposed by the Archduke Charles, see Springer, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*.

† St. Cyr, Napoleon, Archduke Charles.

CHAP.
XLIII.

wing of Moreau's army, to cross the Mont St. Bernard. Lannes led the way. May is early for these high passes. To drag artillery over them was a Herculean labour. It was successfully performed by Marmont.* When embedded in the trunks of trees the cannon were found easier to pass than the ammunition waggons. The army descended to Aosta, from whence the valley leads down to Ivrea. It was stopped half way by the fort of Bard, which at first Napoleon made light of. Its Austrian commander held out, and though infantry and cavalry could get round by another path, there was none for the artillery but under the guns of the fortress. The army, however, pushed on to the capture of Ivrea, and the guns were dragged by night through the narrow street of Bard, piled thick with straw, and so escaped the fire from the fort, which if vigilant might have pulverised everything attempting to pass beneath it.† From Ivrea the French marched eastward by Vercelli to Milan, which they reached on the 1st of June. Massena surrendered in Genoa on the very day previous. There were many circumstances, however, to compensate for this bad news. The French troops in the Riviera above Savona, and on the Col di Tende, had resumed the offensive and were fast driving back the Austrian advanced divisions, in that quarter, as well as from Turin. Melas was at Alexandria with little more than 30,000 men, but as the French crossed the Po at Piacenza and elsewhere, the Austrian corps in that direction fell back towards Alexandria, and were joined by the corps which had reduced Genoa. Between this portion of the Austrian force commanded by General Ott and the leading divisions of the French under Lannes was fought a severe action on the 9th of June at Montebello. Lannes attacked the enemy on the

* His memoirs give the best account of the campaign, but he represents the great effort as needless;

the artillery might have passed by the little St. Bernard.

† Mémoires du Duc de Raguse.

heights and carried these, but was repulsed as fresh Austrian regiments joined. The French, however, reinforced by Victor, renewed the struggle, and each side had the better, as long and as often as fresh troops could be brought up, but this at last failing Ott, he was obliged to retreat. Some thousands fell on both sides. This was the field on which Lannes won his title.

The French pursued the retreating enemy to the Bormida, in front of Alexandria, and occupied the immense plain eastward of that river, known as that of Marengo. The military genius of Bonaparte showed itself chiefly in offensive war. He seldom waited for the attack, in this conforming to the spirit of the nation which he led. The movement, however, by which, having dropped down the Alps, he succeeded in driving the Austrians into a corner, and depriving them of all means of retreat, had the effect which nearly proved fatal to the French commander, of rendering his enemies desperate. It was not the French who attacked on the memorable 14th of June, in the battle of Marengo, but the Austrians, who, though counting few more than 30,000 men, poured over the Bormida in early morning. The French made a gallant resistance, but were completely overpowered, and driven from the village of Marengo, along the two roads leading from it, the one to Voghera, the other to Tortona. Bonaparte did not reach the field till eleven o'clock, when he endeavoured with the regiments of the guard to stop the backward movement. In this he failed; under the frequent charges of the Austrian horse, the retreat became a rout. The French indeed rallied: four times, said Napoleon, they advanced and as many times fell back.* The battle was, in fact, lost, and Bonaparte, flinging himself under a cherry tree, admitted it. The Austrian general, however, instead of completing his victory, abandoned it.

* Napoleon Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Being very aged, he could scarcely hold on horseback, and withdrew towards four o'clock, leaving Zach to direct what he thought was but a pursuit. By that hour, however, Desaix, despatched on the previous day on the road to Novi, arrived on the field, attracted by the cannonade. The timely succour brought by him stopped the enemy at Castel Ceriolo on one road and at San Guliano on the other. Desaix clamoured for artillery to play upon and break the advancing column of Austrians, ere it could be charged with effect. The greater number of the French guns had been dismounted, but some fifteen were collected and made to play with grape. Kellerman with the fresh cavalry was ordered to keep on the flank and charge the Austrian column, as soon as he saw symptoms of its wavering. Zach, at the head of the Austrian grenadiers, advanced in despite of the fire of Marmont's guns and Desaix' division. The latter, indeed, was for a moment paralysed by the death of its general. Kellerman seeing the Austrians by no means wavering, but on the contrary within three minutes of overpowering and capturing the French guns, whilst Desaix' fresh division showed manifest signs of weakness, charged into the flank, and through the column of Zach, cutting it in two, and both encouraging and enabling the French infantry opposed to it, to rush on and accomplish the Austrian rout. Zach and those about him were taken prisoners. Several of the Austrian generals had been disabled, and there was no one to take the command or retrieve the day. The discomfited troops retired behind the Bormida, and left victory to the French.*

Not two-thirds of the Austrians recrossed the river. To those who consider the great events of the world as the result of mere fortune, the victory of Marengo serves

* *Moniteur*. *Memoirs of Napoleon*. *Berthier's report*. *Geschichte der Krieg*.

Mémoires du Duc de Raguse. *Mem. of Crossard, &c.*

as a powerful argument. Neither the genius nor the provisions of Bonaparte had certainly anything to do with the triumph. His army was dispersed in the face of the foe, and severely beaten, when a caprice of fortune, in the shape of a cavalry charge, led not by him, but by Kellerman, altered the entire aspect of affairs. Men are not unwilling to accept the award of war, in the supposition that the victorious country has brought a greater amount of manly courage, with military genius and renown to the encounter. But here was the fate of Europe decided, or reversed, by what might be likened to the cast of a dice box. Bonaparte had himself well said that he was accompanied by the goddess of fortune as well as by the goddess of war.*

Some German writers† severely censure Melas for giving up all as lost at Marengo. But why did the Austrian government appoint a general, whose strength could not go through one day's battle, much less provide for the retrieval of defeat? Melas offered to surrender all north Italy, west of the Oglio, with the fortresses, Genoa included, himself withdrawing behind the Mincio. Bonaparte consented. He was anxious for momentary peace, in order to return to Paris, and consolidate his government. He even indulged in his mania of writing to sovereigns, and forwarded an argumentative epistle to the Emperor, in which he pretended that the balance of power in Europe was menaced not by France but by England. He pointed out the conditions of Campo Formio, as still forming the best base of an agreement.

* The Austrian defeat at "Marengo," wrote Sir Arthur Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, "was occasioned and aggravated by the situation in which it was placed by its operations against Massena at Genoa. If these operations had been brought to a conclusion earlier, or been discontinued, the Austrian army might

have been placed in a position where it would not have been obliged to fight to regain its communication with Germany. In that case, even if defeated at Marengo, the reverse need not have been followed by the loss of Italy."

† Bulow, Hardenburg.

CHAP.
XLIII.

The victory of Marengo, and the capitulation which followed it, were not the only events that inclined the Emperor of Austria to listen to the French overtures for peace. Moreau had succeeded in dislodging his adversary Kray, from his entrenched camp of Ulm, by pushing beyond him, occupying both banks of the Danube, and thus threatening his communications with Vienna. During the operation some brisk cavalry engagements, to the advantage of the French, took place on the celebrated field of Blenheim. Kray found it necessary to evacuate Ulm. The French then advanced to the Iser. And it was near Munich at Parsdorf, that an armistice for Germany was concluded in July, in accordance with that which had already taken place in Italy.

Two Austrian diplomatic agents were at the same time despatched to Paris, where General Bonaparte had himself returned, to be welcomed with a degree of exultation and submission which no republican general had as yet succeeded in obtaining. This increased the difficulties of San Julien, the Imperial envoy. He had come to gain time and avoid such hasty conclusion of any treaty, which must be a flagrant breach of the Austrian compact with England.* The Emperor had solemnly stipulated not to make peace without that power. To own this at once was to continue the war, not to avoid it. San Julien allowed himself to be overpersuaded by Talleyrand to sign a preliminary agreement. It had the desired effect of warding off hostilities and of enabling Joseph Buonaparte and Count Cobentzel

* This compact, by which Austria engaged not to make a separate peace until the end of the following February was signed after the battle of Marengo, but before the Austrian court was informed of it. To avoid the extremity of war, Cobentzel offered, whilst carrying on a feigned

negotiation in presence of an English envoy, to enter into a secret understanding for a separate peace with France. Bignon, tom. i. p. 358. Bonaparte would not listen to the proposal, but offered to leave Mantua to Austria, and give the Legation to the Duke of Tuscany.

to meet at Luneville for the purpose of concluding a definitive peace. But Austria was not prepared to abandon England and break its solemn word. So that the preliminary treaty signed by San Julien was disavowed, and Bonaparte put his armies in motion both in Bavaria and on the Adige.*

Moreau commanded some 120,000 men, which were posted north of Munich between the Inn and the Iser. The Austrians had mustered an army scarcely inferior, but, instead of giving it to the Archduke Charles, they entrusted it to the young and inexperienced Archduke John. He proposed to pass the Inn, and turn Moreau's army so as to get into his rear, and in fact mimic Marengo. But the difficulty of the way stopped him. Stumbling in his progress on the left wing of Moreau, he drove it in. The momentary success emboldened the young commander, and he marched forthwith to the attack of the main body of the French. This was stationed in a clearing of woods, an open space around the village of Hohenlinden, surrounded by those thick pine forests without much underwood, through which infantry and especially skirmishers could penetrate, but where artillery and cavalry must pursue the straight and narrow roadway. To direct an attack along such a causeway resembled conducting it over a bridge. The French being marshalled opposite the outlet of the wood, every gun was of course directed towards it, and for a column to issue from it and deploy was next to impossible. Yet this was what the Archduke John endeavoured to do. In the attempt his several columns were foiled. And their retreat was cut off by two divisions of the French army, the chief one under Richepanse, which had been ordered to seize the villages and the road behind the Austrians and cut off their retreat through the wood. The Archduke's lieutenants extri-

* Napoleon Memoirs and Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLIII.

cated, as best they could, the soldiers from the trap, but left some 20,000 behind, slain or captured. It was a defeat more fatal than Marengo. Moreau crossed the Inn, and advanced up the valley of the Danube to Vienna. The Archduke John tried to make a stand at Salzburg, but found it impossible. Moreau advanced as far as Steyer, and his cavalry occupied Ips, upon which the Baron de Meerveldt, sent by the Archduke John, arrived to demand a suspension of hostilities. This was granted on Christmas-day 1800, the truce extending to Italy, where Brune had forced the passage of the Adige, and where other French troops had occupied Tuscany and flung back the Neapolitans.*

If the Austrian plenipotentiary at Luneville was ready to treat separately from England, but in secret, before Hohenlinden, after that catastrophe he consented to do so openly. Austria had not an ally, Russia turned its back on her misfortune, Bonaparte released the Russian prisoners, and adroitly made a present to the Czar Paul of the island of Malta, just as it was captured by the English. Although the French Consul had neither the right nor the power to cede Malta, and the chieftdom of the Order of St. John, to Russia, the Czar snatched greedily at the gift, demanded it of England, and was of course refused it. This was precisely what Bonaparte desired. Paul sent an envoy to Paris and became a decided enemy of England and of Austria.

Bonaparte's views with respect to the latter power were to confine the Emperor to his hereditary dominions, and deprive him of all influence beyond them, either in Germany or in Italy. In pursuance of this he now insisted on excluding from the peninsula all princes connected with Austria, such as the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena. Austria, he said, must indemnify them in Germany. It had already been agreed with Prussia and

* Napoleon, *Dumas*.

accepted by Austria, that those German princes who were deprived of territories west of the Rhine by the French, in extending their empire to that river, should be indemnified in Germany, at the expense of the ecclesiastical electors. Their possessions not being hereditary, there was less injury and difficulty in dispossessing them. Bonaparte now proposed indemnifying the Duke of Tuscany in the same way, by giving him Salzburg. Austria was equally injured and mortified by this secularisation of the ecclesiastical electorates, which had escaped the Thirty Years' war, and which maintained Catholic preponderance even in the north. But Bonaparte struck this strong blow to Catholic sacerdotalism in Germany. He even promised the bishopric of Bamberg and Wurzburg to Prussia, if it would occupy Hanover. Cobentzel was no Melas, he fought to the last, but it was in vain; the treaty of Luneville was signed on the 9th of February 1811. France took the boundary of the Rhine, and even dismantled all the fortresses on the right bank. Mantua it equally insisted on. Tuscany was given to a prince of the Bourbon family of Spain, the Duke of Parma, afterwards King of Etruria.* The royal family of Naples were left unpunished for its late attacks, Russia strongly interceding for it and for the King of Piedmont. Rome too was respected. Bonaparte, however, cutting down the high prelates in Germany, determined to respect the Pope in Rome, and already looked to make the Church and its head at least the spiritual allies and supporters of his future sovereignty.†

The main thought of the First Consul was England, and how to overcome its resistance. It was impossible indeed to reconcile any minister of that country to the terrible and now accomplished fact of France remaining

* For a personal account of this idiot prince, see the Memoirs of Madm. D'Abrantès.

† Martens, Reuss Deutsche Staatskanzlei, Gagern.

CHAP.
XLIII.

mistress of the whole of the western continent. Not merely the glory but the very existence of England was threatened by it. All the diplomatic logic of Bonaparte, the un-English sophisms of the British opposition, were idle froth slavered vainly on that fact. England, however, was still supreme on its own element, the sea, and the efforts of Bonaparte to dispute its naval power were as ill-imagined and unsuccessful as English attempts to raise and uphold continental resistance to France. Pitt's repeated efforts to galvanise by subsidies the old governments of Europe to take the field proved futile against French armies and commanders, both sprung from a people animated by the energy which the revolution had given, and the genius which it had called forth. From one mistake of this kind to another the English government floundered, until chance or a more provident cause than chance led the French ruler into the blunder of attacking not merely a court but a people. In trying to crush the Spaniards they turned against him, and proved as indomitable as the French.

In his struggle to combat his foes by sea, Bonaparte was not so fortunate. In 1801 his object was to unite all the countries with ports and navies against England. He had a vague idea that the revenue and power of the latter state depended on its trade with the Continent. To exclude English vessels from the Baltic, from the Elbe, from the Tagus, from the Spanish and Italian ports, became thus his great aim. For this he flattered the court of Madrid, by giving Tuscany to a Spanish Bourbon, and with the same view he compelled the Spanish court to invade Portugal.

A most important ally and aid in these designs was the Emperor Paul, who in spite to England for being refused Malta, and for other reasons, laid an embargo on British vessels, and in conjunction with France obliged the small powers of the Baltic—Sweden, Denmark, and also Prussia—to join in reasserting the old pretensions of

neutral powers to carry on trade with belligerents without being searched or stopped. This was the *quondam* league of Catharine the Second called the Armed Neutrality. A power of equal importance with Russia was the United States, and with them Bonaparte had made a treaty which denied provisions and marine stores to be contraband of war, and which claimed the right of importing into France any commodity, save guns, powder, swords, and bullets. Paul and his allies adopted the same view of what was contraband of war, and England was thus threatened with being deprived of the means of making any serious or effective use of its power of blockade. The rights and claims of neutrals, and the grave events connected with them, belong more particularly to the history of England than to that of France. They produced the invasion of Portugal by a Spanish army under the Prince of the Peace, at the dictation of Bonaparte, as well as the attack upon Copenhagen by the British fleet, ending in the destruction of many of the Danish vessels, and the submission of the Danish government. The assassins of the Emperor Paul about the same period (April, 1801) came to defeat the scheme of armed neutrality; and as it caused France and England to despair each of them, of the power to inflict any mortal wound upon the other, the event led to peace.*

The foreseen conclusion of the struggle in Egypt offered the way for overtures from both sides. In January, 1800, Kleber, who had succeeded to the command in Egypt, and who was no little disgusted with it, concluded with the Turkish vizier at El Arisch, under the suggestion of Sir Sidney Smith, a treaty, by which the French troops were to evacuate Egypt, and be transferred to Europe; such a stipulation was against the express orders of the English government, which, however anxious to expel the French army from Egypt,

* Bignon, Thibaudeau.

CHAP.
XLIII.

could not be a party to bringing it within a few marches of the Austrians, when these were about to fight a decisive battle for the possession of Italy. Unfortunately the Turkish vizier had acted upon the convention, and brought his disorderly army of horse to the gates of Cairo, which he expected to be delivered to him. Kleber of course refused, and a battle ensued between the French and Turks at Heliopolis, near Cairo (20th March). The French infantry in squares defied the Turkish horse, which, far superior in numbers, galloped round them in vain, to be finally shot down and routed by destructive volleys of grape. But Cairo itself had risen in insurrection. And it proved a far more perilous and difficult work for the French to subdue this. They succeeded however. When a fanatic Arab assassinated Kleber a few weeks subsequent to his victory (June 14th).

The command then devolved upon Menou, a French general not unwilling to enact the part of Sultan of Egypt. From this dream he was awakened at Cairo by the news, that 15,000 English had landed in the bay of Aboukir, on the 8th of March, 1801. He instantly marched to encounter them, and was able to bring up a force about equal to that of the English general, Abercrombie. The landing at Aboukir resembled the recent landing at the Helder; the English had * then to advance along a narrow peninsula to attack Amsterdam, now to capture Alexandria. Had Menou acted like Brune in Holland, that is, stood on the defensive, he probably would have proved victorious. But having an undue contempt for his enemy, he attacked them on the 21st. He soon found the British soldier indomitable in defending his positions. The French were repulsed and lost the action,† Abercrombie was killed.

* Bunbury's Narrative.

† Bunbury, Moore, Regnault, &c.

He was excessively short-sighted, and his successor, Hutchinson, was equally so, a proof of a similar defect of vision in the English war office. Hutchinson, however, made the most of the victory; he succeeded in separating the French army, and in compelling one after the other to surrender, one half at Cairo, on May the 22nd, the other in Alexandria, August the 31st, on condition of being transferred to France. The battle of Marengo had been fought, the peace of Luneville concluded, there was no longer a reason for objecting to the return of the survivors of the French army of Egypt to their homes.

Negotiations for peace between France and England had long preceded the catastrophe of Egypt, or the fall of Malta. To restore the former to the Porte, but keep the latter as a stepping-stone to recapture it was the first desire of Bonaparte. But he soon found it impossible of accomplishment. He continued therefore to threaten England in Portugal, in Hanover, and in the Channel by the construction of an invading flotilla at Boulogne. Nelson, in August, made a vain attempt to destroy it. Portugal, invaded by the Prince of the Peace, acceded to his demands in the treaty of Badajoz, which the First Consul rejected as not procuring him the chief object, for the moment, of the war—a Portuguese province to restore, and thus serve as an equivalent in the making of peace. England, however, defeated this design by seizing Madeira. Negotiations nevertheless proceeded, and the difficult question of Malta was solved by the compromise of restoring it to the knights. France demanded of England the restoration of all her colonial conquests. This being refused, the French consented to her keeping Ceylon, formerly appertaining to Holland. The English also desired to keep Martinique or Trinidad. On this there ensued another dispute and stand-still. But being or pretending to be dissatisfied with the Spanish court, Talleyrand gave up also Trinidad. The preliminaries of peace were thus signed on the 1st of

CHAP.
XLIII.

October, 1801, and Lauriston, who brought them from Paris, was drawn in triumph by the mob of London, partly glad of peace, partly in admiration of Bonaparte.

The signing of the preliminaries scarcely facilitated that of the final peace, as the hostile parties were thus enabled to know each other better and divine each other's motives. English politicians were sore and mortified, Bonaparte exultant and too ardent to condescend to the necessary decorum of diplomatic hypocrisy.

One of the first acts of the French government after the signature of the preliminaries was to despatch an expedition under the brother-in-law of Bonaparte for the reconquest of San Domingo. So mistrustful were the English of the object of the expedition that they despatched a fleet to watch it. Complete success at first attended the enterprise, and could the French commander have respected and conciliated the able coloured chiefs, who, like Bonaparte himself, had been thrown forward by the revolution, he might have succeeded in recovering the colony. But General Leclerc kidnapped Toussaint, and sent him prisoner to France. And hence when war with England subsequently broke out, the French had not a friend. With a similar view of resuscitating French colonial power, Bonaparte negotiated the retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France. An expedition for the purpose of occupying it was subsequently prepared, and in the ports of the Low Countries, which inspired the English government, unaware of the object of the expedition, with fresh mistrust. But what alarmed it, more than efforts or designs of this kind, in the East or West Indies, was the persistence of Bonaparte's views upon Egypt, and the prospect of replacing Malta in the hands of a weak and neutral power. One of the great links between the Emperor Paul and the First Consul had been the project of a combined invasion of India, Egypt being

the first stage, and the first conquest of France. This chimera of subduing India inflated the hopes of the French government, and the fears of the English during these years, as much and even more than the many real and substantial causes of rivalry between them.

In England the anti-Gallican opposition were loud in denouncing these forward steps to domination, which the First Consul did not shrink from making even between the signatures of the preliminaries and of the peace itself. His assuming the Presidency of the Italian republic, his seizure of Elba and progress in San Domingo, offered fertile themes for declamation. But the British government were determined on making the experiment of peace. Accordingly it was agreed that England should restore Malta to the knights, of whom none should be French or English, within three months, or to a Neapolitan garrison if the knights were ready with no other. In this way the treaty was patched up and signed at Amiens at the end of March, 1802. It was popular with the masses, but no more. Every gentleman was against it, and every blackguard for it, wrote Fox. There were loud rejoicings on the part of both peoples. "We shall have peace in a week, and war in a month," observed an English statesman, and George the Third considered the reply to be truthful and just.*

The First Consul had thus some leisure allowed him for that rearrangement of civil government which suited his position and his designs. He had assumed power with a sincere desire to make use of it for the reconciliation of parties, and the oblivion of past quarrels. A large amnesty was extended to all the proscribed. Not only those moderate politicians, Constitutionalists or Royalists, imprisoned or transported by the Directory, had leave to return, but the obnoxious men of extreme parties such as Barrère and Carnot, as well as noted

* Twiss' Life of Eldon, Moniteur, Bignon.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Chouans, were allowed to tread the soil of the republic. The list of *émigrés* was closed, and the Council of State declared them as apt for employ as other citizens. The Royalists indeed were so encouraged by these favours, that some of their chiefs ventured to ask the French Consul to restore the Bourbons. He replied, that their only path to the throne lay over half-a-million of corpses. But whilst rudely rejecting the demands of the Royalists, the government sought to remove all the grievances of their humble followers. The churches were reopened, full liberty of worship restored, and every indulgence announced in a proclamation to the departments of the West. These concessions did not satisfy the fanatics of either party, who, denied the means of open insurrection, had recourse to secret plots. In October, 1801, the police discovered, and itself assisted to mature, a plot of some ultra-revolutionists to assassinate the First Consul. Those who meditated it, Ceracchi, Arena, and others, were arrested and sent to be tried.

Two carriages left the Tuileries for a concert at the Opera-house on Christmas-eve of the same year, 1801. In the first were Bonaparte and his aide-de-camp, in the second Josephine. In the narrow rue St. Nicaise, the escort pushed aside what appeared to be a water-carrier's barrel, drawn by one horse, and the horse held by a girl. The consular carriage drove rapidly past, whilst Josephine's was at some distance behind. Between them the machine exploded, driving horse and girl into fragments, killing seven persons, one of them a cavalier of the guard, and wounding twenty-seven others. The First Consul was welcomed at the Opera with acclamations of sympathy; he had most narrowly escaped destruction. Who had done this? Bonaparte said instantly, it was the Jacobins. The previous plots corroborated this opinion. But Fouché declared it must be the Chouans or dregs of the Royalists. And there ensued a long dispute between the

First Consul and the minister of police. Bonaparte's idea prevailed, and 130 individuals, those best known to have been ultra-revolutionists and terrorists, were ordered to be seized and transported without trial. Amongst them were nine known murderers of September, with whom were included such men as General Rossignol, Charles de Hesse, and the Conventionalists, Choudieu and Talot. There was a long debate in the Council of State, whether the sentence on these men should be passed simply by government, or by the council. The former opinion prevailed. It was a repetition of the summary justice of the Committee of Public Safety or the Directory. About the same time, Arena, Cerrachi, and the first batch of conspirators, were executed.*

Scarcely had these acts of severity been accomplished, when Fouché brought forward proofs that the infernal machine was the result of a Chouan plot, and that George Cadoudal was privy to it. The immediate actors in it, San Regent and Cambon, were seized, the former till suffering from the wound inflicted by the explosion. This discovery shook the convictions, and modified the purposes, of Bonaparte. He had been allowing the *émigrés* to return and resume such of their property, chiefly in forest, which had been unsold. He now issued contrary decrees. The *émigré* was again considered to be civilly dead, whilst those who obtained permission to return, no longer recovered their property sold or unsold. Bonaparte had been much inclined to restore some of the old institutions of the monarchy. He deplored the want of an aristocracy, even in a republic. Intermediate grades and ranks between the supreme magistracy and the people were indispensable, he said. It was disgraceful to see those who had held the highest authority in the state descend to poverty

* Thibaudeau, Rapp's Memoirs, Bourienne.

CHAP.
XLIII.

and neglect. War of course would produce a military hierarchy. But if society was not to be overshadowed and browbeaten by it, a class of civilian dignitaries were required. With this view the First Consul created the Legion of Honour, loudly and most inconsistently denounced, even by the democratic wearers of epaulettes, as an aristocracy.

But neither his Legion of Honour nor his Senate, nor aught that Bonaparte instituted, succeeded in forming a civilian body, like the noblesse, to counterbalance the high ranks of the army. And the result was that the Imperial system remained essentially a military one. The court was a camp, and the council, such as the government formed and presided, was one of war, not peace.

To restore the landed aristocracy was indeed impossible. The peasant had become proprietor even in La Vendée. There were no elective rights left to the people, no judicial or administrative privilege to the locality. A landed gentry thus, whatever its wealth, could have no influence. Functionaries might have replaced it, but functionaries, like gentry, require independence to command respect. The service of the State, the Law, and the Church formed three professions into which had liberty been infused, the civilian element might have risen to counterbalance the military. But without freedom of speech, what was the bar, that freedom of speech developing liberty, and talent in its turn commanding place? Bonaparte would have none of these things.

He sedulously undertook to reform the Code, a task which the lawyers of the Convention had commenced. At first, its articles when framed were laid before the tribunate to be discussed. But the First Consul was irritated at any opposition, and disliked all discussion, save in his own presence and under his own control. He therefore withdrew the Code from the tribunate, and settled the disputes on different points in the Council of

State. It was no doubt a boon to the population, subject previously to many conflicting laws, half feudal, half revolutionary. But the promulgation of the Code almost superseded the science of law, and promised to render legal learning useless, until difficult questions arose requiring reference to the principles and precedents on which the Code was founded. Thus deprived of freedom of speech, and of learning, or of winning its way by talent to office, the legal profession became a nullity.

The Church was not more fortunate. Bonaparte restored it as an element of order, and as providing for a numerous class of clerical functionaries, performing the ceremonies and maintaining the appearance of religion. What he established, however, was mere form. He furnished but the shell, in which the dead body of the defunct Church was laid, and respected if not revered. He promised that he himself and his chief functionaries should attend and bow to the usual ceremonies, but the Pope must dispense him and them from what was essential either in faith or practice. Bonaparte declined confession and communion as indecorous and unsuited to the spirit of the age.* In other words he re-established the Church, partly as a decoration, partly as a moral police. The bishops, appointed and paid by the government, formed a portion of its functionary aristocracy, and at the same time the lower clergy were placed completely under the jurisdiction and at the mercy of the prelates. He was enabled thus to render the clergy subservient to him by the low state to which the political and military events of Italy had reduced the Pope. That pontiff he was at first inclined to respect and restore, but he soon found that the spirit of the old ecclesiastical body was radically hostile to his system of government and to what the revolution had consummated. He saw, in consequence, the necessity of depriving the

* Thiers.

CHAP.
XLIII.

pontiff of all temporal power, which at a time when spiritual power was in abeyance was tantamount to a dethroning of the pontiff altogether.

It would be unfair to blame the First Consul for what was either lukewarm or ultra-sacerdotal in these arrangements. He did what was possible, and restored the old religion of the monarchy, whilst preserving the preponderance of the lay authority. He re-enacted the old laws of the Gallican Church, declared dissident creeds entitled to tolerance and the right of worship, and maintained the revolutionary prohibition against monastic institutions. Upon one liberal principle he largely insisted, the freedom of education from ecclesiastical dictation or control. With this view he proscribed the Jesuits altogether, and established a University under the most eminent and enlightened men that could be found. If he preferred the teaching of science to that of literature or philosophy, it was that he feared the resuscitation of doctrines and sentiments which had produced so much disgust and anarchy. But the chiefs of his university did not proscribe philosophy for all that, and founded a school between the materialism of the eighteenth century and the bigot theology of the seventeenth, which, though it produced its chief results and professors after the fall of the empire, still remains indebted to Napoleon for its birth and its development.

The Institute formed the Senatorial Body of Learning. Its members, chiefly men of science, did not shrink from ridiculing the First Consul's scheme of resuscitating religion and the priesthood. But he fought his battle well with them, and demonstrated priests to be as useful as philosophers. Far from taking revenge, he on the contrary protected his little aristocracy of science, and when a journal ventured to mock them, Louis Bonaparte, as Minister of the Interior, suppressed it, thus assimilating the Institute to the Divinity or the Sovereign, whom it was not permitted to ridicule. The

government retained full power over the press, as over printing and publishing. They were reduced to utter nullity.

This reversal of the principles of the revolution, save the much prized one of equality, even that being but equality of prostration, required that the forms of government should be changed to suit it. Even Siéyes' ingenious system of removing the legislature from the people and carefully separating the right to vote from the liberty to speak, was too liberal. That Solon had, however, rendered it easy to emasculate the republic altogether. With the senate rested the powers of election. It was made to eliminate and rechoose one-fifth of the tribunate and the legislative body, and the government managed that the one-fifth chosen to go out should precisely be the liberal party. It was the old system of ostracism of the Directory. The conduct of the tribunate had rendered this especially necessary. Consisting of young and clever men chosen by the senate merely, it would appear, to show their oratory, it at once eschewed all moderation and rejected everything, codes, treaties, the most useful as well as most objectionable of measures. In one treaty the people were styled in diplomatic language *subjects*, and this raised a terrible storm. Bonaparte's temper and language were quite as menacing, and he proposed no less than a repetition of the 18th Brumaire. But Cambacérès dissuaded him from a *coup d'état* so violent, and invented the mode, which was adopted, of getting rid of the troublesome members of the Assembly by the elimination and re-election of one-fifth, for which the constitution had provided.

This veiled *coup d'état*, at which Siéyes grumbled, was followed by a formal abrogation of his constitution. His permanent list of notables was suppressed, and an election of two degrees was ordained; those whom the people chose were to form a college, and this college was to present a list, from which as before the senate

CHAP.
XLIII.

was to choose. There was little difference between the two systems, save the semblance of popular election. The tribunate was reduced to fifty members, to be subsequently abolished altogether, the senate to eighty. The latter was endowed with the power of prolonging the executive, in other words of declaring the First Consul to hold his office for life. But whilst endowing the senate with these powers, the jealous ruler would not commit to it the examination or vote of treaties. This he reserved to a Council of State of his nomination. The senate sought to retain a shadow of power by voting the prolongation of the consulate for only ten years. Bonaparte, dissatisfied, instantly resolved to do without that senate which he had just created, and appeal to a *plebiscite* or general vote of the population to sanction his consulate for life. Of course the people voted for the conqueror, and the senate was allowed to *proclaim* what they could not oppose. August, 1802, was the date of the re-inauguration of absolute sovereignty in France.

Whilst the base and summit of the new structure were thus made to proceed from the same forge with the most rude and antiquated fetters of tyranny, elaborate care was taken to adorn and gild the edifice with the most decorous and even gorgeous externals. Splendid museums were opened and filled with works of art taken from every capital in Europe. Architectural plans for the renovation of palaces and the beautifying of the metropolis were ordained and acted upon. Gardens were opened, triumphal arches erected, fountains made to spout. Everything that could efface the memory of freedom, and substitute gaping admiration for it, was created. And whilst the tendency of laws and institutions was seriously to degrade the spirit of man and convert him into a mere servile machine, ingenuity was tasked to flatter his vanity and please his eye.

Yet it would be unjust to attribute this to any deep-

laid scheme of tyranny and deceit. Bonaparte knew nothing of freedom, but its shameful and sanguinary excesses. His political education had been scant. He had never learned either to revere the principles of constitutional freedom or to appreciate its happy results. His idea of order was to enregiment mankind, and his scheme of national happiness to dominate. He knew nothing higher, nothing better, and he proceeded to apply these narrow principles, with the conviction that he was a Solon as well as an Alexander.

Such a system of government and such a character in a ruler, rendered any lasting agreement difficult, if not impossible, with other and neighbouring countries possessed of a vestige of either freedom or pride. The Cisalpine republic soon found that it was but a republic in name. It was not permitted even to be Italian, and was compelled to elect Bonaparte its first magistrate. Piedmont about the same period was annexed to France, and divided into French departments. Tuscany was styled the Kingdom of Etruria, under a young and imbecile Spanish Bourbon, but the French General Clarke ruled at Florence in his name. Elba was seized by the French, evidently for the sake of encircling and closing the port of Leghorn. The Pope Pius the Seventh had accepted with the Concordat the loss of the Legations, and could be looked upon as little more than a French bishop. The First Consul was supreme in Italy.

In Switzerland he was no less so. Geneva formed a French department. The Valais was destined to be another, as through it ran the great road which the French Consul was opening over the Simplon to Milan. The Vaud, which lay between Geneva and the Valais, was scarcely less French from gratitude. It was necessary, however, to make a show of Swiss independence, and the French ministry avowed it. The moment it did, a national party arose within the Confederation, and the French government sent an army to put it

CHAP.
XLIII.

down. Bonaparte in a courteous despatch, whilst declaring that Switzerland must remain federal and neutral, added, that its government must contain nothing hostile to France; the Swiss, in fact, must support whatever was French policy.* And this despatch was published in the *Moniteur* of January the 2nd, 1803.

More galling to England and other independent governments than even the annihilation of Swiss independence were the French projects for redistributing and reorganizing Germany. The task imposed by treaty, of indemnifying the German and Italian princes, who had been dispossessed by France, might have been left, one should think, to Germans. But Bonaparte undertook this himself, Prussia earnestly abetting him. A German power might, it was alleged, have shown a way more patriotic. But what Napoleon was executing was greatly advantageous to Prussia. He was destroying those ecclesiastical Electorates, which had been the support of Austrian influence in North and Central Germany. Thus showing himself the foe of the court of Vienna, Napoleon would gladly have conciliated that of Berlin, not only by giving it Hanover, but also the Mecklenburgs, the Dukes of which Duchies he would have transferred, like so many cabbages, into the interior of Germany.† Napoleon thus dreamt in 1802 that which his nephew has allowed to be accomplished in 1866. But Prussia was as fearful of his pretensions, as greedy of his gifts. Bonaparte in consequence turned to Russia, and for a time did receive its sanction. But Russia under its successive rulers was continually alternating from fanatic hatred to fanatic admiration of Napoleon.

Although the completion of these French designs upon Germany was subsequent to the peace of Amiens, still the aim and assumption of domination on the left

* Une Suisse amie de la France, ou point de Suisse du tout.

† Hardenberg, Stein's Leben.

as well as on the right bank of the Rhine, were evident and present to the alarmed vigilance of English statesmen. The First Consul indeed took care that they should be aware of it. In the *Exposé* of the State of the Republic laid before the Assemblies and published in the *Moniteur* of February the 11th, 1802, it was pointed out that England had no longer an ally on the Continent, and that whatever the success of intriguers in London they could not influence any continental power to join them. The consequence was, that England stood alone, and could not now maintain a struggle against France. Such a taunt appearing in a week or two after Sebastiani's Report upon Egypt and the East, full of vulgar abuse of the English, their armies and their government, excited great exasperation in London.

The English anti-Gallican opposition naturally made the most of such grievances, and the French *émigré* press in London took the opportunity to shed its gall on the First Consul. He had complained of a certain Peltier and of his journal, even before the conclusion of the peace, and was especially mortified by the continuance of his diatribes. Coupling this with the effort of certain French bishops in England, and the presence there of George Cadoudal still in the pay of the British government, he made angry remonstrance against the hostility thus kept up. The English ministry observed, that the French government might prosecute the libellers, but that England could not deny hospitality to the exiled princes and other French *émigrés*. It could not silence the press, that spared neither the English ministry nor the royal family—such was the legal license of journalism in England. At the same time Mr. Addington pointed out to the French envoy, M. Otto, how peace could be strengthened. He enumerated all that had been done in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Germany to extend French predominance, and added, "We will pass over all this,

CHAP.
XLIII.

but for God's sake leave Holland alone. Do not make its ports altogether your ports. And do not manifest fresh designs upon Egypt or Turkey. If you do, public opinion in England will set in once more for war and we shall be unable to resist it. Make a treaty of commerce allowing us to trade with the countries you have placed in your dependence, and above all things settle the affair of Malta by procuring the guarantee of neutral powers."

This fair and pacific advice of Addington, M. Thiers records from Otto's despatches, and he admits that M. de Talleyrand did not take the pains he ought to have done to have procured the guarantees for Malta. The French historian then proceeds to state that though Addington was anxious for peace, Pitt was for a renewal of the war. Pitt, however, was at first as much for peace as Addington. It was he who caused the order to be sent for the evacuation of the Cape, nor was it till the opening of 1803, and after the publication of Sebastiani's report, that Pitt considered peace to be untenable.* The fears of the English statesman that the French might recover Egypt and thence march to India, was indeed as chimerical as Bonaparte's undoubted aim of accomplishing such results. But Pitt's fears, as well as those of English politicians, were serious. It pleases M. Thiers to describe this as jealousy. But a victim is not jealous of an enemy which threatens to devour it, and daily acquires additional strength for that purpose. M. Thiers also describes the reluctance of the English to part with Malta as ambition. But this term is equally inapplicable to the mingled sentiments of mistrust and self-defence which animated the English. We have quoted Addington's language to Otto, let us complete this by an answer of Lord Whitworth's to General Bonaparte. When this envoy enumerated to the French ruler the great

* Stanhope's Life of Pitt.

superiority and numerous additional advantages which he had seized in Germany and elsewhere subsequent to the peace, Bonaparte replied, that it was quite in the power of England to participate in these advantages. Russia and Prussia did so. Prussia acquired territory and why should not Hanover, if England would as cordially unite with France?—he meant, “become its satellite.” To this Lord Whitworth observed, “that the ambition of his British majesty was to preserve what was his own, and not to rob the property of other sovereigns.”

Notwithstanding the indefeasible pride and independent bearing of the English, peace might for a time have been preserved, had George the Third been as absolute as Bonaparte. But the forms and necessities of parliamentary government shocked the First Consul, whilst they held out a dangerous subject of comparison and of envy to the French, who were totally deprived of such liberties. The mistrust of France, showed first by the Grenvilles and by the followers of Pitt more ardent than himself, forced Addington not only to take but to avow certain precautionary measures of armament and defence. Although Bonaparte had done, as was announced, the same in his *Exposé* to his legislature, he was deeply offended with the display of English distrust, and which, coupled with the retention of Egypt and Malta, he denounced as war. The English, however, withdrew from Egypt; and Malta they had a fair excuse for not evacuating, in the fact that there was no independent power or force to which they could deliver it.

A circumstance worthy of note was, that when England signed the treaty of Amiens, she considered Russia an independent power anxious to preserve the monarchs of Piedmont as well as Naples in their dominions, and prepared to withstand French encroachments either in Germany or in the Mediterranean. In this it was soon perceived she had made a great mistake. Russia not only abandoned Piedmont, but ended, instead of tempering

CHAP.
XLIII.

French dictation, by joining in the First Consul's partition of Germany. To give Malta to the Russians, or accept its mediation, was consequently felt to be giving up all to France under the name of Russia. This increased the difficulties of peaceful arrangement; and perhaps what most shook the English government from entertaining belief of it, was the discovery that the commercial agents sent by the French government to Dublin and other ports, had instructions and views similar to those of Sebastiani, to espy out English weaknesses, and to report all that might serve future invasion or attack.

The determination of the English government not to evacuate Malta, and at the same time to prepare for the contingency of war, aroused all the irrepressible ire of Bonaparte. Towards the close of February, 1803, the First Consul invited the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, to a private interview at the Tuileries. In the altercation which was about to ensue, Bonaparte had this great advantage, that he was observing the treaty of Amiens to the letter whilst totally disturbing the balance of the arrangements. Thus after recapitulating his formal acts in execution of the treaty, he asked whether it was the intention of England to evacuate Malta or not? And whether there was to be war or peace? Without waiting for a reply, he launched forth into a burst of passion, which he terminated by saying that he had rather see the English in possession of Montmartre than Malta. "A fearful word," exclaims M. Thiers, "but too terribly realised to the misfortune of our country."

Lord Whitworth explained, that much of what the First Consul complained, such as the virulence of journalism and the vivacity of popular debates, was but the inevitable consequence of English liberty. English generosity at the same time could not allow the French exiled princes to starve, or those French who had served England in war to go without reward. As to Malta,

his lordship observed, it would have been long since vacated, but for the report of Sebastiani, and of the changes which had been violently made in Europe. "You speak of the Italian republic, of the kingdom of Etruria, of Piedmont, of Switzerland," observed Bonaparte. "In all those what is there that you must not have expected?"

Lord Whitworth here no doubt shook his head.

"And Sebastiani's report, which has so alarmed you on this subject. I will speak plainly," said the First Consul. "I confess that I did, and do think of Egypt. It must be mine one day or other, as the Turkish empire cannot last. But I would not provoke war by attacking Egypt at present, nor do I desire war with you at all, for I have no means of striking at you but by a flotilla of invasion, of which I admit and fully discern all the difficulties and dangers. If you provoke me, however, to this invasion, I will attempt it, and to it will devote all the power I possess. How much better far that the two countries should unite for the subjugation of the world."

That the First Consul at this interview was the man of passion, rather than of policy, is plain enough. For the avowal of his ulterior designs upon Egypt was alone quite sufficient to deter the English government from granting the first and chief demand of France, the evacuation of Malta. If such language used to Lord Whitworth indisposed the English government to peace, the address of the First Consul presented to the legislative body immediately after alarmed and incensed Parliament and the nation. He described English parties, as some of them inclined to peace, but others actuated by mere hatred to France. He must therefore have 500,000 men ready to avenge the republic. As to England, it could find no allies in Europe, and was quite unable single-handed to enter upon a war with France.

CHAP.
XLIII.

A royal message to the British parliament was the too natural answer. Increase of army and navy was voted, and Fox himself joined in approving them. This retaliation produced a more violent altercation with the British envoy, whom the First Consul assailed at his levee, March 14, in the following words :—

“ You are determined to go to war. After fighting ten years, are we to fight ten years more ? The English government talks of my armaments. Where are they ? I have not a vessel in my ports. Let treaties be henceforth covered with a black crape, since you will not keep them. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her.” In closing this speech, the violent gestures of the First Consul made the ambassador think that personal violence was intended, and the diplomatist put his hand to his sword.

The anger of the First Consul was sincere. He really desired peace, not with the hope of English amity, but to have time and make preparation for meeting his arch-enemy on England's own element, the ocean. His restless aggression in Italy and elsewhere first disturbed the treaty he had concluded, and finally his temper broke it. Two months, however, still elapsed before war broke out. During these, Talleyrand certainly laboured his utmost to preserve peace. Everything turned upon Malta. To give it up to the Maltese or to the knights. was illusory, to Prussia or Austria equally so. The same might be said of Russia, but Russia declined taking it. England offered to give up Malta in ten years, provided the island of Lampedousa was then to be assigned to her. After passionately rejecting such a compromise, the First Consul at the last moment* offered to leave Malta in English possession if he were allowed to keep Tarentum and Otranto, with the positions which he held in the kingdom of Naples at the time of the signature of the treaty of Amiens.

* Letters of May 18. Napoleon Correspondence.

This certainly might have prolonged the peace. But Lord Whitworth had no longer the powers requisite to entertain a new proposition. He took his departure, and war was declared.*

From the middle of May, 1803, when hostilities were renewed between England and France, Bonaparte confined his military efforts during two years to the heights and the port of Boulogne. There he collected gradually more than 150,000 men, with light boats to transport them, their horses, and their artillery. The English made many but unsuccessful attempts to destroy the fleet of transports. But, on the other hand, the French commander would not trust his embarkations to the sea till he was the assured master of the channel.

What most prominently and seriously occupied the last months of 1803 and the commencement of 1804, was the conspiracy which the emigrant and violent partisans of the House of Bourbon had prepared. George Cadoudal, the Breton and the Chouan, who had failed in the terrible enterprise of the infernal machine, conceived a new plan. This was to attack, in company with some score of desperadoes, the carriage of the First Consul between the Tuileries and his country residence. He generally had but a guard of twenty horsemen, whom George thought to easily overpower, and then achieve his purpose of killing Bonaparte. This scheme of assassination, Louis the Eighteenth repudiated and condemned, but the Count d'Artois was weak enough to countenance it, as a feat of war, and not an attempt to murder.

It was part of the scheme of George that the prince should sanction it by his presence. Whilst Cadoudal was thus to make away with the First Consul, General Pichegru, who had escaped from the place of his deportation, came with him to Paris, to take advantage of the deed, and turn it to the profit of the Bourbons.

* For Lord Whitworth's orders, government, see Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. v.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Discredited himself, Pichegru sought a more powerful name and support in Moreau, who hesitated, however, gave but half assent to the plot, and disapproved of the Bourbon restoration altogether.

The French police, in the hands of Regnier and Real, was so ineffectually managed, that the conspirators were several months in Paris without being discovered. Fouché at length, though out of office, got wind of the plot, and set the First Consul on its trace. Pichegru, the Polignacs, George himself, were arrested, as well as Moreau, who, refusing to make any confession, even of weakness, was brought to trial.*

The French government had thus discovered and defeated this ill-conceived and criminal conspiracy, and could the First Consul have enjoyed his triumph with calm and honourable dignity, he would have derived countless advantages, with an increase of authority and power. But with very many great qualities Bonaparte had also some very small ones. He retained of his Corsican nature a thirst for vengeance, as unscrupulous in its daring as that of George Cadoudal, and wreaked it too often upon victims who had no share whatever in the supposed crime with which the French ruler charged them. What could exceed in petty malevolence the order for arresting and imprisoning all English travellers in 1803? What more puerile than his persecution of Madame de Staël, and other women, simply because they would not flatter him? What more infamous in the annals of crime than his extinction of the House of Condé by the murder of the Duke d'Engliën? That prince inhabited the Duchy of Baden, held there by an amour more than by a political design. Because George and his accomplices covered their villany by asserting that a French prince was to accompany and sanction their project, the erring malevolence of the

* *Moniteur Procès, Desmarests.*

First Consul would have the Duke d'Enghien to be that prince, despite not only truth but probability. And with no graver charge against him than this suspicion, Bonaparte ordered the seizure of the prince upon neutral and German territory, and his instant transferral to the Donjon of Vincennes. There the young duke was hastily brought before a military tribunal, condemned, and, without delay or mercy, shot in the fosses of that château. Criminal still, if exercised towards a prince who had plotted against him, it was as iniquitous as any act of Danton or Robespierre, with respect to a victim as innocent as he was illustrious.*

This outrageous act so shocked the court of St. Petersburg, that it put on mourning, and in that reprobatory garb received the French ambassador, Hedouville. The Czar, too, joined King Gustavus of Sweden in forwarding remonstrances to the German diet. It was not only the Duc d'Enghien's death that irritated Russia; the Emperor had thrown his protection over the royal families of Naples and of Sardinia, and deprecated altogether the French occupation of Hanover and its Baltic shores. The Czar had even come forward as a mediator to remedy and reform such anomalies. France, to gain time, had at first consented to this mediation, but soon showed that she regarded its result in no serious light.

The death of the Duke d'Enghien made an impression as profound on the court of Berlin, though it refrained from manifesting its displeasure. It had leagued with France so far as to promise to look on in neutrality whilst Austria was crushed. Hanover was to be its reward. But French troops had taken possession of that electorate after the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and the First Consul hesitated transferring it to Prussia on other terms than those of an active and offensive alliance. From this the King of Prussia shrank, and in the spring

* Bourrienne, Rovigo, Mémoires sur la Catastrophe.

CHAP.
XLIII.

of 1804 began to lend an ear rather to the suggestions of Russia than to the menaces of France.

Whilst foreign powers were thus alienated from the French ruler by an act which bespoke the terrorist, the nation, except perhaps its high society, were little affected with what was but another enormity of the time. That the object of murderous plots should avenge himself in the same spirit in which he was attacked, was allowed as revolutionary logic. The public interest was kept alive by the trials which ensued, those of George, the stubborn Chouan, who refused every offer of life accompanied with the condition of his serving another master, of Pichegru and of Moreau. The tragic end of Pichegru, found strangled in his prison, as well as the murder of Captain Wright, an English officer engaged in the landing of the conspirators, are reckoned by his enemies amongst the crimes of Napoleon. And it is to be feared that his police was not all guiltless. Proofs, however, are wanting. As for Moreau, he had no doubt wished well to the enterprises against Napoleon, though refusing to join in them. His was a weak head, that knew not how to be either republican or monarchist, Frenchman or foreigner, one of those characters which Dante depicts as neither *rebelli* nor *fedeli*, and unworthy of sympathy or attention; Moreau was pardoned and exiled.

To foreign enmity and domestic foes the First Consul opposed the assumption of permanent and imperial dignity. To provide for his succession in the government by creating it an empire, and thus rendering assassination plots bootless, was a natural policy for Bonaparte. It was, however, no easy one. He was without a direct heir. His wife was barren. His brothers openly put forward their claims to succeed, whilst Napoleon was convinced of their incompetence. The question had been mooted at the time when the Consulate was decreed to be for life. Josephine had

then proposed that the future empire should be settled upon the son of Louis by Hortense; and the First Consul approved the arrangement. To make compensation to Joseph, he was offered the crown of Lombardy. But he scorned the compromise. And Louis, instead of approving the choice of his son for heir, opposed it with all his might. Napoleon therefore contented himself with the clause, that he should have the power of nominating his successor.*

This even Louis the Fourteenth had not believed himself sufficiently powerful to impose. And Napoleon likewise was so conscious how feeble his authority would prove beyond the tomb, that especially after the death of the young prince whom he at first declared to be his heir, he conceived the idea of his divorce with Josephine and subsequent marriage. It showed what little faith he had in the senate, or in any of his institutions. Yet M. Thiers, likening them to the constitution of Venice, regards them as possessed of vitality, and as capable of germinating into liberty, when the iron sceptre had been broken. M. Thiers thus considers a mere salaried functionary aristocracy as equivalent to the old and wealthy patriciate of Venice. But the Napoleonic senate fell far short of the Venetian in independence or influence. Even the Venetian Assembly with its lion's mouth and its *sbirri* could not have lived in the open air of the nineteenth century. It could never have borne the modern development of liberty. Still less could an aristocracy of pensioned functionaries have either originated, or amalgamated with, the new era of freedom.

In May, 1804, the senate proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, the scene in which he accepted and his court acclaimed it, being the retired château and groves of St. Cloud. The capital and the multitude were both set aside. And yet the coronation

* Mémoires du Comte Miot de Melito, who best describes the quarrels of the brothers.

CHAP.
XLIII.

was not unpopular. The functionary aristocracy was enthroned along with the new empire. Not merely a well-endowed senate, but grand dignitaries partaking partly of Byzantine, partly of feudal greatness, were appointed in the persons of Cambacérès and Lebrun the Consuls, transposed into Arch-Chancellor and Arch-Treasurer. Joseph was named Grand Elector, a manifest sinecure, and Louis, Constable, another. Talleyrand and Berthier, dignitaries subsequently, were merely styled Grand Chamberlain and Grand Veneur. All the court places swept away in the first years of the revolution were more than re-established.

As a sanction to all this Napoleon resolved, that he should be crowned by the Pope, *after his conquest of England*. That was an important feat, which the new Emperor arranged along with the other requirements of etiquette. The coronation, however, took place without that formidable preliminary. The Pope and his cardinals hesitated long, and obviously objected sanctioning a ceremony in which the Emperor proclaimed tolerance to the different sects of Christians. But Pius was led to hope that the Legations might be the price of his acquiescence, a hope which, subsequently disappointed, led to his future resistance and captivity. The Pope came to Paris in December, 1804, and from the altar of Notre Dame looked on approvingly whilst Napoleon placed successively on his own head, and upon that of his wife Josephine, the crown of empire.*

Had the new emperor clearly and sincerely manifested, that his assumption of even an imperial crown was merely adding one to the fraternity of European monarchs, with whom he was prepared to live in equality and amity and in the observance of mutual respect, the crowning of the first Napoleon might have formed a new and pacific era for himself and for Europe. And this

* Thibau.lean, Pelet *Moniteur*.

indeed was probably his first idea. On the 1st of January, 1805, he took the occasion of the day to address to the emperors of Russia and of Austria letters in which he declared his purpose of confining his ambition to France, and of transferring Italy to the sovereignty of his brother Joseph. At the same time (January 2) he addressed an epistle to the King of England.* In that the new Emperor said truly, that the world was wide enough for the two powers of France and England, without their quarrelling. The answer of the British government was by no means in so conciliatory a spirit, and hinted, that being united with Russia and other powers in a more confidential manner, England must consult them, ere it hearkened even to words of peace.†

This announcement that Europe was once more leagued against him threw the Emperor out of all the paths of moderation. Instead of transferring Italy to his brother Joseph, he proceeded to Milan, and caused himself to be there crowned with the iron crown as King of that country, and appointed his stepson Eugène Beauharnais, soon after adopted by him, to be his viceroy beyond the Alps. The King of Piedmont got none of his promised indemnities. Two Italian duchies, Piombino and Lucca, were given to Napoleon's sisters, and created fiefs of the empire. These acts bespoke so strongly the policy and pretensions of Charlemagne, as to increase the fears and irritation of the still independent sovereigns. And these fears were raised to the highest pitch, when Napoleon declared Genoa as well as Pavia and Piacenza united to France. Subsequently he proclaimed that the Adige and the Rhine were the natural boundaries of that country. On the 11th of April, 1805, a treaty was formally signed between England and Russia, for the liberation of the Continent. Pitt was justly of opinion that it would require half a

* Napoleon Correspondence.

† Stanhope, Life of Pitt, Napoleon Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLIII.

million of soldiers to match those of France with any success, and offered that England should pay a million and a quarter sterling for each 100,000. Austria could chiefly be depended on to furnish the greater part of them. And on such terms she did join the alliance some three months later. The efforts of Russia to win over Prussia to the alliance failed. The French, who at first offered to give Hanover as the price of adhesion, gave it at last as the price of neutrality; and so Prussia, as it afterwards proved, became neutralized indeed.

Whilst the plans and forces of the third coalition were thus forming and mustering, Napoleon was employing all his ingenuity to pass his flotilla of boats with their freight of 100,000 men over the Straits of Dover. The attempt might have been made, it was thought, under the cover of a dark night, or a foggy day. But Napoleon required a preliminary more difficult, the command of the channel. He had hoped to obtain this in August, 1804, by the sudden junction of the Mediterranean and Ocean fleets. When this was given up, through the death of the admiral chosen to execute it, the Emperor thrust forward Spain from its position of occult enmity to England, to that of open hostility, which would enable him to make use of the Spanish fleet (December, 1804). It became then possible to outnumber that of England, even in the channel.

To do so with effect it was imagined to decoy Nelson into a wild-goose chase to the West Indies. Either France or Spain had vessels at Cadiz, at the Ferrol, at Rochefort, and at Brest, as well as the Dutch vessels in the Texel. A French naval force, by sailing to the West Indies, and apparently threatening them, might draw Nelson thither, and, leaving him there, might escape and hasten back to liberate, one after another, from blockade the fleets at Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest, and with them appear in the channel. If they were thus masters of the straits for three days, "England," added Napoleon, "would have ceased to exist."

Admiral Villeneuve escaping from Toulon with some thirty sail, fully succeeded in that portion of his task which was to decoy Nelson to the West Indies. But even whilst overreached, the English commander was able to foresee what might be the French tactics, and he warned his government of their probable purpose. A British fleet under Calder therefore awaited Villeneuve on his return to the coast of Spain, and though inferior in number fought an action with him in which two Spanish men of war were captured, and by which the French admiral was deterred from directly following his instructions. Instead of rallying the squadrons at Ferrol and Brest and proceeding with them to the channel, Villeneuve first delayed in the Spanish ports to refit. Nelson, he felt, must have returned from the West Indies, and joined by Calder, would meet him in the channel. In lieu of seeking an encounter with them, Villeneuve in consequence merely quitted Ferrol to proceed to Cadiz. No one indeed was sanguine of the success of his great naval scheme, save Napoleon himself. His admirals and even his marine minister doubted the possibility of executing on sea those successful combinations and manœuvres, which the genius of their ruler had accomplished upon land.

The recently published correspondence of Napoleon contains the full record of his plans and instructions to his admirals, as well as of his own fluctuating views. Aware that Russia and Austria were preparing to attack him, he addressed a deprecatory letter to Vienna on the 3rd of August. But on the 16th he concluded a treaty with Bavaria, offered Hanover to Prussia as the price no longer of active alliance but neutrality, and challenged Austria to declare her intentions, threatening that if the reply was not satisfactory he would be in Bavaria in three weeks at the head of 200,000 men. On August the 22nd orders were sent to Gantheaume to rally Villeneuve off Brest. But on the next morning arrived

tidings that the latter was at Cadiz. On the instant Napoleon abandoned his idea of invasion, and issued multiplied orders for the transport of the entire Boulogne camp to the Rhine.

The Austrian army under general Mack crossed the Inn into Bavaria on the 10th of September. The Archduke Charles had recommended the principal concentration of forces to be upon the Danube. But his court despatched 100,000 men to Lombardy, and Mack with about an equal number advanced to the Black Forest, unsupported by the Russians, who to the number of 80,000 were only then passing into Moravia. Napoleon, who crossed the Rhine with nearly double Mack's forces, took advantage of this division of his enemies, and sent half his army round by Franconia to the rear of Mack, whilst other French corps advanced against him through the Black Forest. The Austrian general was ill-supplied with information. His outlying divisions and his communications with Vienna were soon cut off. Obligated to fall back upon Ulm, the cavalry with one of the Archdukes made their escape from being besieged. In a short time after which the Austrian general was obliged to surrender in Ulm to the French (October 20). He had but 20,000 men when he capitulated. But this, added to the loss in partial actions, made up 50,000. And in fact the Austrians, so lately 100,000 strong upon the Danube, could bring but 20,000 into the field of Austerlitz, so completely and so fatuitously had their forces been frittered away.

South of the Alps the army commanded by the Archduke Charles waged a far more difficult kind of warfare with the French under Massena, driving them back from Verona, and but for the disaster of Ulm, the Archduke might have advanced into Lombardy. But this event compelled him to proceed to the succour of Vienna, to which Napoleon marched with all expedition. The Austrians made ineffectual resistance, allowing the

forces they had left in the Tyrol to be cut off either in Carinthia or the Tyrol itself. The only spot, indeed, in which the French met with resistance was at Thierstein or Durrenstein, the seat of Cœur de Lion's captivity. Marshal Mortier was there pressing on with a division to the left of the Danube, when a large body of Russian troops abandoning the right bank and the defence of Vienna passed over the bridge of Krems, fell upon Mortier, inflicting upon him severe loss, and would have destroyed his division, had it not been seasonably succoured. The French entered Vienna on the 13th of November. This would have been of little purpose, since they had been driven from the left bank, had they not contrived by rapidity and cajolery to deceive the simple Austrians and seize the great bridge over the Danube north of Vienna. Master of this they were at liberty to pour into the high plain of Moravia.

The appearance of the French in the Marchfeld was nearly accomplishing for the Russians a similar defeat to that inflicted upon Mack, one half of them being upon the Danube, the other only advancing into Moravia. Kutusoff, however, was a more active as well as a more tough adversary than Mack, and by sacrificing one of his divisions in a severe engagement, as well as by amusing the French with an armistice, he succeeded in concentrating his forces in the vicinity of Olmutz. They were 80,000 strong, supported by 20,000 Austrians full of ardour.* The Emperor Alexander, surrounded by young aides-de-camps of his own age, entertained no doubt of being victorious, and thought far more of cutting off the retreat of the French upon Vienna than of compelling them to it by defeat. This confidence of the Russians in victory was augmented by Napoleon's sending to them Savary to treat of peace.

* Thiers calculates 75,000 Russians, with 15,000 Austrians.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Whether his motive was to increase their confidence, or really to avoid an engagement, Prussia being about to enter the field against him, may be left to conjecture. The Czar sent young Dolgorouki to state his demands. As these amounted not only to the independence of Germany and Italy, but even of Belgium, Napoleon's ire was awakened. But still concealing his sentiments, he gave orders for a backward movement of his whole army to the position of Austerlitz. This corroborated the belief of the Russians that their antagonist was meditating a retreat upon Vienna, and they accordingly pressed forward to fight a battle.

The line taken by the Russians in front of the French had the hill or plateau of Pratzen in its centre, which was thus the key of their position. Their first move on the morning of the battle (December 1, 1808) was to abandon it and descend into the marshy plain, so as to turn the right of the French and cut off their retreat upon Vienna. The counter-move of Napoleon was to rush forward to take possession of this height, which was accomplished, and the Russian line thereby broken. There was a great deal of hard fighting both on right and left. On the latter it was almost altogether a cavalry engagement. The Russians soon perceived that the manœuvre of Napoleon to seize and keep the plateau in their centre would be fatal to them if successful, and all the force they could dispose of was directed to this point. Napoleon met them with his reserves. The Russians brought up their guard, and the French guard under Rapp galloped up to oppose them. There ensued a fierce collision, in which the Russian guards were routed and all their cannon taken. Rapp's feat was the decisive one of the day. And the famous picture which records the victory of Austerlitz represents him as bringing the tidings to the Emperor. The battle was soon a rout, the Russians fled everywhere ;

one division in striving to escape over one of the frozen lakes of the marsh, sunk into it and perished.*

The Russians lost half their force in killed and wounded, with their guns to the number of 180. The Prince of Lichtenstein came immediately after the battle to the castle of Austerlitz where Napoleon was quartered, demanding an armistice. When the latter required some promise of concession on the part of the enemy, it was agreed that the Emperors of Austria and France should have a personal interview. The potentates met accordingly at a mill between the two armies, and Napoleon was satisfied with the concessions which his adversary was prepared to make. For all this, negotiations for a final peace were complicated and tedious. Napoleon demanded more than the Austrians however vanquished were resigned to give. In Italy he insisted upon the cession not only of Venetia, but of Istria and Dalmatia to Cattaro. In Germany he required not only that Austria should resign its possessions in Suabia, but the Tyrol and Voralberg, countries of which the population were most attached to the House of Austria. The minister and negotiator, Prince Talleyrand, deprecated this severity of the Emperor towards Austria, which if he thus broke in sunder, its fragments would go to increase the power of Russia, henceforth the only state to be feared by France upon the Continent. Instead of mulcting Austria of Dalmatia or the Tyrol, Talleyrand would have given it Moldavia and Wallachia, as an indemnity for the loss of Venetia and its Suabian dependencies.

About a month before the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon, then on the Danube, had received tidings of the battle of Trafalgar. He must have congratulated

* The military writers who describe the battle of Austerlitz are many, especially French. But the best idea of the engagement, and of the skill that decided it, is to be ob-

tained from Kutusoff's account of it, accompanied by the remarks of Napoleon. See the latter's Correspondence.

CHAP.
XLIII.

himself upon having abandoned his scheme of invading England. And no doubt his appropriation of Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro was the first point of some great scheme for overrunning Turkey and reaching the British dominions in the East, through that country. The importance placed upon Cattaro by Napoleon was so strong, that when he heard of its being given over to Russia, he threatened Austria with a renewal of hostilities. In his subsequent treaty with Russia, Napoleon received back Cattaro, ceding Corfu to the latter. However fatal to his naval hopes, Trafalgar at least produced one result of which Napoleon gladly took advantage. This was the encouragement it gave to the Bourbon court of Naples to embark in hostilities with him. He replied by nominating his brother Joseph King of Naples, and placing under his command an army for the conquest of that country. It was soon achieved.

When Talleyrand recommended the aggrandizement of Austria, he was not aware of the expansion which his sovereign meditated giving to his scheme of reducing the greater part of Germany under his own empire. As the immediate result of Austerlitz, he had rounded the territories and augmented the dignities of the three sovereigns of South Germany, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, uniting all by marriages with *his* imperial house,* and severing the links which had previously bound them to Austria. Other German states more central, such as Darmstadt, seeing Austria prostrate and Prussia set aside, demanded a similar treatment. And thus was Napoleon led and enabled to form the Confederation of the Rhine, which made him the protector of the minor States of Germany and President of their Diet, all uniting to form a military League of which France was to furnish 200,000, the rest, some 30,000,

* Prince Eugène Beauharnais married Princess Augusta of Bavaria, Jerome espoused the Princess Cath-

rine of Wurtemberg, and the grandson of the Duke of Baden became the husband of Stephanie Beauharnais.

some 12,000, to the amount of 60,000 men. The liberties of Frankfort were annihilated, and the city given to the Duke D'Alberg, as Prince Primate of the new confederation. Austria, under the menace of war if it opposed, sanctioned the new Confederacy by waiving its supremacy over the old and its sovereign's title of Emperor of Germany.

These were grave events for Prussia, which was as much set aside as Austria. France, to be sure, had given Hanover in a treaty concluded soon after Austerlitz, but it had at the same time taken Anspach to give to Bavaria, with Berg and Cleves to form a Grand Duchy for Murat. Hanover, too, had scarcely been made over to Prussia, when there was a talk and more than a talk, an intention of recalling it, and restoring it to England,* in the negotiation which then opened with Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale. Peace with Great Britain was not indeed far from conclusion; Sicily which the English would not give up being the only obstacle.

French historians, and Napoleon himself, represent Prussia as actuated by mere court caprice and fatuous folly when rushing into war at this epoch. They depict the quarrel as one inspired by the beautiful and indignant Queen of Prussia, and the young princes in her confidence. But war had been long counselled to Frederic William by his wisest and best statesman, Hardenburg—not war, indeed, after Austria had succumbed in the battle of Austerlitz, but before it, when Russia and Austria were in arms, and when Prussia could have brought 150,000 men to their support. The King's slow and hesitating character, as well as his honourable scruples, allowed the time to pass, and prevented his acting against the French, as he had promised the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon, after Austerlitz, was willing to pardon this weakness, but it

* Napoleon no sooner heard of Fox's accession to office than he countermanded the transference of Hanover to Prussia, in his hope of coming to an accord with the Whig administration.

was only on the condition that Prussia should at length cordially ally with him, and break decidedly with Russia and with England. Here, again, the King's scruples interfered to prevent his joining France, as it had just prevented him attacking that power. The court of Berlin rejected or sought to modify the first treaty concluded with France after Austerlitz. It shrunk from accepting Hanover, even when greedy to get it. A harsher treaty was sent from Paris and accepted. But all kinds of slights, especially the arrangements respecting the Confederation of the Rhine, were put upon Prussia, which maddened the war party, and enabled it to over-rule the King. Napoleon's bulletins issued after the commencement of hostilities with Prussia, give no untrue account of the manner in which they were precipitated.

"The peace signed with Russia on the 10th of July, the negotiations almost brought to a successful conclusion with England, excited the utmost alarm at Berlin. Rumour ran of secret articles in these treaties, that Constantine was to be declared King of Poland, that Austria was to have Silesia instead of Galicia, that England was to have Hanover." It was also said that Murat was to be King of Westphalia, to which the negotiations of France with regard to Germany, without in the least consulting Prussia, lent probability. Accounts of this nature, brought, not by common fame, but set forth in the despatches from Paris of the Prussian minister Lucchesini, by no means without foundation, notwithstanding the contradiction of the bulletin, reached Berlin on the 11th of August.* This produced an explosion of war resolves, menaces, and preparations. Somewhat calmed by the subsequent intelligence that Russia had not ratified the treaty with France, the Prussian king wrote on the 23rd an

* *Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un homme d'État.*

explanatory letter to Napoleon. It was too late. Prussia had armed. Napoleon at the same time had lost all hopes of peace by the death of Fox and the rejection of the scarcely signed treaty by the Emperor Alexander. He preferred war with Prussia as the means of at least cutting that knot with the sword.

The Prussians were able to muster 180,000 men, of which about one half advanced to oppose the French if they attempted to force their way northward. Erfurt they selected as the best position whence to observe their enemy. The French, with a force fully equal to the Prussians, occupied Wurzburg. From this town Napoleon resolved to push his way towards the Saale and Leipzig by the eastern roads and passes of the Thuringian Forest, whilst the Prussians lay westward of it, vainly guarding the great northern road, which runs from Frankfort to Leipzig. Some cavalry encounters on the 9th and 10th of October at Schleiz and Saalfeld, in one of which Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, first gave warning not only of the French march, but of their having attained the Saale. The Prussians instantly turned back in haste from Erfurt to that river, and both arrived in approximation one to the other near Jena, the Prussians occupying the heights on the left, or westward of this river, the French those on the right. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the chief force, and who heard of the approach of the French lower down the Saale, feared that they intended to cut him off from the Elbe, and to prevent it, hurried away with the greater portion of his army in that direction, leaving the rest under Prince Hohenlohe on the heights above Jena.

There ensued on the following day, the 14th, a double engagement: one between Prince Hohenlohe and Napoleon on the heights of Jena, the other at Naumbourg four leagues distant, between Marshal Davoust and the main army of the Prussians under the Duke of Bruns-

CHAP.
XLIII.

wick. French bulletins and history chiefly magnify what took place at Jena, and the immense labour and activity by which at night the French dragged up their guns to the height in order to be in a condition to fight on the morrow. The Germans however say, that Prince Hohenlohe had little more than 40,000 men, and that his defeat by the superior force of Napoleon was not any wonderful achievement. Davoust had a far more difficult task in repulsing the main Prussian army, where the King himself was present, as they give the Marshal but 26,000 men whilst the Prussians were between 40,000 and 50,000. The resistance of these was consequently stubborn, and even at the last it is thought, that had Blucher's advice been adopted of making a last effort and a general attack, the battle of Auerstadt, as it was called, might not have been lost. Bignon attributes this victory to the superior discipline, experience, and steadiness of the French. Their cavalry broke into the Prussian squares, whilst the Prussian cavalry never could penetrate or disperse a French one. The King, however, having given ample proofs of personal valour, ordered a retreat, and both Prussian armies were mingled in a confused rout. Of this double victory, Auerstadt was far the greatest, and Davoust the real conqueror of the Prussians. The imperial bulletin, however, represents Jena as everything, Auerstadt as a skirmish. And Davoust durst not contradict it by an official report or despatch.*

In two days after the battles of Jena † and Auerstadt, Napoleon was at Berlin. The scattered Prussian divisions were defeated and made captive, Magdeburg

* Bignon excuses this unfairness by alleging that Napoleon was not at first aware of the gravity and importance of Davoust's victory at Auerstadt. His excuse thus admits the unfairness whilst giving a lame

explanation of it.

† For the battle of Jena, and the incapacity of the Duke of Brunswick, see Hopfner, *der Krieg von 1806 and 1807*.

and Spandau surrendering as well as the strong towns on the Baltic, with the exception of those of East Prussia, whither the King had retreated. The tomb of the Great Frederic at Potsdam, where the Prussian King and Russian Emperor had so lately pledged alliance, was visited with emotion by Napoleon, who seized and bore away in triumph the sword and star which lay on the hero's tomb.

Napoleon hitherto was like the traveller who limits his exploration by his view, and is contented with having reached the summit of the nearest mountain. To be sure, when one was surmounted, another rose up to tempt his ambition. Italy first, Austria next; but when the last kingdom of Germany, Prussia, so renowned in arms, lay prostrate before him, with no military power beyond it, save that of Russia, which he had already beaten in the field, Napoleon felt as if the world was his. Another campaign might be necessary to humble Russia into due subservience. But this, he wrote, was child's play. The French Emperor was not wrong in the persuasion that Europe lay prostrate before him. He did not perceive, however, that its prostration was that of sovereigns and governments, not of peoples. He professed to be the representative of the great principles of the French Revolution. Were this true, he was in the fittest position to display and to prove it, by breaking the shackles which everywhere fettered the people, and by endowing them with that equality, that liberty, those rights which the Revolution promised. Had he done so he would have been greater than Charlemagne, his throne and European influence founded on the gratitude of millions. But the representative of the great popular Revolution never thought of the people, except of that at home, to feed its vanity, to give it fêtes and edifices, museums and triumphal arches; whilst amongst his military aristocracy he distributed fiefs and titles, principalities and appanages, mimicking the ancient

CHAP.
XLIII.

Empire in its worst elements and characteristics, and surpassing it in despotism and *faste*.

The excuse he gave for this was, the necessity of combating England. Yet at Berlin, lord of the continent, he might have shut England from his thoughts. She had swept from the seas all his remaining fleets and vessels. But she was as powerless on the continent as he was at sea, provided the conqueror, even in declining to do anything for its people, had shown anything like a fair spirit to the vanquished. He offered in those days, indeed, his alliance to Austria—Austria whom he had curtailed of half her empire. To which Austria could only reply by observing, that he surely could not be serious.* North Germany he determined to keep in his own hands. And this was his first serious error. For by keeping it in his jurisdiction, and treading down its population by the hoofs of his cavalry, and the exactions of his generals, he not merely made the government and officials his enemies, but the people. His conquest of Italy and of South Germany did not lead to this. If he oppressed and despised, he gave compensation, with a show of consideration and glory. But his occupation of Prussia was a galling tyranny, felt by the lowest as by the highest. And then he entered into his paper war with England. The cabinet of St. James's published about this time the documents relative to the late negotiations with France. This revealed the intention of Napoleon to give Hanover back to England instead of ceding it to Prussia as promised, and in fact showed that the distrust of Prussia, which led to the previous war, was well founded, the French Emperor manifestly playing fast and loose with Berlin. This with the advent of the Tories to power swelled his irritation to the utmost. He declared England in a state of blockade, or rather in a state of political and commercial coventry, and he not only confiscated and imprisoned, but pro-

* Hardenberg.

scribed everything English. He accused the government of that country as barbarous for seizing and capturing persons unconnected with war and solely devoted to commerce, forgetting the number of English travellers whom he had seized and still detained without any reason, but the merest spite. England replied to the Berlin decree,* first by stopping the coasting trade between one continental port and another even in neutral vessels, and later by an Order in Council declaring all these ports to be in a state of blockade. Moreover, the decree went to regulate and order in its own fashion the entire trade of the ocean, forbidding any vessel to approach or trade with France, unless it first traded at an English port. One extravagance was thus made to meet another. The Berlin decree, said Mr. Lafitte, though it did not prevent an English ship from putting to sea, prohibited every continental ship from leaving its port. One of the first effects of the prohibition was to place Holland and its king, Louis Bonaparte, in direct opposition to the French Empire. This rage, rather than enmity against England fell not so much upon it as upon all the maritime and even inland powers of Europe, which he undertook to coerce in the most extravagant manner for the accomplishment of this fantastic blockade. A more serious consequence was the invasion of Portugal and conquest of Spain by Napoleon, as well as his future invasion of Russia, the pressure of his arms being alone capable of forcing those countries into antagonism with England. Had he merely aroused the impatience and hostility of the governments of those distant lands, it would have been bad enough. But his usurpation and his armies provoked the people against him. And this present

* See Bourrienne's account of the absurdity of the Berlin decree of the 21st of November 1806. Napoleon punished with death the North Ger-

mans who smuggled a pound of sugar, whilst he gave permits for passing in all kinds of prohibited goods and English manufactures.

CHAP.
XLIII.

epoch marks the change in his fortune. Successful as long as he merely combated governments and their armies, he soon met with reverses when he began to array his legions against the European people.

Yet at Berlin Napoleon had one great and generous thought, that of re-erecting and reconstituting Poland. Could he have persevered in it, he might have found at Warsaw what he subsequently found nowhere, a faithful ally and an attached people. Napoleon's first intention at Berlin was no doubt to punish Russia and Prussia by the restoration of Poland. "Let the Poles," wrote he to Murat, who had entered Warsaw, "show a firm resolution to be independent and engage to support the king, whom I shall give them." To reconcile Austria to this change he made offer to it of Silesia in lieu of Galicia. Determined on this he would grant no terms or armistice to Prussia, and went into winter quarters along the Vistula, intending to continue the conquest of East Prussia and the reduction of the Russians in the spring. The latter gallantly determined not to allow him the repose which he thought requisite. Benningsen with some 80,000 men advanced towards the Vistula, near the close of January 1807, hoping to get between the French corps and raise the siege of Dantzic and Gaudenz. Napoleon roused his army from their winter quarters to meet or rather to intercept him, proceeding from Warsaw in the direction of Königsberg. Benningsen, well informed, retreated in time, and fought several engagements with the French, until on the 7th of February, both armies were in each other's presence at Eylau. The French were somewhat but not much inferior to the Russians. Benningsen determined to defend the village. And with this view his troops first occupied a hill in advance of Eylau, and then the church and cemetery of the place. In both positions they made a most desperate resistance, far more obstinate than the French had yet encountered, and were not dislodged till 10 at night.

On the following morning, the 8th, the ground being covered with snow, Benningsen massed his forces in front of Eylau and commenced his attack upon the French there. After a murderous cannonade, Napoleon ordered forth two divisions to the attack, but they soon lost all direction amidst a blinding shower of snow. The Russians were preparing to take advantage of this error, which must have resulted in the destruction of the two divisions, when the emperor launched almost all his cavalry under Murat to make a circuit, fall upon the enemy, and disengage the two columns of infantry. Napoleon in one of his letters attributes this operation almost solely to Murat. It was completely successful, and the Russians checked in the midst of their victory. Yet one of their divisions, in Murat's absence nearly became masters of Eylau, and of Napoleon himself, who was in the cemetery. And it was not without the greatest difficulty that they were repulsed. At last the Russians gave up the attempt to force the town, the carnage was immense. "Fancy," wrote Napoleon, "10,000 corpses in the narrow space of a league square." He owned to 6000 wounded. The Russian loss was no doubt also great. But Benningsen, though he failed to retake Eylau, still claimed the victory. And the French by following him no further, but retiring to winter quarters, gave some colour to his exaggerated boasts.

This was the first serious check to the arms of Napoleon;* he called it a victory, and had a right perhaps to do so, but it was no victory for *him*. An engagement of an entire day with an enemy but little his superior in numbers, maintained by fearful loss on his side, was very different from the previous results of his military genius. His letters indeed record the great

* The combat of Maida in Calabria during the previous July, a little before Jena, in which the

English overcame Regnier, was also a serious check in another quarter from another foe.

CHAP.
XLIII.

effect which Eylau had upon him. He called from all sides recruits and reserves,* and laboured to represent the battle in the most favourable light. But in France, where the funds fell prodigiously, as well as in foreign courts, the impression was that the French had at last met their match in the field. A week after the battle Napoleon sent general Bertrand to the King of Prussia to offer terms of peace, and to assure the monarch that he abandoned all idea of reconstituting Poland.† On learning later that Austria had begun to arm, he sent offers of a part of Silesia in order to keep her quiet. When Austria in reply proposed to mediate between France, Russia and the other powers, Napoleon at once accepted (April 16th), which was very different from his language before Eylau.

That battle, however, inspirited his enemies as much as it had mitigated his own pretensions. In the several negotiations which took place in the spring of 1807, the Czar could not consent to see his ally, the King of Prussia, deprived of one half of his dominions. The war accordingly recommenced. By the month of June Napoleon had mustered 180,000 men, which the Russians with all their efforts could by no means equal in number. Napoleon took the road from the Vistula to the Niemen. His first encounter with his foe resembled Eylau, far more than it did Austerlitz. On the 10th of June he attacked the Russians in their entrenched camp at Heilsberg, in which enterprise all the daring efforts of generals and soldiers failed. Instead of surmounting its embankments, the French left thousands of dead at their feet. The Russian commander Benningsen, at Heilsberg as at Eylau, showed all the talents, and seemed attended by all the fortune, of a

* He demanded of the Senate an anticipated conscription of 80,000 men, only due in 1808.

† Bertrand *laissa entendre que,*

quant à la Pologne, depuis que l'Empereur la connaît, il n'y attache aucun prix. Correspondence.

great general. But as the overwhelming forces of the French continued to advance, Benningsen's skill and fortune abandoned him. Before such an army and such a general as Napoleon, his better plan would have been to keep on the defensive. But he was always for falling upon single divisions of his enemy, a vain attempt, as the French generals were too wary and experienced to allow themselves to be beyond reach of succour. In an ill-judged sortie of this kind, Benningsen led his whole army across the Alle, and exposed it to the attacks of Napoleon at Friedland on the 14th of June. The battle did not commence till the afternoon, and the field was fiercely contested by the Russians, inferior in number to their foes, and one of their divisions separated from the battle by the river Alle. It was soon evident that they could not sustain the shock, and to avoid destruction the Russian divisions either flung themselves into the Alle, or tried to reach Friedland and its bridge even through the masses of the enemy. Either attempt was fatal to them. The Russians saved their guns by the most desperate efforts, and died rather than surrendered. But they left an immense and signal victory to Napoleon at the very time that he most wanted it. Defeat would have been total destruction to him. Victory gave to him the disposal of Europe.

The surrender of Königsberg followed the defeat, and on the 18th the Russians demanded an armistice. As a condition the French required the surrender of Gaudenz and other Prussian fortresses, so that the suspension of hostilities was not signed till the 22nd. Alexander then proposed a personal interview, which took place on a raft in the Niemen before Tilsit, the 25th of June 1807. Almost the first words of Alexander announced his more than disgust of England, which meant that he was prepared not only to conclude peace, but an active alliance with France. Napoleon

CHAP.
XLIII.

accepted the offer with eagerness. He could not hope to dominate the world alone, and wanted an ally, which he had never found, or could not keep when found. The ideas of the monarchs were thus in such accord, that from enemies they became more than friends. Alexander and Napoleon took up their joint quarters in Tilsit, freely using each other's articles of toilette, and were inseparable. The King of Prussia was invited to the meeting, but he was not in the secret of the friendship and soon found himself in the way.

It was indeed difficult to communicate or render acceptable to the vanquished monarch the harsh terms which the victor was determined to impose upon him. Napoleon took from the King of Prussia half his dominions, and made pecuniary demands almost equal to the other half, whilst the country and its fortresses were to be held till their ransom was paid. In the west Prussia was deprived of all left of the Elbe, which with Hesse was to be formed into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome. In the east Frederick William lost his ill-gotten spoil in Poland, which with its capital Warsaw was added to the dominions of the King of Saxony. Alexander, apparently to avoid this spoliation, seems to have suggested that Jerome should have the duchy of Warsaw, and be declared king of it and of Saxony, the dynasty existing at Dresden being of course provided for elsewhere. This flattering proposal Napoleon declined, and adhered to his first arrangements, alleging that the direct influence of France should not pass the Elbe.*

Here, perhaps, may best be mentioned the question which has arisen, of whether Alexander was sincere in his sudden conversion to Napoleonism. The above would lead to the persuasion that he was not. The proposal to place Jerome at Warsaw, another brother in

* See Napoleon's *Note* of July the 4th in his correspondence.

Spain, as well as to subject the West of Germany to the French emperor, could not have been the advice of a well-wisher, but only of one not displeased to see ambition rush into the impossible and the exorbitant. Although the subsequent motive with Alexander for remaining attached to Napoleon, was no doubt their joint plan for dividing the East, this could not have been the first impulse. The desire of extricating himself from a position of humiliation and defeat, by representing the new alliance as in accordance with his interests and his predilections, was probably the prime inducement. But from first to last, there was too much utter selfishness in the calculations of the two monarchs to render it possible to give either of them credit for a nobler sentiment.

On one point Napoleon, as was usual with him when released from the active duties of war, seemed altogether *mad*. This monomania was to acquire maritime power and possessions, and to push his conquests over the world's hemisphere to India. For this purpose he was not only to keep the southern shore of the Baltic, but the Atlantic ones of Portugal and Spain. To the coast of Dalmatia already acquired he was to add Greece, the Morea and the islands with Egypt, as if he could possibly keep or make use of such territories, were they in his power. For this dream of Oriental dominion, Napoleon gave up to Russia the far more feasible conquest of the Danubian Principalities, and North Turkey, with the exception of Constantinople. It proved indeed eventually that Russia was no more able to conquer even the Danubian Principalities than Napoleon was to land soldiers in Egypt. So that the two mighty potentates, with Europe at their feet, were indulging in an Arabian Nights' dream about the Levant and Asia, with no more reality in them, than in the stories of Scheherezade.

What was most marvellous in this carving and apportioning of the Ottoman territories, was that the

CHAP.
XLIII.

Ottomans had been the zealous and faithful allies of France during the late eventful years, England and its protection having been spurned by the Grand Seignior; and when a British fleet forced its way into the Sea of Marmora, to remonstrate, it found Napoleon's envoy, General Sebastiani, completely master there, and not only dictating Turkish replies but pointing Turkish cannon. The reward which Napoleon destined for the Turks in return for such conduct was the conquest and division of their empire by him and Russia. The pretext given for this treachery was, that Sultan Selim had perished in a popular tumult. But surely there was something more to be considered in Turkey than the ephemeral life of a sultan.

The rest of Europe was as cavalierly treated by the two potentates at Tilsit. Not only did Alexander receive for himself a portion, a small portion certainly, of the Prussian dominions in Poland, but he accepted Finland, the most essential part of the Swedish monarchy, that monarchy which, like Prussia, had been Alexander's faithful ally against France. Moreover all powers were to be awed into open war with England. Russia promised this for itself in case England should refuse its mock mediation. Such powers as Denmark were to be compelled to declare war against Great Britain, and on refusal France and Russia were to declare war against them. In joining this insolent scheme of forcing their vindictive policy upon all other powers, Russia did not see or foresee that Napoleon was really forcing the same upon the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and that on the first symptoms of its wincing or proving reluctant, Russia would be menaced by French legions, just as little Denmark was.

Notwithstanding Napoleon's declaration that French influence should terminate at the Elbe, he erected Dantzic into a republic, dependent evidently upon France, thus rendering himself as much master even of

the Vistula as he was already of the Elbe and the Rhine. If the minor powers of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg were restored, it was only on the condition that their ports should be garrisoned by French in order to enforce the active English blockade. Portugal was at the same time summoned to close its ports against the arch enemy Great Britain, and in the prevision of its refusal, a French army was immediately ordered to be assembled at Bayonne.

It may be questioned whether Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power and glory in 1807 after Tilsit, or two years later, when, after having overcome Austria in the field of Wagram, he took for his empress the daughter of the Cæsar. We are inclined to consider 1807 as forming the culminating point of his career, his hold over the continent becoming after that period, despite of Wagram, insecure by the gradually increasing estrangement of Russia, and the open resistance of the Peninsula, where English courage and resources enabled Spanish nationality to hold its ground against the French. In 1807 also Napoleon completed the edifice of his internal government. The foundation and the walls were indeed of simple construction, that of absolute power and centralized despotism. The peculiarity, if there was any, lay in the exorbitant cost of the decoration. On this his efforts were chiefly lavished; nor did he seem to care from what school or what epoch his ornaments were borrowed. Thus there was the semblance of a constitution, it being thought decorous to preserve the ghost at least of that modern requirement. There was a Senate, which obsequiously registered imperial decrees for the levy of men and money. There was a legislative assembly, which was forbidden to discuss legislative measures. There was still in 1807 a body called the tribunate, but as it criticised his acts, and as critics were held in horror by the emperor, the tribunate was suppressed,

CHAP.
XLIII.

and its members consigned to the same mutism as the legislative corps.

The political drama in France being thus confined to pantomime, it was necessary to supply the want of words and of action by dresses and decorations. For this purpose Napoleon deemed that an aristocracy was required. The French indeed would not feed, much less respect an aristocracy of and on their own soil. A noblesse then of either the middle ages, or of the Versailles epoch being impossible, the emperor went back to the days of Charlemagne, and resuscitated the grand dignitaries and feudal dukes of ten centuries previous, their titles taken and revenues derived from foreign and subject lands. Italy furnished some half-dozen, Germany as many more. By the side of these grand dukes, half barbaric, half Byzantine, some offices were taken from the middle ages. One of Napoleon's young brothers who had never wielded a sword, had that of Constable thrust upon his hands, and Louis Buonaparte was to have figured in the character of Duguesclin. The efforts to found a patriciate were not confined to the Byzantine model, or to that of Charlemagne. An imperial decree declared such titles to be hereditary, and gave the founder or the wearer the right to create a *majorat*, that is, to entail a certain amount of property upon the title. Nothing so glaringly offensive to French prejudice could be imagined. But the entails were built on the quicksands of foreign conquest, and people consoled themselves for what was unequal and unjust by the conviction that it was also ephemeral.

That the revolution might be represented, there was a grand elector in memory of Siéyès, and a most fit personage was found to accept the empty title, being no other than the cynic Talleyrand, whose destiny it was to survive and to bury all the friends, the policies, the dynasties and constitutions that he had served or

known.* Then there were chancellor and treasurer, each and all with an "Arch" before their titles, their persons empurpled and embroidered and befeathered, far surpassing the aspirations of any noble of the old courts. Kings too formed portions of the imperial circle. Louis had long been King of Holland, a king with enough of the republican in him to kick against imperialism. Joseph was for the moment King of Naples, out of which realm he had expelled the Bourbons. Jerome was enthroned at Cassel. All of these, however, sovereigns and dignitaries, were mere pillars hanging from the roof of the edifice, and leaning upon no foundation whatever in the soil to support it.

It is with regret that we speak thus slightly of Napoleon in his greatness, for he himself was a great man. Neither can we attribute altogether to his character the institution or the crime of tyranny. The freedom of which he had deprived France was worse than anarchy, it was misery and bloodshed. By concentrating power in his own hands, he had not only restored peace to the country, but in a great degree prosperity too. It is no wonder therefore that a soldier little read in historical or political science, should make the mistake of considering his dictatorial rule as the best not only for France but for all subject countries; and indeed it may be admitted, that absolute power wielded by a first-rate intellect, succeeding to an epoch of great freedom, in which ideas have been largely ventilated, national defects and aspirations and tendencies fully made known, can by taking for its mission the realisation of these ideas and hopes, do more for a people, and for an age and their requirements, than a constitutional executive could do. The mistake lies in supposing that

* There were six Grand Dignitaries, or functionary Grandeeships, borrowed from the old German empire; The Grand Elector; two Archchancellors, one of the Empire,

one of the State, an Arch Treasurer, a Constable, and a Great Admiral. They each received upwards of 12,000*l.* a year.

CHAP.
XLIII.

a dictatorship, good for fighting a battle, or driving a nail, can be aught but an extinguisher, an oppression and a curse, when rendered the permanent and normal régime of any country. But Napoleon knew no other mode of government. With more enlarged knowledge of political science, he might, beyond or within his frontiers, have attracted the populations to their new rulers, and endowed them with governments so far superior in freedom as well as in energy to what they had before known, that no reverses or misfortune would have shaken them. Instead of this, not only was such science foreign to his thoughts, but he was indignant when any of his relatives, like Louis, King of Holland, attempted to consult the interests of his subjects, or deserve their esteem. His whole system was thus essentially ephemeral, and even if military disasters had not befallen him and exploded his power, his government could not have survived. The French would have no more borne absolutism for succeeding generations, than Europe would have submitted to be deprived of men, money, independence, and honourable existence, for the glorification of even an heroic idol.

Yet that Napoleon thought his own system the best, is evident from his letters to Jerome and the Constitution which he devised for his brother's new kingdom. As his system was the same everywhere, we may describe his arrangements for Westphalia. In the first place, the new king chose throughout his provinces the men of wealth and consideration likely to be faithful to him. These he formed into colleges of departments, which elected 100 members to form the Estates, 70 of whom were to be landed proprietors, 15 commercial men, 15 professional or literary. They answered to the *possidenti*, *commercianti*, and *dotti* of his Italian dependencies. By the side of this mockery of representation was a Council of State, which with the government, its ministers and prefects, wielded all authority. As to freedom of speech

or printing, Napoleon would tolerate none; and although he pretended to allow the sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine full independence, he insisted on the proscription, or even execution, of such book-makers or book-publishers as called his omniscience in question. But with all this Napoleon insured the solid benefits of the revolution, the abolition of the privileges of nobility, and the equality of the entire population before the taxation and the law. Whilst thus abrogating fiscal or other advantages to natives, he unfortunately intruded an equally onerous burden upon subject countries, by taxing them for the support of France. Half the State property, including the Church domains of Westphalia, was confiscated and applied to the dotation of the French army and its generals, in other words to the aristocracy of the French empire. Napoleon enforced everywhere the introduction of the *Code Napoleon* with its important conditions for the division of property; and whilst he created, and even endowed, an hereditary aristocracy of his own at home, he destroyed abroad the old aristocracy, that which alone had any root for keeping life in the institution.*

He thus hoped that the new states and their governments would present a favourable contrast with the old. At home, indeed, he was able to present a most flattering contrast between his own government and that of the republic. The reformation of the country's finance was, as we have seen, his first object of attention on attaining the Consulship. And he never lost sight of it. His task was in one respect facilitated by the bankruptcy and cancelling of two-thirds of the debt under the Directory. But, on the other hand, such a fact precluded the possibility of borrowing. The interest of the debt (the consolidated third) and of arrears founded by the government amounted to

* Memoirs and Correspondence of King Jerome.

CHAP.
XLIII.

53,000,000*fr.*, the current expenditure to 450, pensions to 60. The revenue was only sufficient to cover the amount of current expenditure. In each succeeding year, however, the taxes became more productive. The conquered countries were made to furnish their quota. (Italy, for example, a million sterling, and Spain was soon after condemned to furnish two.) And there being no great war till 1805, the first consul was able to appropriate large sums to the completion of roads, to opening of canals, and to a host of necessary public works, neglected or suspended for nigh a quarter of a century. In 1804, the Imperial government re-established that indirect taxation which the revolution had abrogated. Salt, wine and brandy, became again subject to the excise-man. The burdens were cheerfully borne in those localities where industry revived. The severance of France from all colonial trade or foreign supply, gave birth to new manufactures in the great centres, for which the victories of the Emperor procured at least a large continental market. Other parts of the country, the sea-board especially, was depressed by the blockade. If Lyons flourished, Bordeaux fell under a collapse, and the vine growers of the south execrated the excise-man, against whom the silk manufacturers felt no grudge. The budget of 1804 showed 700,000,000 of receipts.*

These augmented revenues were counterbalanced or absorbed by the prodigality of Napoleon himself, his brothers and dignitaries. Taking a million sterling for his own civil list, the emperor gave 80,000*l.* annually to each of his brothers. To the grand dignitaries were added eighteen marshals, all largely paid. The senators were well endowed, the ladies of honour equally so. The splendour of large expenditure about his court was what Napoleon looked to. But this obliged the govern-

* Mollien, Nervo, Calmon.

ment to pay out of the taxes the great lords who figured there, as well as the prelates. The state was forced to pay church and aristocracy as well as all else.

These prodigalities, with the sums required for the campaign of Austerlitz, but more especially the habit of supplying the deficiency of French finance by the contributions of dependent countries, led to a crisis and almost to a state bankruptcy, whilst Napoleon was at Vienna. The Spanish government, too poor to pay its subsidy in coin, had given bills or orders for specie in its American ports, the produce no doubt of their customs. It was found impossible to get this coin transported to France through the multitude of English cruisers. And strange to say, when it was at last brought, the transport was effected by a British vessel of war. In the meantime the Treasury in Paris found itself unable either to pay the war contractors or to find money for its own issue of notes. The whole affair forms a long and curious story, down to its development when Napoleon returned to Paris, called immediately a council, and summoning all before him, dismissed his minister, and condemned contractors, including Ouvrard the great capitalist, to have their property seized, till they paid over a certain sum designated by the emperor. This was following the custom of the old monarchy. "You cannot find me guilty of dishonesty," observed the minister, Barbé-Marbois, on receiving his dismissal. "I had rather," replied Napoleon, "that you had shown yourself dishonest than a fool. There is a limit to the one, there is none whatever to the other."

Towards the close of 1807, Napoleon visited Italy. Much as his thoughts and recollections were concentrated on that country, he still does not seem to have considered it for itself. He viewed it as a mere adjunct to France, which it was to furnish with subsidies, whilst its ports and coasts, occupied by French *douaniers*, were to carry on and enforce that prohibition of all intercourse

CHAP.
XLIII.

with England, which was Napoleon's dominant idea. His first act, on reaching Milan, was, indeed, to issue an aggravation of the Berlin decree. As the English orders in council forced all vessels to touch, and pay duties in their ports, the French Emperor now declared all vessels, that obeyed such an order as piratical, and liable to capture. England alone had the force to execute its decrees. Napoleon had no power at sea, and he could only supply the want of it by seizing and confiscating all merchandise supposed to be English, even in the hands of private individuals, or in use in continental households. The enforcement of such a law was a kind of inquisition, that rendered the French officials odious, and occasioned far more enmity and weakness to Napoleon than damage to the English. To surround Europe with a dike against the ocean was impossible. The tide of contraband always broke in somewhere, now in the north, now in the south, and the vain attempt of Napoleon to obstruct it only embarked him in new wars and enterprises more and more serious. In fact, this continental blockade was the most efficient ally of England, in stirring up the different powers, especially the maritime ones, against France. Nor did any cause more largely contribute to his downfall.*

One of the countries, from which it was very difficult to exclude English merchandise, and English versions of the doings on the Continent, was Italy. The occupation of Sicily by the English, rendered insecure the dominion of France in Italy. This proved the great obstacle to peace with Great Britain, during its Whig administration. Fox could not give up Sicily, and Napoleon could not leave it in the hands of an enemy. By degrees, indeed, he swallowed up all Italy. The queen and little king of Etruria were packed off, the one to Rome, the other

* See Laffitte's arguments against the blockade in the *Memoirs of Rovigo*.

to Spain, and Tuscany became a French province, ruled by a sister of Napoleon. There remained the pope, who was not contented with Napoleon, and consequently could not be expected to be a zealous prohibitionist of British trade. The pope had gone to Paris to crown the Emperor, in the hopes of recovering the Legations, and mitigating some of the ecclesiastical regulations most distasteful to Rome. The pontiff gained nothing by his condescendence. And he retaliated by refusing to consecrate the new bishops, and by other acts indicative of discontent. The requisitions of the French Emperor were by no means couched in gentle language. He told the holy father that he himself was the modern Charlemagne, and that the pope, like another Adrian, would be nothing but through his generosity. Though not an arrogant pontiff, Pius the Seventh refused to accept any such comparison or position, to dismiss from Rome the English or Russian envoys, or declare himself at war with those powers. Napoleon in consequence occupied Ancona, and threatened to destroy the pope's temporal power altogether. From Milan, at the commencement of 1808, he despatched General Miollis to occupy Rome with a body of troops and garrison the castle of St. Angelo. The pope first made passive resistance. But his palace was entered, his guards disarmed and disbanded, his prime minister arrested and carried off. In June 1809 Rome, like the rest of Italy, was declared annexed to France. Pius replied by a bull of excommunication. Upon this Pius the Seventh was arrested in his palace, summoned to abdicate his temporal sovereignty, and on his refusing was hurried off by French officers to Tuscany. Eliza Bonaparte, who governed it, not liking so embarrassing a guest, despatched him to France, and he reached Grenoble, ere Napoleon was aware of the effects of his own orders. Subsequently Pius was removed to Savona, and thence to Fontainebleau. The later project of Napoleon was to make

CHAP.
XLIII.

Paris the residence of the head of the Church, whose spiritual authority he thought to curtail but did not dare to abrogate. The events which took place in Spain and Russia, however, encouraged the pontiff in his resistance. Nor was it till 1814 that he was released from captivity.

Whilst Napoleon was meditating his enterprise upon Spain, his relations with the Russian government ceased to be marked with the usual cordiality. Alexander was pressed by his brother emperor to complete his design upon Finland, but for the moment to evacuate the Danubian principalities. But the Czar's ambition was much more incited by Turkish than by Swedish spoils, and his disappointment was great at being told to recoil from the Danube. Napoleon saw the necessity of at least flattering this Russian hobby, if he wished to preserve the alliance; and this was indispensable to him whilst engaged in his designs upon Spain. On the 22nd of February, 1808, Napoleon wrote to Alexander to propose nothing less than an expedition to India. An army of 50,000 French and Russians despatched thither, would frighten England out of her wits, as soon as it reached the Euphrates. Napoleon declared he had troops just sufficient in Dalmatia. By the first of May our troops, he wrote, may be in Asia, as well as yours at Stockholm! A boy could not be more delighted with his first gun and sword, than Alexander was at the visionary scheme. He did not pause to think how many of the 50,000 men were to reach the Euphrates, or how many of those who got thus far, would muster on the Indus. The plan of marching across Turkey, implied the previous subjugation of that power, no light task for 50,000 men, and, moreover, a partition of its territory beforehand, between France and Russia, a matter of equal difficulty. The letter, however, answered its purpose, which was to keep Russia contented and quiet, until the monarchs met, which they did in September at Erfurt.

If there be a country in the world which it would be wise policy to leave uninterfered with, it is Spain. Poor, obstinate, bigoted, shut up in a remote corner of Europe, and unmoved by the current or progressive ideas of the day, Spain has every quality that should deter a conqueror, with little calculated to attract one. The mad scheme of subduing all the coasts of Europe, in order to banish English commerce from them, is scarcely sufficient reason. It merely compelled those populations living by the sea to try to exist, that is, suffer and starve, without it. Such were the effects of Napoleon's enforced exclusion of English, which then implied all, trade or navigation upon Holland and the Baltic provinces, Russia included, as well as those of the Mediterranean, Italy suffering as much as Holland. In striving to strike at England the French ruler really dealt blows upon himself. For he created enmity and disaffection towards his government and its tyranny in the breasts of the entire maritime population of the Continent, and by consequence in those of their rulers.

But Napoleon could not believe, but that the possession of the entire peninsula of Spain must give him some prize upon their vast colonial empires. Unfortunately, too, if Spain as a country did not tempt invasion, the character of its government and royal family did. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the decay of all intellect and all energy in whatever race has had the misfortune to occupy the Spanish throne. The facility with which the people submit to despotism, the incense with which it worships the throne and suffocates its holders, as well as the ignorant and stupid bigotry of the priesthood, which thrive in such an atmosphere and monopolise power and respect, are not sufficient to explain the deperdition of every royal Spanish race. The qualities to be remarked of the Spanish Bourbons at the commencement of the century were those observable of animals in their lair—imbecility, dissoluteness, ferocity,

CHAP.
XLIII.

mutual hate, intellect never reaching higher than cunning, with a religion that was the fetichism of a savage rather than the creed of the rational being. A paramour, who had been the guardsman Godoy, and was created Prince of the Peace, governed the Queen, who governed the King. All these detested the heir to the throne, Ferdinand, who made ample returns of that sentiment. Napoleon began by cajoling Godoy, and making him an instrument to invade Portugal with the bait of an independent sovereignty.

The Spaniards, as was natural, did not display any great devotion to French interests. And Napoleon resolved to send a French army under a French general, Junot, to the conquest of Lisbon. A treaty was drawn up and signed by the two courts, by which Portugal was to be partitioned. The Prince of the Peace was to have the northern portion as a monarchy for himself. The French were to keep Lisbon and the central provinces. The King of Etruria, a Spanish Bourbon, was to be monarch of the Algarves or south of Portugal, Napoleon, of course, taking Etruria. This was the understanding under which Junot led the expedition. The march of the French army across Spain soon aroused the suspicions of the court of the Escorial. But a sudden and dangerous illness of the King turned its attention to what seemed more pressing, the probable accession of Ferdinand. Godoy sought to avert this and laid plans for the purpose. Ferdinand, to escape them, appealed to Napoleon, and offered to marry a French princess, which his mother and her favourite discovering, Ferdinand was arrested. He was menaced with being put upon his trial, but, on his submission and betrayal of supposed accomplices, was set at liberty.

Napoleon, appealed to by both parties, answered or evaded answer by strengthening Junot's force, and precipitating his march. Yet it was little more than 25,000 men, at the head of which that general crossed

the Pyrenees in mid October. Totally ignorant of Spain, he considered it the fittest period for marching across a southern country. But the French soon found an inclement winter, and no supplies whatever. They managed, however, to approach Lisbon towards the end of November. And the French official journal having declared that the House of Braganza had forfeited the throne in consequence of its refusal to seize all English merchandise, the royal representatives of that house embarked themselves and their valuables and set sail for the Brazils, leaving Lisbon to the French general and his army.

Junot's easy victory and unopposed occupation of Lisbon did not prevent several French corps from passing the Pyrenees after him. Their presence on the Ebro alarmed the Spanish court, which intelligence from Paris augmented. Godoy and the Queen, therefore, seriously determined to imitate the court of Lisbon, fly to Cadiz, and embark for the colonies. It was not so easy for them to accomplish. The court, however, removed to Aranjuez, a palace south of Madrid, for the purpose. When, on the 16th of March, 1808, the people, suspecting the intended flight of the royal family, raised an insurrection to prevent it, plundered the residence of the favourite, and strove to discover in order to kill him. He escaped, but the King and Queen were not the less counselled to sign their abdication in favour of Ferdinand. Murat, commanding the French troops, took advantage of the disorder to occupy Madrid. And Ferdinand betaking himself thither, received, instead of his recognition, orders from the French general to proceed to Bayonne. It was strange, that so mistrustful a personage should have followed such advice. Stranger still, that the King and Queen, who had abdicated, adopted the same resolution. Like foolish birds, the entire royal family of Spain hurried off to Bayonne, to throw themselves into the arms of Napoleon. The Spanish people

foresaw the result, and divined the trick. They rose in insurrection at Madrid, but were sabred and cannonaded into submission. As for the Spanish King, Queen, and Prince, whilst engaged in their mutual recriminations at Bayonne, they found themselves, one and all, set aside, compelled to abdicate in favour of the French Emperor, and then separate for captivity in different provinces of France.

It seems strangely providential, that Napoleon should have taken the means best calculated to rouse the Spaniards to self-exertion and popular resistance. Had he provoked the royal family to flight, or even flung Ferdinand into the arms of the insurrection, the latter would have had a fool and a bigot to direct it, and the French Emperor would not have been chargeable with a mean act of treachery, that filled every Spanish breast with indignation. Alison describes Napoleon's conduct as wise, so far as human policy was considered, but controlled by the superior wisdom of Providence. We can descry much cunning but no wisdom in Napoleon's treatment of the Spanish dynasty and people. His deepest-laid schemes defeated themselves.

There are several ways of conquering a country. That hitherto practised by Napoleon, was to beat the armies of the ruling dynasty, and so terrify it into submission. In Spain he chose to begin by sweeping the dynasty away, and leaving only the people to deal with. For the people he had a thorough contempt, and knew but the one way of dealing with them—terror.* The Spanish people were too scattered for this. Madrid is a capital merely in being the residence of the court. In Spain each province has its centre and its character, and there is no one spot, the castigation or annihilation of which would terrify the rest. Napoleon therefore embarked upon an ocean when he invaded the Penin-

* His correspondence *passim*.

sula. He might cut through its waters gallantly, but storms and waves rose behind and before him, and even the thunder of cannon could not silence the popular cries.

The first military operations of the French in Spain proved how ignorant they and their commander were of the country. Not content with possessing Madrid and the provinces between it and France, they tried to master the capitals of the eastern portion of the kingdom, meeting with desperate resistance at Saragossa and Valencia, the last repelling them altogether. At the same time a large force was poured into Andalusia to capture Cadiz and reduce the province by a mere cavalcade. The Spaniards were not idle. Their Juntas placed several armies on foot, to the equipment of which England equally contributed, and these soon menaced the communications of the French, both between Madrid and Bayonne, and between Andalusia and the Castiles. The Spaniards had, indeed, small chance in the field against the veteran troops and generals of France, and should have carefully avoided, especially at first, any great action. But General Cuesta was too anxious to measure his strength with Marshal Bessières, who totally defeated him in the battle of Rio Seco (July 1808). Castanos was more successful against Dupont in Andalusia. This general had taken and sacked Cordova, but, instead of marching immediately to Cadiz, had lingered in the conquered town, and, threatened in front by Castanos, whilst his communications with Madrid over the Sierra Morena were equally menaced, thought it prudent to retreat. This emboldened the Spaniards, and encouraged them to assume the offensive. Dupont, moreover, divided his forces, and allowed the Spaniards to intervene between his divisions. The result was defeat, and the capitulation of the French at Baylen, about the same time that Bessières triumphed at Rio Seco.

CHAP.
XLIII.
—

This signal advantage in the north of Spain did not compensate for the loss of Andalusia, nor for the complete defeat and expulsion of Junot from Portugal. At the end of July, a British army had landed in that country under Sir Arthur Wellesley, fought the battles of Roliça and Vimiera, and concluded at Cintra the convention by which the French troops were carried in English vessels back to France.

If the English felt humiliated by the bridge of gold thus made for the enemy, Napoleon was still more so at the convention of Cintra and the capitulation of Baylen. He at once resolved to put matters to rights in the Peninsula, by repairing thither in person and draughting at the same time such large reinforcements as would overwhelm Spaniards and English. These reinforcements could only be brought from the French army in Germany. The aspect of affairs there was not fully satisfactory. Austria had been awakened from the passive sullenness or discontent by the account of French reverses in Spain. She began to arm, and evidently to prepare for another conflict. Napoleon saw it, expostulated, and received evasive answers. Several months, however, must elapse ere Austria could be ready. And this would suffice for the complete repression of Spanish resistance.

It was necessary, however, to keep at least North Germany quiet, an aim to be attained by the continuance of the accord with Russia, entered into at Tilsit. To enforce it the French Emperor invited his Russian brother to a solemn meeting at Erfurt. It took place in September, and was as brilliant as it was, to all appearance, cordial. Napoleon encouraged Russian designs of aggrandisement on the Danube and the Gulf of Finland. Russia approved of the installation of King Joseph at Madrid. The French monarch, to be sure, reiterated his objection to seeing Russia at Constantinople. But he gratified Alexander by concessions to

the unfortunate King of Prussia. The French army of occupation was in a great measure withdrawn from that country, the principal fortresses excepted. Napoleon had need of these troops in Spain. And a considerable diminution was made in French pecuniary demands upon Prussia. Notwithstanding these mutual concessions, no progress was made by Napoleon in a scheme which he had conceived, for himself espousing the sister of Alexander, his divorce with Josephine being previously arranged. Alexander, it is said, might have consented, but his mother's prejudice against a French Imperial alliance proved insuperable. However, the sovereigns separated with all the signs of renewed amity, and Napoleon betook himself to Bayonne.

The Emperor had, however, but two months, the last of 1808, to coerce Spaniards and English, and saddle the former with the monarchy of Joseph. He had, however, collected the overwhelming force of 300,000 men, a number quite irresistible. The Spanish armies made gallant resistance, here and there, to the host of French soldiers ere they crossed the Ebro. But their efforts were unavailing. Worstcd in every battle, the Spaniards were driven from the plains of Castille; and Madrid was once more occupied by the triumphant enemy. After all was over, and Spanish co-operation impossible, an English army under Sir John Moore penetrated into Spain. It was merely to perceive its mistake, and retreat, as best it might, by the northern provinces to the coast. Napoleon in force rushed after it, and outstripping his main body came within a march of Sir John Moore. The latter was in full flight, however. And Napoleon, receiving despatches that the warlike preparations of Austria were already menacing, he paused, abandoned the pursuit of Moore to Soult, and galloped off to reach Paris and prepare for a campaign upon the Danube. Soult pursued Moore to Corunna, where the latter made a stand in

CHAP.
XLIII.

order to render safe the embarkment of his army. On the 16th of January, 1809, took place the battle of Corunna, in which the French were repulsed, and the future embarkation left unmolested. A cannon-shot terminated Moore's career, in the moment of victory.

Thus Napoleon, at the commencement of 1809, had redeemed the disgrace and washed away in blood the affronts put upon his arms in Andalusia and Portugal. He still rose superior in the struggle with his arch-enemy, England. For in truth the war, wherever fought, was between these two rivals. Napoleon and our Tory government did not yield to one another in audacity. His, indeed, could only be accounted for by ambitious aims, verging almost upon insanity, yet England's acts, though springing from the necessities of self-defence, were often as outrageous and indefensible. It was thus that the bombardment of Copenhagen and the carrying off the Danish fleet by the English, struck neutral powers, or would-be neutral ones, with feelings very nearly akin to those excited by the invasion of Spain. The decrees of prohibition and blockade, launched by France and England at each other, were of the same kind. Both made enemies; and both, moreover, by this continued enmity, came to task each other's strength and resources to that degree, that the war became a trial of stamina as well as an interchange of blows. England drew upon its credit and internal wealth, an exhausting process. France, without credit, was obliged to live on the spoils of subject countries, but this indisposed them, and, like all oppression, led to schemes of fierce retaliation. Men to Napoleon were as indispensable as money. In the supply of these, France began to fail. The conscription he was compelled to enforce a year in advance, as well as to trust more and more to foreign auxiliaries, and thus fill his armies either with youth, who wanted vigour and endurance, or with men no longer animated with the zeal and spirit

of the French revolutionary soldiers. He contrived, however, to keep up his numerical force, and to count a million of armed men under his banners.

What added to Napoleon's embarrassments was the distance between him and his real enemies. He had to reduce or to awe the powers holding the extremities of Europe—England, Russia, Spain, and Turkey. In embracing Russia at Tilsit, and promising the spoils of Turkey, he had naturally alienated the latter. And thus, whilst endeavouring to close against England the frozen ports of the Baltic, he opened to them the more important ones of the Levant. Tilsit, which, according to Napoleon's views, was to exclude the English from any footing on the Continent, gave them, on the contrary, the most favourable chances of interference and resistance; whilst the vain attempts to close the ports of Spain and Portugal against British vessels resulted in opening to them all those of the New World beyond the Atlantic.

Whilst the French Emperor was dispersing the Spaniards and pursuing the English, the Conferences of Erfurt were bearing their natural fruit. That meeting of the two autocrats was neither more nor less than a joint conspiracy against the rest of the world. It was a pact to rivet the chains on the portion already conquered or attached. Russia, after appropriating Finland, was to go to Stockholm on one side, and the Danube on the other. Napoleon was to crush Spain, and then proceed to take his share of the Ottoman empire. The Turks soon got wind of the spoliation reserved for them, and concluded peace with England in January 1809. Austria was no less threatened. With Russia grasping the Principalities and extending to the Danube, eastward of Hungary, and France advancing from Dalmatia, south of it, Austria would soon have been an *enclave*, an isolated spot in the midst of the allied empires. It precipitated its armaments accordingly, encouraged as

CHAP.
XLIII.

well as warned by the events of Spain. After Erfurt, Napoleon had summoned the court of Vienna to acknowledge Joseph King of Spain. "We will do so," was the reply, "when you inform us what ye, Russia and France, have resolved together at Erfurt."

Exceedingly displeased at having to provide for another and an immediate campaign against Austria, whilst his veteran legions were still employed in Spain, Napoleon sought to pacify the Austrian court. He offered, in concert with Alexander, to guarantee to Austria its present possessions. But as, in the letter making this offer, no mention was made of Erfurt, or of Russian designs in the Principalities, Austria felt that the allied emperors had secretly agreed upon some enterprise inimical to her, which they durst not divulge, and Austria was right. Napoleon was very indignant at such a suspicion. He had no idea that any power or prince had a right to object to his overweening aggression or ambitious designs, and so blinded was he by anger, that he actually considered England and Austria as criminal in opposing him. "The history of my relations with the House of Austria," wrote he, "is simply that of the Wolf and the Lamb."* He meant himself for the Lamb, and poor, shattered, reduced Austria as the Wolf.

The Austrians, with much more justice, looked upon Napoleon as the Wolf, who was certain to devour them when Spanish resistance was overcome. Many causes, too, encouraged them. England was ready with its subsidies, and they had strong proofs that Alexander, notwithstanding his apparently close alliance with the French, was still fearful of their supremacy, and anxious to shake it off. To these feelings towards France, manifested in the highest quarters, was to be added the leaning of popular opinion in Germany. Prussian statesmen and men of letters were sowing the seeds of that uprising against

* Letter to the King of Wurtemberg, about this time.

the French which came at last. 1803 saw the birth of the Tugendbund, that secret opposition of German nationality against French, and it was the urgent advice of Stein and Scharnhorst to the King to take advantage of Napoleon's absence in Spain, and join Austria in a thoroughly German uprising against France. The King of Prussia, however, put trust neither in his people, nor in Austria. He persisted in hoping everything from Russia, and refused to move without the assent and support of Alexander.*

In 1809, indeed, Austria was premature in either counting on popular insurrection, or royal or imperial defection. Prince Schwarzenberg at St. Petersburg pressed the Czar in vain, and told Alexander, "If you wait and stand by to see Austria crushed once more, it will have no other resource than to throw itself altogether into the arms of France, and then where will you be?"†

The French and Austrians both took the field in April. 120,000 soldiers were with the Archduke Charles upon the Inn and the Isar. The French, he learned, were collected under two of their marshals, one at Augsburg, the other at Ratisbon. The Archduke advanced to interpose his army between them, but in the meantime Napoleon had given orders for concentrating his forces at Abendsburg, a central point between the two cities. Had the Archduke been well informed, he would have exerted himself, and probably succeeded in hindering the concentration. But, uncertain where he might find the French, his own army was scattered. Napoleon attacked one portion of it before Abendsburg on the 20th, defeated it, and drove it back upon Landshut. It proved to be the left of the Archduke's army, who had then to defend himself with his centre and right before Ratisbon. Napoleon attacked him there, that is, at the village of Eckmühl, on the 22nd, and gained a complete

* Stein's Letters.

† Mémoires d'un Homme d'État.

CHAP.
XLIII.

victory, driving the Austrian force into Ratisbon, from which they soon retreated across the Danube into Bohemia. The peculiarity of this brief campaign, as disastrous, though not so dishonourable, as Ulm, was German fighting against German, a great portion of Napoleon's force consisting of Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, and others, who gallantly and mainly contributed to the defeat of the Austrians.

Pausing a moment to decide whether he should pursue the Archduke into Bohemia, or continue his march down the right bank of the Danube to Vienna, he took the latter course. By so doing he intervened between the Austrians in Bohemia and those on the Italian frontier. The Archduke John had there defeated Prince Eugène Beauharnais upon the Tagliamento, but was interrupted in his career of victory by tidings of what had occurred near Ratisbon. He hastened to the aid of his relative, but was too late even to save Vienna, before which the French soon appeared, forcing their way into the unfortified suburbs, and bombarding the inner city to compel it to surrender. Napoleon was besought not to shower his projectiles upon the Burg or Palace, where the princess Maria Louisa still remained. But though the enemy's capital was occupied, the campaign was far from terminated. The Archduke John undertook to march round through Hungary to a junction with the Archduke Charles. The Tyrolese in insurrection had swept the Bavarians from their valleys, and defied the flying divisions of the French. The Austrian commander-in-chief, with the Emperor Ferdinand, occupied the Marchfeld, a high plain, which extends from the Danube at Vienna, north into Moravia, and the difficulty for Napoleon was to cross the Danube and find footing on its northern bank to engage the enemy.

In the previous campaign, the French succeeded in getting possession of the bridge over the Danube. But this was not to be done twice; it was now broken.

Napoleon had to replace it by bridges of boats between the islands of the Danube and either shore. This was first attempted at Nussdorf, higher up the stream than Vienna, but failed. The large island of Lobau, lower down the river, was found more practicable. A boat bridge, with difficulty moored in the rapid current, connected the southern bank with the island, a lesser bridge or bridges were required to connect it with the northern bank. The greater part of the Austrian army was higher up the river, its commander expecting the army of the Archduke John. Instead of their reinforcements joining the Austrians, tidings were brought there of the French crossing the Danube on the 20th of May. The Archduke Charles instantly marched to attack them before all had passed. Not more than 30,000 French occupied the villages of Aspern and Essling, under Lannes and Massena, the garden walls and cemetery offering facilities of defence. Attacked on the 21st by far superior forces, Lannes contrived to maintain his ground in Essling, whilst Massena, after an equally stubborn resistance, was driven from Aspern. But the next morning the French had brought over a larger proportion of their army, which then numbered 60,000 or 70,000 men. The Archduke again attacked them with from 80,000 to 100,000 men. The battle which ensued on the 22nd was perhaps the fiercest of the war. There was no manœuvring, and generalship was out of the question. It was a struggle of infantry soldiers for the two villages, and of cavalry for the ground that lay between. Through this intervening ground Napoleon indeed made one of his usual attempts to break into the enemy's centre, by directing upon it all the force that he could muster. He was at first successful, the Austrians yielding before it; but, equal to the great occasion, the Archduke Charles brought in person fresh troops to the combat, and succeeded, though not without the most arduous efforts, in arresting the

CHAP.
XLIII.

progress of the French, finally compelling them to fall back to the river. Following up their advantage, the Austrians then forced their way into Essling, which rendered it difficult for the French to return over the bridge. But some of the regiments, rallied by General Mouton, succeeded in reestablishing themselves in the streets and houses. * At the very time of the great attack on the Vienna bridge, the bridge to the island of Lobau was broken by the mill boat which the Austrians had set fire to and launched down the stream. The consequence was that not only reinforcements ceased to arrive, but ammunition began to be wanting for the artillery, which henceforth feared to respond to the enemy with its usual vigour. This circumstance decided the battle of Aspern in the Archduke's favour. The French, as soon as night covered their retreat, effected it to the island of Lobau. In the last hour of removal, the knees of Marshal Lannes were shattered by a cannon ball. As a litter was borne to the bridge, Napoleon perceived it, and came to embrace his fallen lieutenant. It was not the least bitter moment of the defeat. A scene as striking was what has been called a council of war, but which consisted merely of Napoleon, seated on the southern bank of the island, in face of the broken bridge, between Massena and Berthier. Both were for withdrawing the army altogether into Vienna. You might as well advise to withdraw it to Strasburg, was the emperor's rejoinder. For we should soon be there, and the enemy upon us. *

Safety and success he saw only in audacity, and in a renewal of the attempt to cross, notwithstanding the greatness of his loss at Aspern. It was estimated at no less than from 20,000 to 30,000 men, though the French bulletins acknowledge but half as many hundred. The Austrian loss was not fewer. Both sides, however, drew to their support their remote and scattered

* Savary.

divisions, the French with more efficiency and success than their opponents, for the Italian army under Prince Eugène defeated the Archduke John at Raab, and effected his junction with Napoleon, whilst the Archduke John did not arrive till after the coming battle.

The chief fault in the military character of the Archduke Charles, seems to have been want of alertness. He took no advantage of his victory at Aspern to overwhelm his enemies, few and disheartened, in the island of Lobau, nor did he duly watch the movements of his subtle adversary, who, flinging suddenly several bridges of boats over the Danube, in the first days of July, passed his whole army over in one night. The Austrians had thrown up intrenchments opposite Essling and the old bridge—as if Napoleon was likely to take the same road twice. On the morning of the 5th of July, 1809, the French army was marshalled on the Marchfeld near Enzensdorf, opposite to where they had crossed.

The Austrian general was completely taken by surprise. His force was not as yet concentrated, nor could he at first muster on the field more than 70,000 or 80,000 men; the French, even when three-fourths of the army had passed, being fully equal in number. The Archduke Charles had even some difficulty to fall back in proper order to the heights of Wagram. Indeed, so direct was the retreat, that Napoleon, on the evening of the 5th, tried to carry a strong position in the Austrian centre. He suffered, however, from the heterogeneous nature of his own army. Some of the French legions fired upon the Saxons, taking them for enemies, and producing a panic and a rout.

By the morning of the 6th, each general had brought up all his forces. The Austrians' line extended along the ridge between Neusiedl and Wagram, for three leagues, the French in the plain fronting them from Aspern to Glynsendorf. The commanders had different views, the Archduke Charles meditating to direct his

CHAP.
XLIII.

chief attack against the French right, and cut it off from the Danube, whilst the other wing of the Austrians was to achieve a similar victory over that opposed to it. Whilst the Archduke was thus strengthening his wings, especially his right wing, Napoleon was concentrating the larger portion of his force in the centre. Ere it could act, the Austrian right wing drove in Bernadotte, who was opposed to it, and even placed Massena, posted between him and the centre, in considerable danger. Napoleon came himself to the rescue, and not without difficulty and with shrewd manœuvres restored the field. He had at the same time concentrated the greater part of his artillery to play upon the Austrian centre. It was unable to withstand the fire of a hundred guns; Macdonald throwing himself with his infantry into the breach, which the artillery had made. This was the decisive moment of the day. The Austrian centre gave way irreparably, and the Archduke withdrew from the field.*

His loss was great, and has been calculated at one third of his army, including more than twelve generals. The resistance of the Austrians was most obstinate and glorious, and yet some blamed the Archduke for retreating. He did so, however, with the remainder of his army in good order. There were nine entire divisions cut off and compelled to surrender, as had been the case at Austerlitz. By rallying the Archduke John in his retreat, he could bring a force into Bohemia which it would require another battle to subdue, and a march northwards by the French, which must endanger their hold of Vienna.

Such circumstances considerably mitigated the severity which it was Napoleon's first intention to display towards Austria. This was no less than to dethrone the Emperor. But dethronement was shown in the case of Spain to be a perilous extremity, placing the

* Archduke Charles, Napoleon, Pelet, Thiers, Ruchle von Lilienstern.

victor and his legions in presence of an insurgent population, instead of that of a trembling court. Soult's repulse at Talavera took place in the same month as Wagram. And whilst master of Vienna, the French Emperor feared for Madrid.* But what chiefly influenced Napoleon in granting terms to Austria, was the manifest proof that Russia was false and weary of his alliance.

Whilst the Archduke Charles was opposing Napoleon, his relative the Archduke Ferdinand had invaded Poland with a force greater than Poniatowski could resist. The consequence was the momentary occupation of Warsaw by the Austrians, which the Russians, notwithstanding their promised cooperation, had done nothing to prevent. In addition to this patent dereliction, a letter from the Russian commander to the Austrian had been intercepted, expressing the predilection, common amongst the Russian *noblesse*, for Austria rather than for France, and intimating the desire that their united banners might once more float in active alliance.

A knowledge of this circumstance inclined Napoleon to accept the first offer of an armistice on the part of Austria. The Emperor Francis once more placed himself at his mercy. The conqueror would only grant the armistice on three preliminary conditions; the dismissal of the militia, the reduction of the Austrian army by one-half (eventually to 140,000 men) and expulsion from Austrian service of all natives of France. When the further terms of peace came to be stated, Napoleon stood upon the *uti possidetis*. He had conquered Austrian provinces containing 10,000,000 of population, and 10,000,000 he must have, he did not care where, to add to Bavaria and incorporate with it. The Austrians

* "I fear," wrote Napoleon, two days after Wagram, "the English and surprising King Joseph at issuing from Portugal by Abrantes, Madrid."

CHAP.
XLIII.

demurred to such hard terms, when Napoleon threatened to put up his eagles in Vienna, the mark of French domination, to decry the Austrian paper money, and divide the three crowns of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria. He at the same time declared that his chief object was an alliance which he could depend upon, and that if the present Emperor would abdicate in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand, he would not demand the cession of a single province. That offer was not listened to. By August, however, Napoleon had relented and professed himself contented with 5,000,000 of population. He was satisfied at last with 3,000,000, taking Salzburg and Lower Austria to the Enns, as well as Villach and the Carniola, to afford a free passage from Italy to Dalmatia. The salt mines of Wielitza were handed over to Russia. On these terms peace was signed with Austria, October 14 (1809).*

Napoleon had as many soldiers in Spain as he had upon the Danube. They were not of inferior quality, nor were their generals less renowned. If Davoust and Massena were at Wagram, Soult and Ney were in the Peninsula. Yet the results were not decisive or satisfactory. Undeterred by the retreat of Sir John Moore, Sir Arthur Wellesley took another army to Portugal in the spring of 1809, and within a month from his landing had driven Soult from Oporto, which the French marshal had captured after Corunna, and largely plundered. Having thus succeeded in expelling the French from Portugal, the English commander ventured into Spain, hoping for the active and able cooperation of the Spanish armies. These, however, were no match for the disciplined troops of France. When King Joseph perceived that the English and the Spanish menaced his capital, he came with Victor to repel them. This he thought no difficult achievement. But all the efforts of Victor on the 28th of July, failed to dislodge the

* Bignon, Thiers, Springer.

British general from the heights of Talavera. Assault after assault was repulsed, regiment after regiment *culbuté*, as the French say, and the first regular battle between the French and English, with large and equal forces, took place to the advantage of the latter. The scheme, however, of as yet invading Spain with 25,000 English, whilst the French were so numerous and the Spaniards so undisciplined, proved as vain as in Moore's campaign, and Sir Arthur Wellesley retired to Portugal, which he prepared to defend as the basis of future operations.

The year 1809 was marked by the variety of British attempts to distract or damage the conqueror of the continent. The French fleet was destroyed in the Basque roads. The French West Indies and Bourbon, no longer reinforced, were easily reduced by the English, as were the Ionian islands. Instead of the French invading Sicily, the English roamed along the Calabrian shore. The latter, however, were not fortunate in all their undertakings. An expedition to the Scheldt, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the naval preparations at Antwerp, commenced by a landing in the isle of Walcheren. Here the incapacity and disaccord of the military and naval commanders nullified their efforts, and led to the loss of the greater part of the force employed, which sunk under the fever incidental to the climate.

But an event which promised to have greater importance than even victory upon the fortunes of Europe, and of him who bespoke it, was the marriage of the French Emperor with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria. The campaign of Wagram, it has been explained, had not consolidated the dominant power of France so much as it displayed its weakness. The reverse of Aspern was not quite wiped away by the success of Wagram. The campaign thus victorious was won in some measure by German auxiliaries. Bernadotte, in an order of the

day, attributed the glory of Wagram to the Saxons. The assertion outstepped even the mendacity of bulletins. Still it went abroad. An alliance was indispensable to the maintenance of French supremacy. And Russia no longer offered a sure support.

Napoleon had for some time meditated a divorce with Josephine. He had at a much earlier period seriously mooted it, the foibles or lightheartedness of his wife having been exaggerated to him by several of his brothers and sisters, who hated her. There were but civil marriages at the time of his union with her, and though he made his sister at a later date add the religious sanction to the civil contract, he avoided this in his own case until the Pope insisted on it as a preliminary to his coronation. But even this was done in secret. He had at first looked to find heirs to the throne in his family. The eldest son of Louis, christened Napoleon, was a boy of promise, but he was carried off early by disease. Eugène Beauharnais was then considered the future heir, at least of Italy. But though of a mild as well as noble nature, he wanted the military talents and commanding character requisite for any successor of Napoleon, who should not be his son. A feud had always existed between the family of Josephine and that of Bonaparte. Future dissensions between them might prove the ruin of the empire. These considerations, joined to the necessities of an alliance, cemented by closer than political ties, decided Napoleon to a divorce with the Empress, and a second marriage with the princess of a sovereign house.

The friendship which the Czar professed for him at Tilsit and Erfurt, prompted him to apply for the hand of Alexander's younger sister. The reply of the Czar expressed willingness on his own part, but a declaration that his mother was complete mistress in this matter. That princess would not hear of it. Yet, though broached at Erfurt, the negotiations lingered, and after

Wagram, when the Russian court continued to entertain the proposal coldly, some diplomatist of inferior rank suggested an Austrian princess. Annoyed at the time by the cooling of Russian cordiality, Napoleon adopted the suggestion of an Austrian alliance. Prince Metternich caught at the idea,* as did Schwarzenberg, and, through the sedulous efforts of both, the negotiation was brought to a successful conclusion. In February 1810 Napoleon made the formal demand of the hand of Maria Louisa. In the last days of March she entered Compiègne and became Empress of the French.

In that year the attention of the French ruler seemed more particularly turned towards the north. He had concluded the appropriation of Italy, and the immensity of the French forces had driven, or was driving, the English within the lines of Torres Vedras. The French Emperor considered the south as actually or virtually his. He proceeded, in consequence, with strange greed to swallow up the north also. Holland he first looked to absorb. The British expedition to the Scheldt had turned his attention to a coast and country so fitted for at least menacing England. He deemed its annexation to France, indeed, a measure so menacing and disagreeable to England, that he empowered the Dutch government or its agents to make proposals of peace in London, the basis of which was a promise to abstain from the intended absorption of Holland, if England would lay down its arms, and sanction the possession of half Europe by the French. Strange to say, Fouché, the Police Minister, set on foot a similar negotiation through the financier Ouvrard. But if Fox could not cede Sicily during his administration, Lord Wellesley could

* Gentz's *Tagebüch*. Germans, other than Austrians, look aghast at the marriage, that seemed to put a seal upon their servitude, although, by alienating Russia from Napoleon, it was the principal cause of its

breaking up. Their remarks on the marriage were bitter : one said, that by the marriage Austria vaccinated Napoleon with its own stupidity and ill-fortune.—*Lebensbilder aus dem Befreiungskriege*, vol. i.

CHAP.
XLIII.

not abandon the Spaniards and their independence. And the offers of Napoleon were scarcely noticed on the other side of the Channel. Meantime King Louis of Holland had come to Paris to be present at the Emperor's marriage, in no good humour; he disagreed vitally with his queen, Hortense, the daughter of the Empress Josephine, and even sought a separation with her. He could never hope to conciliate the Dutch, whilst the injunctions of the Emperor were to annihilate their trade, to withhold all communication with England, and make their country and their resources subservient to his hostility against that kingdom. Harassed by the exigencies of the Emperor in Paris, who at the same time prevented his departure, or, as he meditated, his escape, Louis consented to all the demands made of him, one of which was the cession of the Dutch territories south of the Rhine. In this neither Louis nor Napoleon were sincere. The latter looked to absorb the whole of Holland, whilst Louis had gone so far as to send orders secretly to the Dutch government to resist. This state of things could not continue. And Louis, on returning to the Hague, finding that the French armies pressed on to the occupation of his towns and territories even north of the Rhine, abdicated in favour of his son, and fled to Bohemia. Napoleon, in lieu of Holland, which he annexed to his own empire, gave the young prince the Grand Duchy of Berg, vacant by the promotion of Murat to the crown of Naples, and divided Holland into French departments.

Almost simultaneously with the dethronement of Louis Bonaparte, took place that of Gustavus, King of Sweden. He was the only monarch who came forward as the antagonist of the French revolution, and consequently of Bonaparte, on chivalrous principles. He had been the ally of Russia in this antagonism. But when the Czar Alexander and Napoleon met at Tilsit, Sweden

was sacrificed by the former as Turkey was by the latter. Finland soon became the spoil of the Czar. Had Gustavus shown common prudence and moderate skill, he might have delayed, if not defeated, the conquest of Finland. But he left his generals unsupported, and they betrayed him. More obstinate from adversity, Gustavus threatened to jeopardise the whole monarchy, and the Swedes, in self-preservation, deposed him. Another sovereign and heir-apparent was found, but the latter dying, and the new king, formerly Duke of Sudermania, being aged, it was necessary to elect an heir. The son of Gustavus should have been the chosen, but it was feared he might revenge the misfortunes of his father upon those who overthrew him. The election in consequence fell upon Bernadotte, the French commander on the opposite shore of the Baltic. Napoleon, though he disliked Bernadotte, and had sent him to that remote command in disgrace, still abetted and approved of his nomination, on condition that he joined the war against England, supported the blockade, and rendered Sweden as subservient to France as Holland and Prussia.

Whilst the northern monarchies of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland were thus reduced to French dependence, Napoleon completed his empire in these regions by a decree, which even his chosen historian, Bignon, records with astonishment at its audacity. It came forth in the shape of a *Senatus Consultum* apparently for the purpose of annexing the Swiss Canton of the Valais, and converting it into the department of the Simplon; but as a corollary to this appropriation of a Swiss valley, followed the declaration that the mouths of the Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, Ems, Weser, and Elbe, with the countries adjoining them, were indispensable to the completion of the French empire and its defence against England, and that they were consequently annexed to it. As the enemy pro-

CHAP.
XLIII.

hibited all communication by sea, the decree declared it became necessary to supply it by a canal between the Baltic and the Seine. The *Senatus Consultum* of the 13th of December (1810) rendered the whole coast of north-western Europe from the Elbe to the Scheldt French property, curtailing one-fourth of the new kingdom of Westphalia, as well as of the Grand Duchy of Berg. Napoleon's own kindred were under as much alarm and as much incensed at his ever-changing and arbitrary resolves, as were foreign dynasties. "I will have no more petty kings," exclaimed Napoleon; "four of this rank are quite enough."* Murat thus feared ejection from Naples, as Jerome did from Cassel, and Bernadotte from Stockholm. His extension of frontier did not even terminate at the Elbe; the Hanse towns, and consequently Lubeck on the Baltic, being also declared a portion of the French empire.

The rapacity of Napoleon in the north was as fatal to him as his policy founded on the same greediness in the south. One of the princes dispossessed was the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, brother-in-law to the Emperor of Russia. He, as well as the King of Prussia, was not a little alarmed to find the French eagles permanently established on the shores of the Baltic, and worrying them to accomplish the fiscal and commercial death of those regions by the proscription of the vessels of all countries from the ocean. Trade on the Baltic and in Holland was indeed briskly carried on by vessels under the American flag, which, under one subterfuge or another, contrived to introduce English goods, and export the produce of Russia or of Sweden. Napoleon stormed at these interlopers. Nothing less than a seizure and confiscation of all ships showing the American flag would satisfy him; a demand to which Alexander demurred, but in which Holland and afterwards Sweden acquiesced with impatience and remonstrance; the King of Denmark

* Diary of Queen Catherine. Memoirs of Jerome.

did the same at Altona. To some of these countries the injunction of the French Emperor was of the utmost detriment. Holland might be considered as annihilated by them. Sweden and the Baltic countries had no salt, which was an absolute necessity for them in curing their winter provisions: to shut them out from the sea was to condemn them to famine. The result appeared soon after in a general revolt of the Baltic provinces or population against France, analogous to the insurrection of the Spaniards against usurpation and exactions. Whilst compelling other sovereigns to adopt the enactments of his spite against England, he himself relaxed them for his own especial advantage, by the issuing of licences to trade, to those who would export French manufactures, and import in return such commodities as France stood most in need of, naval stores amongst others.

It is astonishing that one so sagacious as Napoleon should have persisted in his course of dictation, aggression, and aggrandisement, offending and provoking princes, whilst grinding and oppressing the populations, and should have had no misgiving as to the dangers which he thus accumulated before him. Neither the finances nor the population of France sufficed to carry out his aims. Each year the numbers of his soldiers were made up more and more of foreign levies, not to be counted upon in case of reverse. Yet he did not stoop to make a friend. Prince Metternich came to Paris after the Austrian marriage, in the hope that he would find Napoleon inclined to make such concessions to his father-in-law as would render Austria a cordial ally. But no; the conqueror was not prepared to abate of his advantages, or provoke Russian resentment by a decided leaning to Vienna.

The friendship and alliance of Russia were indeed indispensable to the maintenance of the rest of the continent in its state of acquiescence or subjection; and yet Napoleon, however anxious for the preservation of

CHAP.
XLIII.

that friendship, would not make the requisite concessions, or show the necessary forbearance. He had won the Emperor Alexander's alliance at Tilsit by the promise of dividing the East with him. Towards this he had given Finland and the Danubian Principalities in prompt payment. He thought, not without reason, that Russia ought to be satisfied with such palpable and immediate gains. But Russia was not satisfied. The Czar could not but see that the conquest of the East was a dream, adjourned to the far future, and that whilst Napoleon undisguisedly proceeded towards the subjugation of all Europe that was non-Russian, he forbade that empire to pass the Niemen on the west, or the Danube on the south. The Russians thought such a partition of Europe to be unfair. If the French were to have all Germany in a greater or less degree of property or dependence, surely they might have left Poland to the Russians. But Napoleon showed unmistakably that he would no more give them Warsaw than Constantinople. The Duchy of Warsaw, which then included Posen, ruled over nominally by the King of Saxony, but really by the French, had, after the battle of Wagram, been augmented and strengthened by a portion of Galicia, which betrayed an evident purpose in Napoleon's mind of one day restoring Poland.

This intention was probably formed and acted upon in consequence of the hostility, if not lukewarmness, shown by Russia in the campaign of Wagram. But it was not less a provocation. Alexander was aware how uncertain were all Napoleon's arrangements with respect to kingdoms and frontiers, which he set up and put down, effaced or extended, according to the caprice of the hour. He therefore demanded to have his fears respecting Poland tranquillised, and he requested the signature of a formal treaty by Napoleon, declaring that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, and that the very name of Pole and Poland should

disappear. The Duke of Vicenza, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, signed the treaty to that effect, for which he considered he had powers; and the envoy forwarded the document to Paris at the same time that he sent the demurs of the Russian court respecting the marriage. Napoleon refused to ratify it without sensible modifications. In the course of the same year, 1810, the seizure of Holland, of the Hanse towns, and German provinces of the north, ensued, with the absorption of Oldenburg. On the last day of the year, Russia replied by a Ukase, modifying the Russian tariff in such a way as to exclude all French products, wines and brandies, silks and ribbons, whilst the Russian ports were declared open to neutral vessels, whether they carried English or colonial commodities. This was tearing asunder Napoleon's favourite scheme of continental blockade, and it was accompanied by a decree raising 80,000 custom-house soldiers to enforce the new regulations; a formidable army, to be arrayed less against English trade than against the power which pretended to proscribe it.

After such a decree war was inevitable. Mixed governments, accustomed to yield to pressure and undergo changes at home, and old dynasties, which have experienced and survived vicissitudes of fortune, may either give way to exigencies, or be moderate in enforcing them. But two autocrats, whose thrones were based on the idea of their almightiness, could not bend. Alexander could not submit to a brother sovereign, who dictated to him the regulations of trade, prescribed his friendships and his enmities, and looked suspiciously into all his acts.* Napoleon could as little bear a rival and could still less afford to show signs of weakness or concession. Europe was at his feet, but it was a

* The recall of some regiments from the Danube, and the erection of some fortifications on the Beresina, were sufficient to cause angry remonstrances from Paris.

CHAP.
XLIII.

murmuring and discontented Europe, ready to look up and rally to any independent banner. The position and prospects of England in 1811 had improved. Not only had it reduced one by one all the colonial possessions of France and its allies, but it stood its ground in Portugal. Cadiz repulsed Soult. Wellington worsted Massena, and his troops won the victories of Albuera and Fuentes. When the emperors had met at Tilsit, it appeared that Napoleon's apophthegm was true, of the conquering power on land being always in the end the conquering power at sea. He supported his view by instancing Rome and Carthage. And France, the modern Rome, must finally reduce the modern Carthage, England. This, however accepted by Alexander in 1807, was far from showing speedy accomplishment in 1811. The war of blockade and prohibition, which the Northern powers and Russia had consented to, had lasted four years, without fulfilling Napoleon's promise of compelling England to peace. On the contrary, the commercial classes there were as eager for the continuance of war as the aristocratic; and instead of punishing England, the prohibitive decrees had inflicted the greatest loss and privation on the countries which had adopted it. What more than all else prompted Russia to break from Napoleon's prohibitive system and onerous alliance, was the belief that it would fail of its ends.

In the spring of 1811 the birth of a prince to Napoleon, whom he baptized King of Rome, came to promise continuance to his empire, and at the same time to secure it the support of Austria. The outward appearance of this could indeed be commanded. And Austria as well as Prussia were constrained to sign a secret and offensive alliance with France for their aid in the invasion of Russia. It was characteristic of the epoch, and its events, that whilst the Prussian treaty guaranteed the maintenance of its present frontier, the

Austrian treaty contained a promise of enlargement of territory, which could only point to the Prussian province of Silesia. Already in 1811 the French armies poured once more into Prussia, which became their manœuvring and recruiting ground; and considerable drafts took place from the French troops in the Peninsula.

The war in Spain and Portugal had in the meantime been marked by chequered fortune and important events which, viewed in different lights, encouraged both Napoleon and Alexander in their projects, the one of invasion the other of defence. In the spring of 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed once more with an army in Lisbon. After seeing the English embark at Corunna, Soult had marched south and occupied Oporto. The Spanish generals made efforts to maintain themselves in the central provinces; but they were beaten in successive battles, and King Joseph was once more enthroned at Madrid. The English general at the head, not only of his own native army, but of the Portuguese which had been organised and placed under the British commander, first advanced against Soult, and drove him back into Galicia. He then, in co-operation with the Spanish generals, entered Spain, with the hope of again expelling the intrusive king from Madrid.

The French armies and generals were at the time scattered, and had King Joseph waited for their concentration, Wellesley and the Spaniards must either have been beaten or have withdrawn. The new King of Spain was too late, and with French troops more than doubling the British, 40,000 to 20,000—the Spaniards, however, making both armies pretty equal—he attacked his allied enemies on one of the last days of June at Talavera. The Spaniards were posted with their right upon the Tagus, the English on hills in continuance of their line. Victor, Duc de Bellune, really commanded the French, and during the evening of one day, and the

CHAP.
XLIII.

whole of the next, he directed a series of attacks upon the British positions. But these were defended with extraordinary skill and gallantry, the infantry repelling each assault, and the cavalry rushing upon the French columns as they failed and withdrew.* The victory of Talavera was complete, and its effect upon the minds of the sovereigns of the north of Europe most important. Each asked himself why Russia and Prussia might not resist the French generals and legions, as well as Wellington and his English army had done?

But for all his victory Wellington was obliged to retreat into Portugal, being unable to face the masses of the enemy which flocked to the Tagus. Napoleon had obtained a great increase of power and renown, first by his defeat of Austria at Wagram, and then by his marriage, which seemed to give to him the entire resources of Austria. He was incensed with Russia, but ere breaking with her, or proceeding to punish her, he wanted to see an end of the British in the Peninsula. Portugal seemed there as a kind of door into which they shrunk when overpowered, to reissue when any circumstance might weaken their enemy. To extirpate these from Portugal as well as from Cadiz was thus Napoleon's double purpose. To effect this, one army was despatched to Andalusia under Soult, the other, little short of 100,000 men, was entrusted to Massena, in order to accomplish what Junot had failed in, the expulsion of Wellington from Lisbon.

In September, 1810, Massena advanced at the head of his large army; Ciudad Rodrigo, entrusted to the Spaniards, fell before him. He first came up with the English at Busaco, found them in their usual position on a range of heights, but as he had one-third more force than they, Massena determined on attacking. He did so, with the same result and the same experience which

* Napoleon, Wellington, Thiers, Napier.

Victor had gained at Talavera, that is, a severe repulse. After the action, Sir Arthur Wellesley retreated to the line of fortified redoubts which he had caused to be thrown up at Torres Vedras, for protecting Lisbon, whither Massena followed with some 80,000 men. But when he reconnoitred the lines, and the mode in which every point of attack was fortified and flanked, he gave up the idea of forcing them. To tarry without attack was however, impossible, the country offering no provisions; and no means being provided for the maintenance of the French thousands, Massena abandoned the enterprise, and retired in mid November, leaving the English inexpugnable in Lisbon.

The year 1811 did not much advance either the Spanish or the French cause. The latter chiefly directed their efforts to the south-eastern provinces, where there was no efficient force to oppose them. Nor could the English, though they fought at Albuera, and had besieged Badajos, take as yet a permanent footing on the Spanish soil.

The same year, in the north, produced a kind of sparring between the two emperors. By the spring of 1812, Napoleon had collected an army of 450,000 men in Poland and the adjoining provinces of Prussia, besides a large reserve. Not more indeed than one-half of these were French. But all the troops that Alexander could muster to oppose them scarcely exceeded the number of French in Napoleon's army. The Czar, however, concentrated his efforts to resist the formidable enemy before him, and succeeded at the very outset in winning the neutrality, if not co-operation, of natural enemies north and south of him. Sweden might have been expected to join eagerly in the French expedition. A Frenchman governed it, and its first aim would naturally have been the recovery of Finland. But Napoleon had deserted Sweden and outraged Bernadotte; the latter made offers, if the French emperor could have

CHAP.
XLIII.

considered them.* But he scorned to treat Bernadotte as other than a mere subordinate. To show his contempt the French troops took possession of Swedish Pomerania. Bernadotte in consequence concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia. Alexander at the same time conciliated Turkey by waiving the chief pretensions with which he had begun the war. It had been conducted with varying fortune, latterly to the advantage of the Russians. But Alexander had need of his troops in the north, and recalled the greater part of them in consequence from the Danube, and was obliged to abandon his hold of Moldo-Wallachia, on the basis of the Treaty of Bucharest. Peace was thus concluded between Russia and the Porte towards the end of May.

Napoleon had mustered around him at Dresden all the sovereigns and princes dependent on his will. Amongst these were the King of Prussia, anxious to preserve what remained of his patrimony by obsequiousness to the great conqueror. Far other were the thoughts of his followers and ministers. They encouraged without interruption the secret societies which were forming throughout Germany, with the avowed purpose of imitating the Spaniards and ridding Germany of the French. Jerome, indeed, warned his imperial brother in January 1812, that the entire population of the country between the Rhine and Oder were ready for insurrection, so great was their despair and destitution from the military oppression under which they suffered.† Napoleon saw the great remedy that could cover all in victory, and advanced from Dresden to achieve it. In the middle of June he was on the Niemen, and issued his proclamation announcing what he styled the second Polish war. Russia, at Tilsit, he said had vowed eternal friendship with France, eternal war with England.

* Bernadotte required Finland, Norway, and a subsidy—demands certainly not moderate.—*Segur*.

† Letters of Jerome.

These vows it had broken, and France had come with half a million of bayonets to demand their fulfilment.

It cannot be said that the Russians showed either foresight or skill. An able plan had been laid before the Czar for imitating the defensive strategy of Lord Wellington, avoiding battle, retreating behind strongly fortified walls, and inflicting repeated loss rather than defeat upon the enemy, enticing him at the same time from his basis of operations.* Although Alexander approved of this plan, and gave the command to Barclay de Tolly, who adopted it, still neither could confess to the Russians their intention to refuse battle and retreat continually. It seemed dishonourable and discouraging. And as if to contradict it, the two Russian corps d'armée were advanced to a short distance from the frontier, one on the road to St. Petersburg, the other on that to Moscow. Alexander spoke of defending Wilna, yet when the French crossed the Niemen, it was abandoned without a blow, and both Russian armies fell back, the French divisions frequently getting before and between them, and forcing them to great circuits, disorders, and loss in their precipitate retreat. As to the strongholds behind which they might rally, they were not completed. One was an entrenched camp at Drissa: it was abandoned without a struggle. It was not till reaching Smolensko that Napoleon met with serious resistance, the two Russian armies having united notwithstanding all Napoleon's efforts to fight them separately. Even then the Russians were not half the force of the French, and it was more to satisfy their own people than with any hope of victory, that the Russian commanders gave battle to the invader.

Although they had met with such slight resistance, the French had taken nearly two months (from June the 24th to August the 17th) to march from the Niemen

* M. Thiers attributes the plan Hardenburg gives Armfeld and to Phuhl, a Prussian general. Servia Capriola as its originators.

CHAP.
XLIII.
—

to Smolensko. The summer was splendid; its heat oppressive and destructive to the invading host, which found no more the homesteads and farms of Germany, or even of Poland. Russia was in comparison a waste, and its inhabitants had made it still more so by carrying away and destroying everything at the approach of the French. All the necessities of life were wanting except meat, confined to which the French, who live on bread, experienced loathing. Illness invaded every division. It was impossible to regulate the commissariat of such a host, accustomed to live almost altogether upon the country which they traversed. Napoleon detested contractors, and would have all supplies furnished by the intendants of the army; but at last, and too late, was obliged to have recourse to the only capitalists of the country, the Jews.* Russia, in fact, was another Spain to the French. But in Spain there was fruit and bread at least, in Russia neither. In two months' march, Napoleon left well-nigh half his force behind in hospitals, when there were such, but more generally on the roads.

This state of things fully accounts for the days and weeks during which Napoleon delayed his march, first at Wilna and then at Witepsk or Smolensk. At Wilna, indeed, he had been delayed by the demands of the Poles, who, under the protection of the Abbé de Pradt, had formed an Assembly at Warsaw, and who sent to demand a declaration from Napoleon restoring their ancient monarchy. Unfortunately for his reputation, as for his fortune, Napoleon hesitated. A resuscitated Poland would have given him devoted soldiers and enthusiastic support, not only from the Duchy of Warsaw but in Lithuania and Volhynia. The Emperor's evasive answer damped this ardour. If the Poles would all rise, and arm for their independence, they would obtain it, Napoleon said. But he could not deprive

* Segur.

Austria of Galicia, nor deprive himself, he hinted, of all hope of an accord with Russia, by resuscitating an independent Poland. He accordingly established a provisional government in Lithuania to collect its revenues for his own army, not to reconstitute it as a part of Poland.

At Witepsk the cause of the delay was other; the necessity of putting a stop to disturbance and desertion, of giving stragglers time to rejoin their corps, and to devise more efficient modes of provisioning the army. The Russian generals Barclay and Bagration had united their forces. And such was the impatience of their soldiers at the unbroken retreat, that it became necessary to adopt a bolder system. Whilst the Russian generals and high officers were thus clamouring to be led to the combat, those of a similar rank in the French army deprecated its further advance, at least for that season. At one moment Napoleon himself was of the same sentiment. Unbuckling his sword and flinging it on his maps he declared that the campaign of 1812 was over.* He proposed maintaining his position, fortifying himself there, restoring order in his rear, and wearing out Russian enthusiasm by a prolonged occupation of the country. But what would the French at home say to a campaign without a victory? It was worse indeed than that, for Lord Wellington had defeated Marmont towards the end of July in the battle of Salamanca. To pause on the Dwina in August, implied the necessity of remaining there till April, seven or eight months of inaction, during which there was too much at stake to allow of the Emperor's absenting himself.

Instead, therefore, of halting at Witepsk, Napoleon conceived a plan of passing the Dnieper without the enemy being aware, and surprising Smolensko ere they could arrive to its succour. As usual in this war, he only came in sight of the city to find Barclay and

* Segur.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Bagration on the heights beyond it, and one of their divisions pouring in to defend it. His marshals attacked and carried the suburbs, not without conflict and loss. In the night the Russians showed their enemies the reception they were to meet with in great cities. They set fire to Smolensko as they evacuated it, and the French could but take possession of its smoking ruins (August 18). The capture cost some seven or eight thousand men, and still the enemy escaped. But Napoleon was somewhat consoled for the failure of his plans by learning that St. Cyr, commanding the left wing, had beaten Wittgenstein at Polotsk on the same day, the 18th, and maintained the superiority of the French arms.

Meantime a change took place in the Russian command. Barclay, disliked as a Livonian and a German, and still more from his policy of always retreating and avoiding battle, was replaced by Kutusoff, a thorough Russian, who had been successful in Wallachia against the Turks, and who had commanded at Austerlitz without being responsible for its fatal manœuvres. Though old and obese, Kutusoff took the command for the purpose of giving battle, which indeed then began no longer to be an act of imprudence, for the French army had dwindled down to 140,000, of course little more than 100,000 being able to be brought into line. And this number the Russians under Kutusoff equalled upon the field, which he chose at Borodino.

This was a strong position, crowning a line of hills, with a stream called the Kolotza flowing at the foot in front of the Russian right towards the river Moskwa. The Russian centre and left, with a ravine between them leading to the village of Semenoffskoie were defended, the first by a large redoubt, the latter by an advanced battery and works called *flèches*. Napoleon no sooner surveyed this position in the afternoon of the 5th than he ordered the latter battery to be carried. His

order was accomplished, but not till after a severe struggle. The next day, the 6th, passed without any engagement; Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers telling them to retain their character for courage so as to be able to boast of their presence in that great battle fought under the walls of Moscow.* Whilst the French Emperor thus called forth the efforts of his soldiers in the name of glory, Kutusoff paraded his ranks, preceded by the Holy Image of the Virgin, rescued from Smolensko.

The battle of Borodino, or of the Moskwa, was commenced on the morning of the 7th by Eugène Beauharnais in the centre assailing the great redoubt, and by Davoust and Ney attacking the Russian left and its *flèches*. Bagration defended them with obstinacy, and when he lost, retook them; but he was borne mortally wounded from the field, and by the afternoon the French were masters of his position. The grand redoubt, also taken and retaken, remained longer in the hands of the Russians who occupied the line of heights immediately behind. Ney and Murat made strenuous efforts to penetrate through the ravine between the grand redoubt and the Russian left, but Kutusoff continually filled up the gaps they made by fresh troops from his unattacked right. Ney and Murat sent repeated entreaties to the Emperor to reinforce them with the guard, consisting of 20,000 fresh soldiers. Napoleon would not give them. And the grand redoubt was only won by a desperate effort of the French *cuirassiers*. Caulaincourt, brother of the Duke of Vicenza, led them, forced his way through the Russians in the ravine, and then turning entered the redoubt by its opening in the rear, but perished in the attempt. The soldiers of Eugène at the same time stormed on foot, and the redoubt was won.

Here ended the success of the French. They had

* This was a stretch, Moscow being seventy miles from Borodino.

CHAP.
XLIII.

driven back the Russians, and remained masters of the field, but of neither guns, standards or prisoners. Some 40,000 soldiers fell on either side. It was victory, but victory dearly bought, and with little profit. It was no longer Austerlitz or Friedland, but mutual butchery. Even had Napoleon allowed his guard to charge and drive the Russians from the second line of heights, where was the profit, but to add to the list of dead and wounded, a great number on both sides? As it was, the battle opened the possession of Moscow to the French. Kutusoff could not fight another for its defence; and if the occupation of the second Russian capital was an object to Napoleon, he certainly gained it in the bloody field of Borodino.*

As the French advanced on the road to Moscow in pursuit of the enemy there was little exultation amongst them. They had left ten generals dead upon the field besides fourteen wounded. Such sacrifices, joined to those of men and officers, portended a war of extermination, not of glory. Still hope gleamed upon them, when in a week after the battle of Borodino the innumerable gilt steeples and cupolas of Moscow shone before them in the eastern sun. The entrance was, however, not jubilant. The entire population, save the very dregs, had vanished. There was no offer of keys, no submission of a municipality. The Emperor rode through empty streets to take up his quarters in the Kremlin, where on the first evening of repose he heard a cry of fire. It was the spirit store. By and by it was the bazaar, lately constructed. The flames were not left to accomplish the work of destruction alone. The soldiers and the rabble soon joined in it, from cupidity, resentment, or despair. All sought booty, and thought little of life, their own, or that of others. Churches there were in hundreds, offering richer spoil than even palaces, and the French were soon in possession of more than they

* Segur, Labaume, Napoleon's Despatches and Correspondence.

could carry. Napoleon remained as long as possible in the Kremlin, hoping that the conflagration might be got under. But the tempest which accompanied, and which it partly occasioned, defeated every project for arresting the fire, and the French Emperor retreated with his guard to the palace of Petrowskoie, outside the city.

The conflagration of Moscow was, there is little doubt, the work of its governor Rotopschin, whose project it had been to make the great sacrifice solemnly, and probably with the assent and aid of the inhabitants.* But Kutusoff kept him uncertain as to whether the city might not be defended, and at the last moment Rotopschin was obliged to entrust the work to the liberated inmates of the prisons to set fire to the city, whilst he himself carried off the pumps and implements for extinguishing it. Rotopschin sacrificed his own town and country mansions, but was afterwards, nevertheless, afraid to avow himself the sole author of the catastrophe.

The moral effect was greater than the physical. When the fire had consumed nine-tenths of the city, the French who had evacuated it in flames returned, and found not only sufficient shelter, but a certain quantity of provisions and stores. But the population had irrevocably fled, and the destruction of their ancient city placed between the Russians and the invaders a barrier of hate that precluded all accommodation between them. Napoleon made one or two efforts to address Alexander and open the way to peace, but though Kutusoff was willing to hearken to these, Alexander would not pardon the deep insult he had received, and declined parley or communication with the invader.

What was to be done? The Russian army after making a circuit had taken post towards Kalouga, south-west of Moscow, and menacing the road by which the French had advanced. It was soon to be reinforced by

* Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative.

CHAP.
XLIII.

the army from Moldavia. Alexander was also exerting himself to strengthen his northern army under Wittgenstein. A more perfect accord with Sweden, following a personal interview between the Czar and Bernadotte at Abo, enabled the former to evacuate Finland and transport the Russian troops from thence to join Wittgenstein. Were the Russian force to concentrate on the Beresina or upon any other spot of the French line of march, they might first cut off their communications, and, what was more important, their retreat.

Of retreat, however, and especially of the semblance of it, Napoleon would not hear. To take up winter quarters in Moscow, to penetrate into the fertile provinces south of it, or proceed north-west, menacing St. Petersburg whilst approaching Wilna, were his ideas. Daru was for wintering in Moscow. Thiers considers the march north-west to have been the wisest, but none would abet it save Napoleon himself. A march southward to Kalouga was universally preferred, as it led to a fertile country, in which the army might either tarry or withdraw from it to Poland by a road less beaten and exhausted than that by which they came.

On the 19th of October the French army, diminished to about 90,000 soldiers, quitted Moscow, dragging after it the mass of waggons and baggage proportioned to 500,000 more. Napoleon was horrified at the sight, but contented himself with observing that a few days' march would leave half of these equipages and their burdens behind. He pretended to his army and to himself that he did not evacuate Moscow definitively. He left Mortier in command of the Kremlin, and of a certain force, but with orders to be prepared to blow it up and evacuate it. This order Napoleon sent back in four-and-twenty hours after he left Moscow. Kutusoff with the main Russian army was at Tarontina on one of the roads to Kalouga. Napoleon hastened to reach this town by another route, which crossed the Lonjea at

Malo-Zaroslavietz. Doctorow (October 24), however, came up in time to dispute the passage. A sanguinary action ensued between him and the Prince Eugene, whose Italians fought with desperate valour. The result of the battle was the loss of some 10,000 men on either side, and it was followed by councils of war held simultaneously by Napoleon with his marshals, and by Kutusoff with his generals. French narrators tell the one; Sir Robert Wilson, then at Kutusoff's head quarters, depicts the other. Notwithstanding his loss, and the dreadful duty which it imposed of dragging along thousands of wounded, Napoleon was for persevering, risking another battle and penetrating to Kalouga. His marshals deprecated the attempt, and were all of them for falling back upon the Smolensko road, by which they had advanced. Napoleon was no longer master. Misfortune compelled him to bow to the opinion of his generals. Yet had he persevered, "had the slightest demonstration of an offensive movement been made, Napoleon would have obtained a free passage for his army on the Kalouga or Medynsk roads, through a fertile and rich country, to the Dnieper, since Kutusoff, resolved on falling back behind the Oka, had actually issued the order to retire there in case of the enemy's approach to his new position." *

Kutusoff frankly gave his reasons for not pressing the French too closely, reasons which did not cease to influence him during the whole of the French retreat.† This now may be said to have fully commenced, and not by Medynsk, the shortest way to Smolensko, which

* Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative.

† The English general enforcing these considerations was told by the Marshal: "I don't care for your objections, I prefer a *pont d'or*, as you call it, to receiving a '*coup de collier*:' besides, I will say again, as I have told you before, that I am by

no means sure that the total destruction of the Emperor Napoleon and his army would be such a benefit to the world; his succession would not fall to Russia or any other continental power, but to that which already commands the sea, and whose domination would then be intolerable."

Davoust strongly recommended, but by Mojaïsk and Borodino. The reflections of the French army, repassing that field on the 29th of October, may be imagined. Kutusoff had not renewed the pursuit, notwithstanding which the retreating army was obliged to abandon its sick and wounded and a great portion of the baggage and artillery for want of the means of transport. At Wiasma on the 3rd of November took place the first attempt of the Russians to cut off at least part of their retreating enemies. But Ney, Davoust and Eugène beat off their assailants. The next day a more formidable enemy appeared in a fall of snow, premature for the season, followed by cold, which rendered the night bivouacs of the French fatal resting-places. It was but a fortnight since they had evacuated Moscow, and already the army was reduced by half its numbers. On the 9th of November Prince Eugène lost all his baggage, and left behind all his camp followers at the passage of the Vop. The scene was a fit prelude to that of the Beresina, where Wittgenstein from the north and Tchichagoff from the south were tending to a junction, and threatening to intercept the Emperor and his army. At Krasnoi the Russians repeated the attempt of Wiasma, and succeeded in cutting the French army in three. Napoleon in front escaped; Davoust fought his way through. Ney, commanding the rear, was completely cut off, and no resource seemed left him but to surrender. The gallant soldier would not submit to such an extremity. With some three thousand of his division he crossed in the night the half-frozen surface of the Dnieper, and forcing his way along the further bank, reached Eugène at Orcha.

It was on the 22nd of November at Toloczin that Napoleon learned the terrible fact of the Russians having got before him to the Beresina, and burned the only bridge, that of Borisow, by which he could pass. His own captivity, with that of the remains of his army, stared him in the face. But he soon shook off the effects of

the stunning intelligence, and determined to march on to the Beresina, in order to force anyhow a passage. Fortunately General Corbineau had discovered a ford over the Beresina some miles above Borisow. And thither Napoleon directed at once his steps and his preparations. At the ford opposite Studenki, the Beresina being only some feet deep, bridges could be laid on trestles, and so did not demand much labour and time. Two were prepared, one for carriages and artillery, the other for horse and foot. The Russians not discovering the work at first allowed the French two full days to pass the greater part of their army. The enemies who made their appearance on the side of the river to which the army had crossed were easily repelled. But Wittgenstein pressed upon the other ere the passage had been effected, and whilst indeed it was intercepted by frequent accidents and breaches. At one time during the passage of the bridge by the followers of the army, Wittgenstein was able to open fire upon it, smashing the waggons and sweeping away whole files of suttlers and women, whose shrieks rent the air. But the disorder and despair of these stragglers scarcely required the enemy's shot to make it worse. In their distress they frequently blocked the bridge, rushed upon that reserved for the artillery, and were often crushed beneath the wheels, or flung into the river by the advancing troops. The entrance to the bridge was defended most gallantly by Victor and his division, who were sorely pressed. And such was their weakness and diminished numbers, that Napoleon gave orders that they should cross by a certain hour, and burn the bridge behind them. A great portion of the stragglers and women had not passed. They were aroused from their frozen slumbers in the night to do so, before the bridge was destroyed, but the greater part refused to move till daylight, and then it was too late. Fire was at last set

CHAP.
XLIII.

to the bridge, whilst thousands upon the Russian side saw that they were left to their fate.

The barbarity of the Russians indeed passed belief. In the midst of a cold of thirty degrees, they stripped such of the prisoners as they did not kill, and drove them along by thousands. As most dropped upon the road, their numbers were filled up by the gathering of other fugitives, and columns of wretches were thus driven to death by the spears of the Cossacks. Those who escaped such fatal driving suffered no less from the bands of peasants, who as mercilessly massacred every captive. The Russian women vied with the men in such barbarity. Great as had been the provocation, one cannot but be disgusted at the total absence of anything like a Christian feeling in the population. We do not hear of any general or authority in any town who made the least effort to stop the barbarity of the peasants. The Emperor Alexander issued a proclamation giving a reward for the captives brought in alive. But the love of slaughter was greater than that of money, and the Cossacks' lance was never stayed by pity.*

* All prisoners were immediately and invariably stripped stark naked and marched in columns in that state, or turned adrift to be the sport and the victims of the peasantry, who would not always let them, as they sought to, point and hold the muzzles of the guns against their own heads or hearts, to terminate their sufferings in the most certain and expeditious manner; for the peasantry thought that this mitigation of torture "would be an offence against the avenging God of Russia," and deprive them of His further protection. A remarkable instance of this cruel spirit of retaliation was exhibited on the pursuit to Wiazma. Milaradowitch, Beningsen, Korf, and the English

General, with various others, were proceeding on the high road, about a mile from the town, where they found a crowd of peasant women, with sticks in their hands, hopping round a felled pine tree, on each side of which lay about sixty naked prisoners, prostrate, but with their heads on the tree, which those furies were striking in accompaniment to a national air or song which they were yelling in concert; while several hundred armed peasants were quietly looking on as guardians of the dreadful orgies. When the cavalcade approached, the sufferers uttered piercing shrieks, and kept incessantly crying, 'La mort! La mort!' —Wilson's Narrative.

In the first days of December there were not more than 10,000 French under arms, seeking to make their way to Wilna. Napoleon, strong as was his duty to share their sufferings, and do the best for their defence, felt that both were beyond his power, and that to save the empire itself his presence in France was necessary. On the 5th therefore, at Smorgoni, he summoned Murat, Eugène, Berthier, Ney, Davoust, Lefebvre, Mortier, and Bessières, and informed them of his intention to hasten back at once without making himself known upon his journey. His fears were, that the Germans, already in effervescence and almost in insurrection, would stop him. Those he left behind blamed his defection, especially Berthier. And even Murat, to whom he entrusted the command, was more chagrined than flattered by the offer. The Emperor, with Duroc, Caulaincourt, and Lobau entered a sledge, and fortunately reached Wilna without being intercepted by the Russians. From Wilna he proceeded to Warsaw, summoned there his few followers, and let fall to his envoy De Pradt the remarkable observation, that there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Dresden was his next resting-place, and he reached Paris on the 19th of December two months after his leaving Moscow. As for Murat and Ney they could enter Wilna, but to retreat forthwith from it. The fresh troops, that the Duke de Bassano had collected there, and sent towards them, were stricken down by a cold of thirty degrees even more speedily and suddenly than the legions of Murat. Scarcely more than a third of the French crossed the Niemen. Murat attained Königsberg, Eugène Warsaw, but with merely their staffs. The 600,000 soldiers of the Grand Expedition had perished.

The most striking event which had occurred in France, during the absence of the Emperor in Russia, was the perpetration of an attempt, for it could not be called a conspiracy, hatched in the brain of one man. A general

CHAP.
XLIII.

of the name of Malet, always restless, ever in trouble, was at the time under arrest. He conceived the design of affirming the death of the Emperor, and establishing a republican government in consequence. Escaping from his arrest, habiting himself as a general officer, he first imposed on the troops of a certain barrack, made use of these to break open a prison, liberated from thence two general officers, who could not discredit the story he told them of the Emperor's death, accompanied as it was by the display of his momentary power. They became his accomplices, and under his orders, the police minister, Savary, and his prefect, were arrested, and sent to prison. Malet tried to do the same by the commander of Paris, Hullin, but he demurred and Malet shot him. This led to resistance, rather than acquiescence of the rest of the staff, and at last Malet was recognised and arrested. The attempt made in the morning, and which resulted for an hour or two in Malet and his accomplices being almost masters of Paris, was defeated before mid-day, about the very time when Napoleon was marching on Kalouga. The frightened and restored authorities sent all the parties concerned, the deceived as well as the deceivers, to a court-martial and commanded them all, to the number of twelve, to be shot.

"How can all this have been?" exclaimed Napoleon. "Was not my son thought of, the heir to my throne, and the Empress invested with the powers of Regent?" At Smolensko and Wilna Napoleon perceived that there was no active government in France whilst he was absent. On returning to Paris, he equally learned that without his presence the armies, still considerable on the Vistula, melted to nothing. It is the misfortune of despotism, that it can delegate neither talent nor power, no more than it can bequeath them. "Even if you succeed in beating the Russians," observed Prince Metternich at this time to a French envoy, "and if the Emperor Napoleon can regain and make himself master of the

three-fourths of Europe, which he subdued, how could such an empire be preserved by his son, composed of such discordant materials, disaffected population, and princes wounded in their interests and in their pride?"

Napoleon would not hearken to such plain truths. He would not admit that his military resources were weakened, or that the spirit and means of his enemies had risen to a par with his own. Yet his very efforts betrayed the exhaustion. The 100,000 conscripts due in 1813 being already spent, he was obliged to draw on the population for soldiers both in advance and in arrear. Those who had escaped from conscription or purchased exemption at fabulous prices, were called up again and made to serve. The noble and gentle classes had always escaped, and these, however hostile to the dynasty, Napoleon now *pressed* and enrolled in what he called the *gardes d'honneur*, for they were in a great measure obliged to support themselves. There ensued a long and a wide murmuring throughout France, a murmur of families bereaved, and sad execration of mothers rendered childless. The Emperor himself was insulted in the streets of Paris. What his agents endured, and with what severity they retaliated, in order to execute the Imperial decrees, need not be told.

Counting the hundred thousands of this food for powder, which like coin he was prepared to spend in exchange for glory, Napoleon continued to hold towards Europe the same haughty and insulting language which had been his wont since Jena and Wagram. When he called his councillors together at Paris after his return, their first recommendation was, and could be no other than, peace. To whom should he make the offer? To Russia? It would be humiliating and vain, till he had appeared once more victorious in the field. But Austria, the ally of the Emperor by marriage, might mediate. It would be necessary then to satisfy Austria, and offer to it conditions calculated to counterbalance the

complete restoration of its empire, which the allied powers already held forth.

There was another power manifesting itself in Germany, quite as important as any of the old courts and princes. This was public opinion, which Napoleon could not bring himself to take into account, which first carried away Prussia in the tide of national antagonism to France, and threatened to leave Austria high and dry, above all influence over Germany, if it resisted or kept out of the current. It was not in the name of religion, but of virtue, meaning the great public virtue of patriotism, that eminent Germans appealed to those masses of their fellow-countrymen in oppression. The secret societies for this purpose, entitled the Tugendbund, dated from 1809, and took their birth in the general disgust at a Bonaparte prince being raised to the throne of Westphalia. Schill, who with 1,000 horse traversed North Germany, and the Duke of Brunswick Oels, who followed him, were but the first sparks of the latent conflagration. The most tyrannical of the French generals had been Davoust. He had unscrupulously mulcted the wealth of Hamburg, and made of Magdeburg a fortified *dépôt* for the storing of wines and spirits. When he fell back to Dresden, after the Russian retreat, and blew up the fine bridge over the Elbe to prevent the enemy following him, the hearts of the Germans were at once embittered and encouraged.

The Tugendbund and its adepts were nowhere more numerous or more enthusiastic than in the auxiliary corps, which General York commanded, and which made part of the corps of Macdonald. The Russian generals had communicated with York early in December, and Alexander himself declared that he would never lay down his arms till Prussia had recovered its station of 1806. York sent Seydlitz to Berlin, and received in return full authority and power to act as he judged best, it being the intention of the Prussian court to break with

France as soon as circumstances would permit.* York, in consequence, allowed himself to be cut off from Macdonald, and thus in the last days of 1812 united his forces to the Russians.† The King of Prussia still at Potsdam, in the power of Augereau, disavowed York, and ordered him to be put on his trial, making at the same time offers of alliance to Napoleon. They were accompanied by demands of money, due for French requisitions levied in order to facilitate armaments. Napoleon understood the meaning of such demands, and was not surprised to learn that the King of Prussia had fled from Potsdam to Breslau, where he issued a decree inviting volunteers to join him. As a conscription in the name of Napoleon threatened North Germany at the very time, the youth hostile to it preferred taking refuge under the banner of their legitimate sovereign, and the King of Prussia had soon an army around him at Breslau.

The Austrians armed too, and Napoleon, not deeming that they could become his enemies, encouraged it. Metternich proposed that his emperor should mediate between France and her antagonists, and managed to make both France and the allies believe that his mediation was in favour of each. Austria, nevertheless, was a most fitting mediator, since it almost equally dreaded the power of Russia and that of France, and desired simply to bring both to an equilibrium. With this view it insisted on the restoration of German independence. Unfortunately for Napoleon this was what he was least prepared to grant. Spain he was inclined to give up to the demands of England, Poland to those who had partitioned it. But he insisted on preserving not only Westphalia but the Hanse towns and the Confederation of the Rhine. Moreover, to restore the

* Stein's *Leben*, vol. iii. p. 247, 255.

† York and Massenbach brought over 18,000 men to the Prussians,

leaving Macdonald to continue his retreat with but 7,000.—Sir Robert Wilson's *Narrative*.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Prussian monarchy, at the very time when it had turned with fierce hatred against him, appeared a weakness and a humiliation to which he could not stoop. "And the marriage of Maria Louisa," observed a French to an Austrian diplomatist, "can that be broken?"—"Policy made that marriage," answered the Austrian coldly, "and policy may break it."

Diplomacy, however, could not expect to accomplish anything alone when such formidable armies were in the field. Napoleon in April advanced from Mayence by the same road which he had taken in the campaign of Jena, along the Saale. He had some 140,000 men, young soldiers, but well officered, and about to be joined by Prince Eugène with 40,000 veterans from Magdeburg. Kutusoff had just expired in Livonia, and the Prusso-Russian command fell nominally to Wittgenstein, but really to the young and ardent courtiers who surrounded the monarch. These had pushed the army across the Elbe, against the advice of both Kutusoff and Sir Robert Wilson, who, though opposed in almost all things, were agreed in thinking the allies no match for the French. The Prussians, however, had not only crossed the Elbe, but were marching towards the Saale, supposing Napoleon still at Erfurth, and hoping to occupy the field of Jena, and defend it when he should come up. With this view the Russo-Prussians marched on the road from Dresden towards Jena by Altenburg, whilst the French were advancing to Lutzen and Leipzig. Learning that their enemy had advanced so far as to be almost behind them, the Russo-Prussians retraced their steps northwards along the Elster, and entered the great plain south of Leipzig at Zwenkau, whilst Napoleon reached Weissenfels and effected his junction with Eugène. The advanced guards met on the 1st of May.

One almost of the first shots fired struck Marshal Bessières, who commanded the Guard.—"Death approaches,"

was the observation of Napoleon. After driving back their enemies the French occupied Lutzen, Ney's corps, of about 50,000 men, encamping in the villages near, of which there were several. Napoleon had no idea that the chief mass of the Russo-Prussians were so near him. He determined to occupy Leipzig on the morrow, and then march to cut off the enemy from the Elbe.

Wittgenstein and the allied monarchs perceived his intention, and resolved to defeat it by attacking at once. Accordingly when on the 2nd of May, the greater part of the French army with Napoleon himself took the road to Leipzig, it no sooner began to thunder at the gates, than Blucher attacked the French corps under Ney, which to the number of 50,000 held the villages before Lutzen. It was some time ere Ney could reach his division at a gallop, a still longer time ere Napoleon could return to the field himself, with his troops from Leipzig. The French had been driven from some of the villages, had lost and retaken others. As reinforcements came up to either side, it proved victorious. And in this alternation of fortune the day wore away. Towards evening the French wings, formed of fresh corps, arrived and threatened to envelop the enemy, whose entire force of 80,000 men had been endeavouring to pierce the French centre. The Prussian cavalry under Blucher swept everything from the plain, but could not dislodge the French from the garden walls and the windows of the villages, whilst 80 French guns swept away whole files of the Prussian horse at each charge and retreat. At last the allied sovereigns abandoned the enterprise and withdrew, leaving to the French the field, and little more. Napoleon had no cavalry to harass the retreat, to intercept battalions or conquer guns. The loss in men was fully equal on both sides, being about 20,000 each. It would be difficult to discover either military science or genius in the battle of Lutzen. Had

CHAP.
XLIII.

Napoleon had under his command his old infantry, he would not have confined himself to the defence of garden-walls and ditches, nor with his old cavalry would he have allowed his enemies to escape unhurt. Such victory did no more than gain a certain amount of territory, leaving the foe neither broken nor dispirited in his retreat. The Russo-Prussians, however, abandoned both Leipzig, Dresden, and the Line of the Elbe, falling back eventually upon Bautzen, where they selected a strong position.*

The entrance of Napoleon into Dresden as the enemies retreated, brought back the Saxon king to his capital. He had been watching events at Prague, and had hitherto refused to Napoleon some 3,000 cavalry, which served him as his guard. He now returned with them, and was able to inform the French Emperor how likely he was to lose the support of his father-in-law. M. De Bubna at the same time arrived as envoy, to excuse the attitude of neutrality which the Austrian court was assuming as the consequence of that mediatorship, which Napoleon himself had allowed. The Austrian contingent had not only withdrawn from Poland, but brought with it the Polish Legion, which it threatened to disarm. To gain time, and keep Austria still neutral, Napoleon dissimulated his anger, and sanctioned Prince Metternich's proposing a Congress. But he at the same time sent Caulaincourt to the quarters of the Russian Emperor to endeavour to come to a direct accord with him, and set the Austrians, with their mediation, aside.

Meantime Macdonald, at the head of the French army, found himself in front of the position which the allies had taken behind the Spree at Bautzen. They had taken no precautions by a first line of forts to defend the passage of the river, but had provided an entrenched camp about a league behind, which they were determined to hold in case of the river being forced. Reinforced

* Fain, Norvins, Thiers, Schœll.

by Barclay, who brought 14,000 men after the surrender of Thorn, the allies mustered some 90,000 amidst the hillocks of Bautzen. But Napoleon's force was far superior in numbers, amounting to 130,000.

On the 20th of May, therefore, he found no difficulty in forcing the passage of the Spree river and capturing Bautzen, the Russian general Milaradowitz retreating after a brave but ineffectual attempt to maintain his position on several of the hills. To ensure a victory on the ensuing day, Napoleon despatched no less than 60,000 men under Ney to diverge to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank and rear in the midst of the action. The battle in front commenced without the allies being aware of the danger that menaced them. They fought bravely, but Napoleon did not press forward, and even fell asleep till aroused by the sound of Ney's cannon in the distance. His advance took Barclay in flank, Blucher in the rear, and Napoleon commanded an onward movement at the same time from the front. The result was a more complete victory than that of Lutzen. Yet it was not achieved without loss. The Prussians and Russians occupied the many hillocks of the field, which the French had to scale, in order to precipitate their enemies. The allies, according to Wilson's account, lost 20,000 men, and the French, though victorious, yet by their attacking first, somewhat more. The loss most severe to Napoleon was that of Duroc, Duke of Frioul, and Grand Master of the Palace. A cannon-ball glanced from a tree near the Emperor and killed first General Kirgener and then Duroc. The battle won, Napoleon sat on a stool before his tent, his head on his knees, overwhelmed with sadness. To the officer who came for orders he replied—*Tout à demain*. Leave everything for to-morrow.

The mission of Caulaincourt to the Emperor of Russia, previous to the affair of Bautzen, had merely displayed the Czar's resolve to listen to no separate overtures. He

CHAP.
XLIII.

had simply referred Caulaincourt to the Austrian plenipotentiary. The hopes of the allies were centred in Austria, which declined to declare for them till it had tried mediation. These statesmen were convinced that Austria's offer would be rejected by that hardest and least yielding of men, Napoleon, and therefore they consented to an armistice to give Austria full opportunity to try the experiment. The numerical weakness of Russo-Prussian arms was, however, the principal cause.* Napoleon consented to the armistice, which was concluded at Poischwitz, leaving Breslau neutral between the armies. Of all the powers, the one really desirous of immediate peace, was Austria. Russia and Prussia, who were receiving their 5,000,000*l.* sterling from England,† merely wanted time to employ them, to strengthen their armies and bring up reserves. Wellington had just routed the French armies at Vittoria, and liberated Spain. They hoped to do as much by Germany. Napoleon entertained views equally warlike, and expected to double his forces, and especially augment his cavalry, in which his army was weak, during the armistice. In consequence of the suspension of hostilities, Prince Metternich himself came to Dresden, in order to communicate personally with Napoleon.

In this critical interview, the French Emperor showed himself more actuated by hurt pride than by any rational policy. He was ready to give up Spain to England, Poland to Russia, Illyria to Austria; but he could not stomach the restoration of Prussia to its pristine importance. And for this cause he would not yield either the Hanseatic towns or the Confederation of the Rhine. It is almost incredible that Napoleon, for the sake of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort, should have

* Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart to Lord Castlereagh, June 28, 1813.

† Russia and Prussia concluded Treaties at Reichenbach on the

14th and 15th of June, with England, by which they obtained subsidies, and stipulated not to make peace without England.

risked the loss of the friendship and alliance of Austria. And it may be pleaded for him, that yielding up these, he necessarily gave up Westphalia also and Germany. Perhaps, indeed, this was but too apparent in the famous conversation, for the nature and particulars of which M. Thiers was indebted to Prince Metternich's own relation.* It was, however, not so much the conditions of the peace, as the evidence that they were imposed on him, that displeased Napoleon. He had beaten Russia and Prussia, and he hoped to beat Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the field. This hope amounted to conviction, and indeed sufficed to baffle all the Austrian endeavours for an accommodation. Caulaincourt, as well as Narbonne, went as French negotiators to the Congress of Prague; but they were instructed to higggle about forms, and chicane, not negotiate. And Austria, perceiving a rupture inevitable, came to conditional terms with the allies, was informed of their military plans, joined in them, and agreed to accept a subsidy from England to enable her to take immediate part in the war. All this was no doubt conditional upon Napoleon's persisting in the refusal of the Austrian terms. At the last hour, or rather past it, Caulaincourt received powers and instructions to yield the greater part of Metternich's demands. But Metternich, as the armistice expired, converted at once his contingent convention into a permanent alliance. Austria was thus no longer in a position to impose any condition, and her new allies refused the offers of Caulaincourt.

It is admitted, that what most influenced Austria at this time to hold firm against Napoleon, and the Emperor of Russia to break up the Congress, was the account received of Wellington's victories. The failure and retreat of Massena from the lines of Torres Vedras,

* The German historians deny that Metternich insisted on terms so favourable to Germany, as those

that Thiers indicates. See Springer, *Geschichte Oesterreich*.

CHAP.
XLIII.

has been described. Lion-like, he was formidable as he withdrew. And the battle of Fuentes d'Onores, which he fought early in May, 1811, to preserve Almeida, was one of the most fiercely disputed of Wellington's victories, and that in which his fortune and his skill were most at stake. A battle still more bloody and more critical took place soon after at Albuera, between Soult and Beresford, one in which the respective stamina of the soldiers was put to the proof more than the skill of either general. It was a hand-to-hand fight, and Soult was not victorious. He came to prevent the siege of Badajos but was obliged to retire without effecting his object.

Notwithstanding the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the British generals seemed as little able in 1811 and 1812 to take permanent footing in Spain, as the French were in holding any ground in Portugal. A British advance, always rendered possible by the separation and misunderstanding of the French marshals, was sure to terminate in their meeting, and then the English had but to retreat before their superior forces. This was the case in the summer of 1812, when the French marshal who was in front, Marmont, considered that because the English were retreating they could easily be beaten. And this he undertook to accomplish without waiting for his colleagues. On the 21st of July 1812 the English occupied one of the rocky hills near Salamanca, which the French call the Areópyles. Marmont attempted to dislodge them, but in directing the assault did not display the carefulness of Soult. A more than ordinary or prudent interval between his divisions allowed the English general to direct a portion of his army between them, and thus put them to the rout. Marmont, at the moment, lost his arm by a cannon-shot. Clausel took the command, and very nearly succeeded in baffling the English, as they were pouring down to overwhelm Marmont, so great was the disadvantage to attack, and

so comparatively easy the defence, on such hilly and rocky ground. Finally, however, the English were completely victorious. What was as important as the victory, was the several proofs of it in some thousands of prisoners, guns and eagles. The rest of the campaign, however, did not answer the promise of such a victory. The British advanced to Burgos, but failed in the siege, and were obliged to terminate the year by a retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo and the Portuguese frontier.

The momentous reverses of fortune which Napoleon experienced in the winter of 1812–1813 could not but have its influence upon the Spaniards and their auxiliaries. Lord Wellington himself went to Cadiz to communicate with the Spanish authorities there, and having matured his plans he began to march from Ciudad Rodrigo, through Spain towards the Ebro, about the time when Napoleon triumphed at Bautzen. His advance, at the head of 70,000 men, was the signal for the French king and principal functionaries to abandon Madrid. It was Napoleon's orders to Joseph to make Valladolid his head-quarters. But Biscay was in insurrection, and to keep open communication with France, he found it necessary to retreat upon Vittoria. Instead of the large armies which the French marshals had so lately mustered, Joseph could not collect more than between 60,000 or 70,000 before Vittoria. Soult had gone to join the Emperor. The British commander seemed fully aware that he had no skilful or powerful opponent to deal with, for whilst the French were concentrated around Vittoria, he disposed his divisions so as to attack them on all sides. General Graham was despatched by a circuit to come down upon and behind Vittoria from the north, so as to occupy their line of retreat. This daring manœuvre was crowned with complete success. Though defended in front by a river, passable but over a few bridges, the French were unable to make resistance even upon the high road.

They were driven back upon Vittoria, and only reached it to learn that Graham was in their rear, and that the great road to France was already lost. The mere intelligence was tantamount to a rout. Whatever of the army escaped, did so by the road along the Ebro to Pampeluna,—artillery, ammunition, baggage, the spoils of Madrid, Joseph's crown, Jourdan's bâton, all taken. The disastrous scene of the retreat from Moscow was re-enacted at Vittoria. It was not merely the discomfiture of an army, but the wreck of an empire.

Tidings of this great triumph or terrible catastrophe, from whichever side it was viewed, reached the belligerents in Germany at the end of June, that is, when the armistice of Poischwitz had about half expired. Before that period, Metternich had stated his demands in the personal interview with Napoleon, and had come to the conviction that they would not be accepted. The consequence, as we have already stated, was the final junction of the court of Vienna with those of London, St. Petersburg, and Berlin.

Austria now entered the field against Napoleon with 300,000 men. Russia had brought up its reserves, Prussia raised fresh legions. Bernadotte joined the contest with his Swedes, and was proclaimed viceroy as a recompense. He commanded an army of 150,000 men, which descended from the Baltic towards the Elbe. Blucher advanced from Silesia with as many. Whilst the Russians and Austrians, united under Schwarzenburg, threatened to emerge from Bohemia to the number of 250,000. Napoleon, at the resumption of the campaign, had not more than two-thirds of this number, which from Dresden as a centre he was able to launch at any one of his enemies. These, however, were wary, and had agreed to retreat whenever Napoleon in person attacked, the others assailing his lieutenants whenever he himself was absent. He has been accused of disseminating his forces, of despatching a portion to—

wards Berlin, and another too far eastward to be within succour or within call. But one of his objects was, not to allow his enemies to communicate with each other, or manœuvre in conjunction, when closing upon him. The truth, however, was, that Napoleon's genius was for offensive war, whilst his circumstances now reduced him to a defensive one, to which he could not reconcile either his tactics or his pride. He first launched his army against Blücher, and drove him back, but was recalled to defend Dresden from the Austro-Russians, who, emerging from Bohemia, had come to crown the hills around that capital with their legions.

This the first bearding of the lion by the allies, relying on their strength, proved exceedingly disastrous to them. Napoleon re-entered Dresden in the forenoon of the 26th. In the afternoon of the same day, the allies, descending from the heights, directed their attack bravely against all the gates. They imagined that St. Cyr's division alone occupied and defended the city. They soon perceived their mistake from the issue of French columns from every gate, which drove the allies back to their positions on the hills. Having thus effectually defended Dresden on the day of his return to it, Napoleon the next morning, the 27th, assumed the offensive and attacked simultaneously the right and left of his enemies, whilst the great park of his artillery played upon their centre. From one of the discharges, General Moreau, then accompanying the Emperor Alexander, had his limbs shattered by a ball. The French perceived that some general had fallen, but did not know who, till a dog with the name of Moreau on its collar, strayed within the lines. The German poet Körner perished about the same time. The chief honour of the day was for Murat, who at the head of his cavalry broke into a division of the Austrians, flung them into the valley of Plauen, and captured some 15,000. This was the signal for Schwarzenberg to

CHAP.
XLIII.

order a retreat from Dresden behind the mountainous frontier of Bohemia.

The victory of Dresden resembled Napoleon's early triumphs. Thousands of prisoners and a great quantity of cannon were won. Whilst the allies, accusing one another as the cause of the defeat, were ready to part company. A proffer of peace at the moment by Napoleon would in all probability have been listened to. But the triumph of Dresden, obtained by Napoleon in person, was soon compensated by uniform defeat, incurred by his lieutenants one after the other.

Vandamme, posted with 40,000 men near Königstein, had menaced the rear of the allies in their attempt on Dresden. He was thus well placed to interrupt or harass their retreat. Whilst performing this latter task he pursued the Austrians over the hills, and halted half way down the declivity on finding the enemy stand their ground at its foot. Whilst thus partially engaged, another Austrian corps, which had diverged from the over-encumbered main road in its flight, came by cross mountainous paths to a position directly above the corps of Vandamme. The Austrians had thus to pass over the French in order to reach their friends; the French to do the same by the enemy above, to escape from being between two fires. The result was a horrible *mêlée*, in which the French division was broken and defeated, its guns abandoned, Vandamme and Haxo taken prisoners.

About the same time Macdonald had suffered a defeat from Blücher behind the Bober and the Katzbach. In an attempt to occupy Hirschberg one of his divisions had been surprised by a storm, divided by a swollen river, and the whole corps compelled to retreat with loss. Macdonald was much too far from Dresden to obtain timely succour. Napoleon committed the same fault with regard to Oudinot first and then to Ney, who were successively in command of some 70,000 men ordered to

march on Berlin. Bernadotte and Bülow barred their way with double the French force. The consequence was, that Oudinot was obliged to retreat to Wittenberg, and Ney, in resuming the enterprise, was defeated at Dennewitz. The result of these several actions was the French force diminishing from 360,000 to 250,000 men, the confidence of the troops and generals diminishing in proportion. Napoleon had triumphed when he was present, but all his lieutenants had committed faults and succumbed. The allies, too, had made mistakes and suffered defeats, but they were in a situation to repair their loss, whilst Napoleon, far from the French frontier, could not remedy his. A band of Cossacks invaded Westphalia and drove Jerome from his capital, whilst Bavaria, long hesitating, at last joined its troops to the allies.

These were so emboldened by their evident superiority of force and the general defection of the Germans, that they resolved to carry the war behind the Elbe in the rear of Napoleon, and thus force him to abandon Dresden, as well as the other fortresses on that river, which it had been his intention to hold. The Russians and Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, in pursuance of this new plan, emerged in the first days of October from Bohemia westwards of the Elbe, and directed their march upon Leipzig, whilst Blücher and his Silesian army joining that of Bülow and Bernadotte crossed the Elbe towards Wittenberg, and advanced also upon Leipzig from the north. Napoleon, in consequence, withdrew his forces also behind the Elbe, directing a portion of them upon Leipzig, with orders to defend that town against the Austrians, whilst he himself at the head of 140,000 men marched north against Bernadotte and Blücher. Whilst he hastened to come up with them and fight them, they shrank from the encounter. And when Napoleon proposed following them north, the generals and officers around deprecated his adventuring

CHAP.
XLIII.

so far from Leipzig and the great southern road. Whilst at Dueben, detained by torrents of rain as well as by uncertainty of the enemy's movements, his generals especially dissuaded him from venturing so far north. The Emperor, carried away by the passion of argument and contradiction, sought to show that it would be far better to march on Berlin, become master of the north, and liberate the French garrisons on the Oder and the Vistula, than to make an avowed commencement of retreat by recoiling to Leipzig. That such was not his real intention, his own correspondence and the sagacious Thiers fully prove. But his words led Fain, Caulaincourt, and others to represent Napoleon personally bent upon so mad a scheme as a march to the Oder, and themselves as compelling him to abandon such a resolution. He evidently never entertained it seriously,* proposing merely to pursue Blücher and Bernadotte till he could find opportunities of bringing them to action, and then, after having won a victory, returning, by the right bank of the Elbe, to fall upon Schwarzenberg. He was unable, however, to reach either Blücher or Bernadotte, and returned to Leipzig, leaving unfortunately St. Cyr and Reynier, as well as Davoust, upon the Elbe, when the reunion of his entire force at Leipzig had become imperatively necessary to his safety.

Schwarzenberg was advancing from the south with 250,000 men, Bernadotte and Blücher from the north with 100,000. Napoleon had not more than 170,000. The first battle of Leipzig took place on the 16th of October; Napoleon commanded against the Austrians and Russians, Ney on the north against Blücher. It was a hard-fought day. The Austrians advancing behind the Pleisse crossed or sought to cross it at

* At St. Helena, however, Napoleon spoke as if his proposed march to Berlin was serious, and as if the

subsequent disaster was occasioned by his being overruled.

Dölitz and at Connewitz, but were repulsed, and their commander Meerfeldt taken. The Russians, under Wittgenstein, were well-nigh defeated. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon Napoleon broke through their centre with large masses of cavalry, and would have routed them, had not the Emperor Alexander sent forward his guards and reserves to restore the day. Still the allies on the south had not advanced their position when night fell. But on the north of Leipzig, Blücher had sorely pressed Marmont, and compelled him to abandon a large space of ground. Napoleon had lost between 20,000 and 30,000 men, and although the enemy's loss was equally great, still the gaps in their line were speedily filled, whilst to him could come no succour. He confessed this situation when he liberated the Austrian general Meerfeldt, and charged him to acquaint the Emperor Francis with his willingness to treat and to make large concessions.*

On the 17th no engagement took place, the allies expecting Bernadotte to join them. Napoleon was strongly advised to order a retreat during the night, but his reluctant pride overcame his sense of its expediency. The consequence was that another and a bloodier battle around Leipzig was fought on the 18th. At its very commencement the diminished force of the French compelled them to narrow their circle of defence. One of the most important points of this circle was held by General Reynier, a portion of whose force was Saxon. He held the roads which ran eastward from Leipzig, and formed the connecting link between Ney and Marmont on the north, and Napoleon, who was engaged with the Austrians on the south. Bernadotte entered the field by this road, and as he advanced, the Saxon soldiers of Reynier deserted the enemy. The double treason of Bernadotte acting fiercely against them, whilst the

* For these concessions, see Sir Robert Wilson's *Private Diary*, vol. ii. p. 172.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Saxons deserted them, animated the French with desperation. Napoleon took advantage of it to fill up the gap left by the Saxons, and check the advance of Bernadotte upon Reudnitz. But although successful in this, as well as in checking Schwarzenberg, who, after divers assaults, had relaxed his efforts into a distant cannonading, his enemy was still unbroken, whilst the loss of 30,000 men a side was far more wasting to the French than to the allies. At sunset, therefore, Napoleon withdrew into Leipzig, and gave orders for the retreat. This was effected without much interruption from the enemy, until many hours had elapsed, allowing full time for the French to have evacuated Leipzig, had sufficient bridges been prepared over the Elster. There was but one, however, which greatly retarded the passage, and it being prematurely blocked up by a panic, left a large rear guard and a host of camp followers to the mercy of the victorious enemy.

The pursuit of the retreating French was by no means active or distressing. The Austrians alone lost 30,000 men, the Russians and Prussians more. Considerably more than 100,000 men fell in the battles of Leipzig. Napoleon tarried some days at Erfurt to recruit and recollect the shattered remains of his army. Thence pursuing his retreat, he found the Bavarian army, under De Wrede, drawn up at Hanau to intercept him. The French were scarcely one-third of the Bavarian force, which had so lately fought by their side, and whose king had at every peace profited by the victories of Napoleon. To Bavaria, indeed, had been given most of the provinces taken from Austria, the great cause of its discontent and present animosity. The conduct of Bavaria and of its commander, De Wrede, was ignominious. "I made De Wrede a Count," said Napoleon, "but could not make him a general." The French with ease walked over the 60,000 Bavarians, and, putting them to rout and flight, crossed the Rhine to Mayence. It is impossible to read

of the conduct of Saxon and Bavarian in those days, brave soldiers, but transferring their allegiance and their courage now to this side, now to that, without severely condemning the useless partition of Germany into a multitude of principalities, ever betraying the interests and honour of their populations. And it is one of the happiest results of our own day (1866), that such a partitionment of sovereignty, under all its absurd and pernicious consequences, should have been put an end to.

The retreat of the French behind the Rhine suggested the time as fit for negotiations. Austria, jealous of the Czar and his abettal of Prussia, and of Bernadotte, was anxious for them, and sent to propose an exchange of prisoners when Napoleon was at Erfurt. Later, M. de St. Aignan, a captured French diplomatist, was sent back (on the 10th of November), with offers to France of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees as frontiers. Before his departure he received from Lord Aberdeen the assurance that England did not desire to humiliate France, but that in giving to its empire the frontier of the Rhine, it would seek to preclude any domination, or impose any influence, beyond that barrier. An immediate and frank acceptance of this offer would have established Napoleon firmly on his throne. Instead of this, although St. Aignan reached him on the 14th, it was not till the 26th that an answer was received from the Duke of Bassano, accepting Mannheim as the place of negotiation, but not accepting the basis or the frontier laid down. Although St. Aignan repeated that Austria and England were both favourable to peace, the French reply was framed expressly against England, and insisted that if France left the other nations of continental Europe independent, England must do the same by maritime powers, and abandon her influence and conquests on the sea and its coasts. Nothing could be more fair between rival and rival, each in the plenitude of power. But Napoleon had been

CHAP.
XLIII.

defeated in Germany and in Spain. The English minister was foremost to abet the policy of treating France generously, and yet in his reply it was particularly against England that Napoleon showed his animosity.

Nothing could be more ill-judged. Napoleon's answer plainly proved to the English Government that, however forbearing or generous their policy, it would find no corresponding policy in him, and would not modify in the least his old inveteracy to England. The consequence was, that the British Cabinet came to consider Lord Aberdeen as too mild a negotiator, and too favourable to France, and that it was necessary to correct that tendency, first by a change in his instructions, and then by the presence of the minister himself, Lord Castlereagh. The reply of Napoleon being considered evasive, the allies turned their whole attention to an immediate invasion of France, the Austrians by Basle, the Prussians and Russians between Mayence and Strasbourg. The English Government at the same time relapsed into more hostile sentiments; Lord Wellington, defeating Soult on the Nivelle, established himself in front of Bayonne. Whilst the return of Holland under the dominion of the House of Orange, left the troops of Bernadotte free to invade the Belgian provinces.

The French, detested in the countries they had oppressed, were nowhere so thoroughly so as in maritime ones like Holland. And a foe to France had but to appear in any strength in order to make the Dutch rise and expel French governors, soldiers and *douaniers*. By unanimous acclamation the House of Orange was restored to its supremacy. It then occurred to the English Government, that so propitious a revolution ought not to stop at the Rhine. To free the Scheldt from French domination, and make Antwerp cease to be a hostile arsenal and a menace to England, was a national object. And as a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the heiress to the English throne

was then in contemplation, to make him sovereign of the Scheldt, as well as of the Texel, was a feasible and well-imagined scheme. When this idea got possession of the English mind, the abettal of Lord Aberdeen's views, that of allowing to France the frontier of the Rhine, became impossible. And in the council of the allies, England, instead of adopting and seconding Metternich's ideas, leaned more decidedly to the Russian.

Whilst Napoleon was thus awakening English enmity to him and higgling with the proffers of Austria, instead of accepting them frankly, he had scarcely 60,000 men to oppose to the 300,000 which poured over the Rhine in the first days of 1814; the Austrians at Basle, Blücher lower down the river. The former advanced by the opening of BÉfort through the Vosges, the latter crossed the hills into Champagne. Napoleon had not expected their immediate advance, nor was he prepared for the pressure of a winter campaign. Despondency or surprise, however, did not relax his efforts. And yet he cannot be said to have made those which might best have saved him. Had the population of France unanimously risen in his favour, and displayed anything like the enthusiasm of 1793, the allies, several of whom hesitated and shrank from a march on Paris, would have been deterred. But Napoleon knew not how to address a free people. He, indeed, called the Legislative Body together, and laid before them his necessities and his prospects. Although they did not refuse to aid him, still their first impulse was to criticise his acts, and blame the obstinacy which had impelled him to reject all offers of peace. Even on this point he gave them but partial information. He shunned publicity as much as freedom. The Assembly, therefore, showed more signs of discontent than adhesion. And the Emperor, instead of using his Legislature as a medium to address and appeal to his people, convened them merely to scold and dismiss them.

CHAP.
XLIII.

The Emperor's reliance was solely upon force. Yet he did not take decisive steps to rally even that which he possessed. Had he, during the armistice in Germany, recalled his garrisons from Dantzic, and the other towns on the Vistula and Oder, he might have fought a much more successful battle at Leipzig. Could he now obtain succour from Murat and from Eugène in Italy, from Suchet and Soult in Spain, he would be at the head of a formidable army. Murat, however, was alienated from Napoleon, and prepared to attack, not second, Eugène in North Italy, on the condition of his kingdom being secured to him by Austria. To embarrass him, and to wipe away the greatest outrage on the Catholic world, Napoleon allowed the Pope to leave Fontainebleau and recross the Alps to Italy. He had sought to provide for the return of his Spanish army by negotiations with Ferdinand at Valençay. But the Spanish Juntas and Cortès would not obey a prince in French captivity. And Ferdinand was at last set free without having any effect upon the Duke of Wellington and his Spanish force, who had entered France and taken up positions north of the Pyrenees.

Although advancing in connection with his allies into the heart of France, the Emperor of Austria did not abandon the hope of bringing his formidable son-in-law to such terms as Russia and England were bent on. Napoleon had not, indeed, accepted the conditions offered from Frankfort, and he remained ignorant of the immense change that his non-acceptance had wrought in the sentiments of his foes. He therefore sent Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, to treat. This personage was not allowed to advance beyond the French outposts. And so, perceiving his enemies bent upon war, Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January to meet them. His army extended from Troyes to Châlons. Schwarzenberg was at Langres, anxious to await negotiations; but Blücher,

more ardent, was in advance upon the Aube. On the 29th, Napoleon attacked the Prussian general at Brienne, and drove him from the town after a sharp contest. The success was unfortunate, for it drew Schwarzenberg from his passive attitude, compelled him to come to the succour of Blücher, and Napoleon thus found himself with some 30,000 men in the presence of an enemy of triple that force. Still, rather than retreat, he accepted battle, and fought it with the utmost gallantry, at La Rothière, on the 1st of February.* At the close of the engagement the French maintained their ground, but were glad to retreat upon Troyes, during the night, leaving many cannon behind them, and thus confessing they had been worsted.

This battle had a marked effect upon the Congress which opened a few days later at Chatillon. Although the allies had invaded France, in consequence of the non-acceptance by Napoleon of the terms offered at Frankfort, still it was their, and especially Austria's, desire that negotiations should remain open. Caulaincourt had come with the intention of proceeding to Manheim, the place at first fixed for the Congress, but Metternich sent him word that they must await Lord Castlereagh's presence. Chatillon was then named as the place of meeting. Thither went Caulaincourt in the first days of February with instructions from his master to hold by the Frankfort proposition, and insist on the frontier of the Rhine. Lord Castlereagh, on the other hand, emboldened by the attitude of both Wellington and the allies on the soil of France, as well as by the Dutch revolution, came to insist on France being made to withdraw within the limits of 1790. Between such

* "Napoleon led on his young guards himself to wrest the village of La Rothière from the gallant corps of Sacken. Their repeated efforts were ineffectual. Napoleon

set his life upon a die, exposed himself everywhere, and had his horse shot under him."—Sir C. Stuart to Lord Castlereagh.

conflicting sentiments there was little chance of agreement. And, in fact, everything depended upon the war. This was evident, when after the battle of La Rothière Napoleon sent Caulaincourt *carte blanche* to do or sign anything which might arrest the progress of the enemy, avoid another battle, and preserve the capital.

Such instructions were too vague for Caulaincourt to act upon. He sent back to the Emperor for clearer and more decisive ones. But he was then deeply engaged in an attempt to retrieve his losses at La Rothière.

Immediately after that engagement the allied armies had separated, the Austrians to pursue a leisurely advance down the left bank of the Seine, whilst the Russians and Prussians under Blücher undertook to penetrate to Paris by the Marne. Napoleon, who had retired to Nogent, was thus between his foes, a position of which he did not fail to take immediate advantage. He marched at once to pounce upon his prey, and the consequence of Blücher's rashness was, that the French Emperor came upon a corps of 6,000 Russians under Olsufief at Champ-Aubert on the 9th of February. Completely destroying them, he reached Sacken, who was in advance with 20,000 men at Montmirail, on the 11th, and defeated him. York, with a still greater number, had got as far as Château-Thierry. He was attacked and defeated on the 12th, as was the rest of Blücher's army on the 14th at Vauchamps. Thus caught and crushed in detail, Blücher's force was reduced so considerably that he declared it impossible for him to keep the field unless reinforced by the divisions of Bülow and Winzingerode, which were in the north with Bernadotte.

The result of Blücher's defeat was that the Austrian and English ministers compelled Alexander to treat once more. They resolved to meet the chief objections of Caulaincourt by submitting to him a full treaty, and moreover granting an immediate armistice, if he would accept the frontier of 1790. After the victory of Vau-

champs, Napoleon had retrograded to Meaux, for the sole purpose, however, of finding a good road to march upon the Austrians. Their advancing troops had reached Fontainebleau with the view to unite again with Blücher; Schwarzenberg had crossed the Seine at Nogent and Montereau. On the 16th, Napoleon left Meaux, met the Austrians at Guignes, and in a sharp engagement flung them back upon the Seine. It was only at this moment that he learned the intention of the allies to renew negotiations. An aide-de-camp from Schwarzenberg came with the offer of an armistice. If the allies had been depressed by the late events, Napoleon had been proportionately elated. So that, instead of at once accepting the armistice, he wrote a private letter to the Emperor of Austria, declaring himself ready to treat, but no longer on the basis of the old frontier of France. At the same time he withdrew from Caulaincourt the *carte blanche* he had given him.

This vigorous resolve he followed up on the 18th by attacking the advanced corps of Schwarzenberg that occupied the heights in front of the bridge of Montereau. They were insufficient in number, and were completely defeated, the French cavalry not only routing them, but traversing and winning the bridge in a rapid charge which prevented the enemy from even blowing up the arch in their possession. Notwithstanding this success, which threw the enemy into full retreat, Napoleon was not satisfied: he hoped, at least, to have captured or destroyed one of the divisions. And he threw the blame upon his lieutenants, especially upon Victor, whom he deprived of his command. He did not pardon the old veteran the crime of taking a night's rest. Yet Victor had fought bravely at Montereau, and lost there his son-in-law General Chateau. The Emperor after a time relenting restored him to a command.

At Troyes, whence he drove the retreating Austrians on the 23rd, Napoleon was first made aware

CHAP.
XLIII.

of the active efforts of the Bourbon partisans to raise the standard of the old dynasty. Its princes were already on French soil, behind the English and Austrian camps, if not in them, whilst in Paris eminent persons met to consider what best could be done to save France from being occupied and dismembered, or unworthily disposed of, in case of the complete triumph of the allies.

Alexander had whispered to a French general (Reynier) his desire to place Bernadotte on the throne of France. The Bourbons were preferable to this proposal, and even to the regency of Maria Louisa, an Austrian princess. So thought Prince Talleyrand, and his friend the Duke d'Alberg, the latter going so far as to despatch an emissary, M. de Vitrolles, to the headquarters of the allies to acquaint them with the destitute state of Paris, the facility of carrying it by a *coup de main*, and the advantages of superseding the Bonapartes by the Bourbons. The same hopes and feelings were prevalent in the provinces, notably at Troyes, where, during the recent stay of the allied sovereigns, several nobles of the locality had presented petitions to them in favour of a restoration. Alexander had chidden the petitioners as premature. And so, indeed, it proved, for on the French reoccupying Troyes, the Chevalier Gouault, the chief of the petitioners, was arrested and shot.

Just before entering Troyes on the 23rd, as the Austrians withdrew, the Prince of Lichtenstein arrived from Schwarzenberg with renewed offers of an armistice, the terms of which were to be arranged at Lusigny. The Emperor Alexander and Blücher were both indignant at the retreat of the Austrians, and at their renewed offers to treat. Prince Schwarzenberg had promised Blücher to fight a battle with their united forces, and so repair the disaster of the Prussians. But since the defeat of the latter and the affair of Montereau, the Austrian commander declined an engagement. Had

Napoleon chosen the moment to meet the Austrian demand, he might have separated them altogether from the Russo-Prussians. Instead of such politic conduct, he still denied to Caulaincourt the power of accepting the frontier of 1790; and at Lusigny his aide-de-camp, Count Flahault, insisted on the retention of Antwerp.*

The opportunity which Napoleon neglected was seized with alacrity and address by Lord Castlereagh. He saw that the Austrians, left to themselves, would hesitate and defer advancing, Blücher being the general for a bold and forward movement. He therefore laboured to reinforce Blücher, so as to place him once more at the head of a formidable and effective army. His lordship took upon himself to order that the corps of Bülow and of Wizingerode should quit Bernadotte's army, hasten to Soissons to join Blücher, and raise his army to 100,000 men. The difficulty was to do this without offending Bernadotte, but Lord Castlereagh undertook it. His subsidies at the time fed Bernadotte's troops, and by giving him English, Dutch, and Hanoverian soldiers, to the amount of the two divisions abstracted, he succeeded in satisfying the Swede.

After having thus conferred the greatest obligation on Blücher and Alexander, the English minister proposed to gratify to the fullest the desire of Austria to treat, and offer the last chance of accommodation to Napoleon. He therefore proposed, in continuing the conferences at Chatillon, to put the question categorically to the French plenipotentiary of accepting or rejecting the frontier of 1790: in case of his accepting, submit to peace; in that of his rejection, manfully and in concert carry the war to the gates of Paris. To even this Alexander reluctantly consented. He was for pushing the war to extremity. And whilst Lord Castlereagh demurred, Alexander found himself backed by higher

* Souvenirs de Caulaincourt.

CHAP.
XLIII.

authority. Late in January the Prince Regent of England, in an interview with the Russian envoy, Prince Lieven, had strongly urged the expediency of having done with Napoleon altogether, and of the allies publicly declaring they would no longer treat with him. This was synonymous with a declaration in favour of the Bourbons, from which Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington both shrank, as possibly leading to a breach with Austria. Lord Castlereagh satisfied the Czar by adopting his views contingently, and couched his own in a solemn treaty, which was signed by all at Chaumont on the 1st of March. By it the four allies contracted with each other to remain united, in case of Napoleon refusing the frontier of 1790, and continue the war, till Europe was free and independent, Germany as a federation, Italy in independent states. For this end each Power was to keep on foot 100,000 men, England to pay the other three 5,000,000*l.* sterling annually, and that this treaty should be in force for twenty years.*

The allies were willing to extend the armistice of Lusigny to all the armies, but Napoleon had limited it to those in front of Troyes, leaving himself free to attack Blücher, who was in movement towards the Marne and hoping to join Winzingerode and Bülow. Instead of advancing the negotiations, Napoleon marched upon him, drove the Prussians before him to the Aisne, and would no doubt have defeated or captured them, had not the French governor of Soissons opened its gates, thus giving the allies a bridge over the river, with the facility of uniting their forces. The attempt was every way unfortunate. In the first place, it evinced Napoleon so determined to fight rather than treat, that it mainly induced Austria to sign the treaty at Chaumont. In the next place, it irritated Napoleon and inspired him to pursue a plan which eventually proved fatal to him.

* Hardenberg, Fain, Castlereagh, Correspondence Danilesky.

This was to carry the war momentarily into Lorraine, set free the garrisons of the Meuse and Rhine, and through them raise his army to 100,000 or 120,000 men.* He had hoped to do this by the assistance of the army at Lyons, but Augereau, who commanded it, was at first inactive, and at last hard pressed himself. The defection of Murat prevented all succour from Italy, whilst the successes of Wellington, who in the battle of Orthez had forced the French to abandon the line of the Adour, kept back the reinforcements that Soult might otherwise have sent.

Napoleon was encouraged in his idea of crossing the Aisne, and rallying the garrisons of the north-east, by the hopes that Schwarzenberg would not advance,† and that Caulaincourt could open more successful negotiations at Chatillon; Blücher, however, was at the other side of the Aisne, and Napoleon did not fail to attack him on the 7th at Craonne. The Prussians had been so strongly reinforced that all the efforts of the French only succeeded in making them withdraw from the high plain. In the night occurred one more opportunity of obtaining peace. A courier arrived from Caulaincourt at Chatillon, to demand categorically what Napoleon insisted on. The Emperor durst not or would not precisely say. The evasion led to the breaking up of the Conference. Napoleon thought but of assaulting Blücher in Laon; whilst meditating it, he learned that Marmont's corps had been assailed in the night and put to the rout, with the loss of his artillery. It was too late to hope to capture Laon. A slight revenge was taken by the surprise of General St. Priest, commanding a Russian corps which had just taken possession of Rheims. The town was recaptured, and

* Thiers represents this scheme as conceived somewhat later, but Napoleon, in his letter to Joseph of

the 1st of March, plainly indicates and declares it.—*Mémoires de Joseph*, t. 10.

† Fain.

CHAP.
XLIII.

the Russians driven from it, with the loss of their commander.

Whilst Napoleon was engaged in these vain manœuvres, the congress of Chatillon was at an end. Caulaincourt, by his master's order, had presented a *contre-projet*, maintaining the frontier of the Rhine, and the others replied by breaking up the conference on the following day, March 19, 1814. Nothing was left for the Austrians but to act upon the treaty of Chaumont, and advance upon Paris. The Austrian and Prussian armies had both been reinforced, and it was now resolved that they should unite and march together. Napoleon had hurried from the Marne, calculating that he could fall upon the rear of Schwarzenberg, whom he supposed to be advanced as far as Nogent. Instead of this, he fell upon the front of the Austrians, and fought with them on the 20th the murderous battle of Arcis. The chief result was to persuade Napoleon of his inability to check the enemies' advance upon Paris. And the sole plan that occurred to him was that already conceived and partially abandoned, of dashing into Lorraine, rallying the garrisons of the different fortresses, and coming back with 100,000 men on the rear and communications of the enemy. It would have been better perhaps had he persevered in these intentions. But tidings soon arrived of the panic of the Parisians and of the authorities, with the renewed intrigues of the Bourbons, encouraged by their success at Bordeaux, where the Duke d'Angoulême had declared his presence, and where the rights of his family had been acknowledged. After marching and countermarching between Vitry and St. Dizier for a full week, which was completely lost to him, Napoleon, early in the morning of the 28th, resolved to pursue the enemy to Paris.

He had given them ample time to render such resolve useless. Defeating the feeble corps of Marmont and Mortier at La Fère Champenoise, the allies arrived on the 29th before Paris, and on the 30th the attack of the

heights north of that city began. Never was the capital of a great military empire more utterly unprovided with the means of defence. The regular troops of the two marshals did not exceed 23,000 men. A commencement had been made of enrolling a large number of the citizens in the national guard. But there were not muskets to arm even them, much less the working classes and people of the faubourgs, who demanded and who might have most efficiently used them. Some guns were dragged up to the heights of Belleville, the boys of the Polytechnic School undertaking to serve them. Some palisades and *tambours* had been erected before the gates. There were neither the men nor the materials for defence. Even had these abounded, there was no influential personage or commander to direct it. King Joseph, who had returned to Paris in January, after being exiled from it, and treated with unaccountable severity, represented to Napoleon the necessity of at least one of his brothers remaining in the capital, in case of the enemy appearing or entering it. Napoleon deprecated this; an imperial commissioner would do, he said, but at length consented that Louis might remain.* He feared lest the enemy should replace him on the throne by one of his brothers. For the same reason, he ordered Joseph to remove the Empress and her son from Paris on the appearance of the enemy, as well as the ministers and grand dignitaries. Joseph passed some time on the hill of Montmartre to witness, if not direct, the defence. The heights of Romainville and Belleville were fiercely disputed against the Russians all the morning of the 30th, but Blücher poured over the plains of St. Denis to Montmartre, which put Joseph to immediate flight. Longer defence was impossible without exposing the capital to the horrors of an assault; Marmont and Mortier therefore capitulated, consenting

* Emperor's correspondence with Joseph. Memoirs of the latter.

CHAP.
XLIII.

to withdraw the troops under their command, some 20,000, to the south of the capital.

Whilst Schwarzenberg and Blücher were thus conquering the heights of Paris, and forcing Marmont and Mortier to capitulate, Napoleon had hastened from Troyes, with Berthier and Caulaincourt, taking the post, and following the road by Sens, Montereau, and Fontainebleau. It was only on approaching Cour-de-France towards midnight, that the travellers learned the events of the day, and the capitulation of the capital, by virtue of which the troops were then returning by the road to Fontainebleau. General Belliard, whom Napoleon first met, informed him of all. Thunderstruck, the Emperor sat for some moments silent opposite the fountains which adorn the road at Juvisy. He soon woke up with the hope that, as his troops could arrive from Troyes at Fontainebleau, he might still strike a blow at the enemy. To prevent the allied sovereigns taking any decided step, till he could do so, became his first object. And he accordingly despatched Caulaincourt to Paris, giving orders that the 20,000 men who had evacuated Paris should take post at Essonne, where in a short time the 50,000 he had left behind at Troyes could join them.

On the following day, the 31st of March, the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia made a solemn entry into Paris at the head of their troops. The Emperor of Austria remained still behind at Dijon. The emotion of the Parisians may be better conceived than depicted. The people were the most mortified. The upper ranks were gratified, as if an earthquake had passed beneath them. The middle class welcomed peace, as a substitute for glory. A review followed, after which Alexander repaired to Prince Talleyrand's, and even took up his abode there.* He was in perplexity what to do. To

* The Czar and his minister occupied all the upper part of the house, whilst Talleyrand and the pro-

visional government were huddled into the *entresol*, of which Beugnot gives an amusing description.

grant any terms to Napoleon was merely to put it into his power to renew the military struggle sooner or later.* But whom to put in his place? The Bourbons alone appeared as candidates; but could they sustain themselves? That was the important question which the Czar asked of Talleyrand, and to which he replied that the Bourbons could reign, nay, alone could reign.

The result of this hasty council at Prince Talleyrand's was a declaration of the allied sovereigns, placarded immediately on the walls of Paris, that, as they could grant France much better terms under any other prince than Bonaparte, they had determined to set him aside, and no longer treat with him. They were ready to accept and guarantee such a constitution as the nation should devise, and prayed the senate to lose no time in appointing a provisional government to take charge of affairs and prepare the new constitution.

Thus was the superior power apparently made over to the senate. These nominees of Napoleon were but too ready to abandon him. And Caulaincourt, who visited them to awaken their imperial loyalty, found none to listen to him. All preferred following the suggestions of Prince Talleyrand, whom they elected chief of the provisional government, with the Duke d'Alberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt, and Montesquieu for colleagues. All were Royalists. It was almost tautology to follow up this by a declaration that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne.

The bar thus removed, which alone obstructed the legal restoration of the Bourbons, the partisans of the exiled dynasty rushed to take possession of its ancient authority. And an agent of the Count d'Artois, who was at Nancy, insisted on his being governor of the

* "Si j'avais signé les anciennes limites," wrote Napoleon to Joseph on Feb. 18, "j'aurais couru aux armes deux ans après, et j'aurais

dit à la nation, que ce n'était pas une paix que j'avais signée, mais une capitulation."—Mém. de Joseph.

kingdom. Prince Talleyrand and the senate resisted, pleading the necessary preliminary of a constitution. Disputes arose as to the nature of this constitution, and of the right of the senate to impose it. The Royalists mocked the very idea, but Alexander was serious in as yet holding the Bourbons at arm's length.

Napoleon was at Fontainebleau with 70,000 men. He had sent Caulaincourt to negotiate merely in order to gain time, and he meditated no less than an attack on the scattered quarters of the allies, the success of which appeared to him not doubtful. The royalists, therefore, and the greater number of even Bonaparte's functionaries which had embraced their cause, used their utmost efforts to persuade the high military officers to abandon the imperial standard, and to put an end to the war. All were anxious for this latter result, for Napoleon, they knew, would battle interminably, and, recent events proved, to no good purpose. Such a war as they had been waging, odious to all, was more odious for the prospect that the first act of its renewal would be a battle fought in the streets of the capital. Macdonald, who had his family in Paris, shrank especially from this.

Ney, Oudinot, Lefebvre were equally averse to a renewal of the combat. Marmont still more so. Talleyrand had himself visited the marshal after the capitulation of Paris, and pointed out to him that the sole security of France and of its military chiefs lay in a Bourbon restoration. Napoleon had not any support left upon which he could depend; Massena, he thought afterwards, would have stuck by him to the last, but he was absent. The Emperor placed least reliance upon Macdonald, most upon Marmont. Yet the former proved the more loyal, the latter a traitor. Ney, he said, was a child.

Whilst Napoleon was arranging his design of an attack on Paris, Marmont, who commanded the advanced corps of 15,000 men at Essone, had come to a secret agreement with Schwarzenberg to pass to the

enemy! Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald took the more manly part of protesting in Napoleon's presence against his project of attacking the allies in the capital. What, if he desisted? His abdication, no doubt, in favour of the King of Rome and the Empress. To this, after much remonstrance, passion, quarrel, and at length resignation, Napoleon consented. Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald were to go to Paris with the offer. They passed through Marmont's quarters as they went, and learned the more extreme step that he had taken. They expostulated with him, and he promised to suspend the execution of his design, and await the issue of their negotiations. They proceeded to Paris to the residence of Alexander, and in their first interview shook that monarch in his design of dethroning the Bonaparte family altogether for the Bourbon. What might have come of his indetermination must remain uncertain. For in the night, the chief officers of Marmont's corps, Souham and Bourdesoult, summoned to Napoleon's presence, feared that this was an indication of his resolve to inflict immediate punishment upon their treason. They had fully agreed in Marmont's stipulations with Schwarzenberg. In the apprehension, therefore, of their discovered treason, they precipitated it, by ordering the troops under arms, and marching them through the enemies' lines, which opened to receive them, to Versailles. The soldiers and officers, all but their chiefs, had remained in ignorance of what was intended. And they were no sooner arrived at Versailles than they mutinied, and threatened the leaders who had betrayed them with death. Marmont, who was in Paris, was despatched by his royalist friends to tranquillise his division, in which he succeeded, by promises and explanations as false as his whole conduct. Marmont, in fact, betrayed his master and his cause. Alexander, who still hesitated to sacrifice Maria Louisa and her son, and who would have been sustained by Austria in any scheme for retaining them on the throne, no sooner

learned the defection of Marmont than he definitively gave up all idea of resuming negotiations with Napoleon, dismissed Ney and his colleagues, flinging himself irrevocably in the path of the already commenced restoration.

Caulaincourt and Macdonald had thus but to return on the evening of the 5th of April to Fontainebleau, and intimate to Napoleon the necessity of complete abdication. They offered from Alexander the island of Elba in independent sovereignty, with Parma and Piacenza for the Empress. Napoleon besought that Tuscany, rather than Parma, might be the principality of the Empress. He, however, did not insist, but told his murmuring marshals that, had they and Marmont supported him, he could certainly have driven the allies from Paris, and wrung from these a peace honourable to France and to them. They would not, and in consequence he wrote the following abdication:—

“The allied sovereigns having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to peace, he, faithful to his engagements, renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, there being no personal sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not prepared to make for the interests of France.”

On the 6th, the marshals brought the documents to Prince Talleyrand. In exchange for it, they received the island of Elba for Napoleon, Parma and Piacenza for the Empress and her son. 80,000*l.* was to be paid annually to the new sovereign of Elba, and as much more to be divided amongst his family. A principality was promised to Eugène. On the 11th of April, 1814, the treaty was signed, and the act of abdication delivered by Caulaincourt to the provisional government. All was consummated.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH.

1814—1824.

WHAT tremendous flux and reflux of the tide of empire! It had swept at the commencement of the century eastward over the continent, submerging all from the Sound to the Sicilian Straits, and from the Rhine to the Niemen. Old dynasties rose from the inundation, which covered Germany, merely like some towers and steeples, which barely out-topped the flood. The ebb was more rapid than the flow. In 1813, Napoleon was still victorious at Bautzen, Russia and Prussia retreating to the Oder and the Vistula, yet in the spring of 1814, the back tide had brought the Cossacks from the Don to stable their steeds in the court-yards of the palaces of Paris.

CHAP.
XLIV.

The great fault of Napoleon was in reality his excuse. He attempted what was impossible, to dominate the east of Europe from the west. No matter how he tried it, he could not have succeeded. His chroniclers blame him for not having stopped short on the Vistula or the Niemen. It would have been all the same. Had he indeed not thrown away half a million of soldiers in Russia, he might have held Germany longer in his grasp. Eventually or permanently he could not have kept it. The land was in a ferment, the popular passions swelling to a height that no force could have withstood, at a time when military science and strength had become equalised, or when whatever strategic superiority remained to the French was more than

CHAP.
XLIV.

compensated by the superiority of other races in enthusiasm, energy, and love of independence.

Napoleon's empire, a mere military one, could not have endured. No prudence of his could have preserved it. And his imprudence did but shorten its existence. The empire fallen, what was to replace it? For if the west could not dominate the east, as little could the east put its yoke upon the west. The obvious answer was, the Bourbons with the old frontier and their old pacific policy. But would the nation tolerate, would the people rally to them, would the army obey? The Prussians cared little, provided they extended their kingdom to the Rhine. The Austrians not more, so that they succeeded to Napoleon in the domination of Italy and Germany. But Alexander deemed it worth consideration how the French government was to be settled, and the national spirit satisfied. The example of England had taught him to put faith in a constitution. He hoped to govern Poland by one. The Bourbons surely could repay the French for the supremacy they had lost by the blessings of freedom and of peace.

The senate, therefore, which had obsequiously voted Napoleon's forfeiture of the throne, and named the provisional government, was invited by Alexander to form a committee to frame a constitution. The liberal member of the committee was Count Nesselrode, the champion of divine right was the Abbé de Montesquieu, the representative of the Bourbon brothers and the party of the emigration. He would scarcely hear of a constitution,* till he was awakened from his obstinacy by the tidings that Alexander was treating with Napoleon's envoys, with a view to the regency of Maria Louisa. Marmont's defection saved the Bourbons, and the Royalist pretensions were somewhat humbled by the narrow escape they had had. At last a constitution

* Montesquieu's Memoir, published in *Moniteur*, April 1815.

was framed upon the English model, two chambers, an hereditary and an elective chamber, a responsible ministry. The existing senate was to form the upper house, with some fifty new members of royal appointment, the old members being assured of all their honours and appointments. The Count d'Artois, already approaching Paris, evaded accepting this constitution, by declaring that he was not empowered to speak for his brother. He entered the capital, however, the day after the conclusion of the treaty with Napoleon, and assumed the government. One of his first acts was to order the evacuation of the French fortresses on the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, an inevitable step perhaps, but highly unpopular. Another act, equally so, though quite as pardonable, was his adoption of the white for the tri-color flag.

About a fortnight afterwards, Louis the Eighteenth reached Compiègne. He was visited by the marshals, whom he received as cordially as his gout and obesity permitted. Not only M. de Talleyrand, but Alexander, betook himself thither. Louis was less cordial with them. He was prepared to give a constitution, but not to have one forced upon him, as these personages had undertaken to do. A royal declaration was issued from St. Ouen, rejecting the constitution voted by the senate, which was far from having met with general adhesion,* but promising to place a liberal one before the chamber. On the 3rd of May, he entered Paris and the Tuileries, dismissing the imperial guard from the post at the palace, a not inconceivable precaution at a time when conspiracies were but naturally to be expected. M. de Talleyrand was declared minister of foreign affairs; Montesquieu, home department; Baron Louis, an excellent choice, finance minister; General Dupont, in disgrace with Napoleon for his conduct at Baylen, war minister.

* *Réflexions de Bergasse.*

CHAP.
XLIV.

The facility with which the Imperial Government had been overthrown, and the readiness with which its civilian functionaries had rallied to the Bourbons, gave hopes that these princes might command the adherence of the great mass of the French people. There was, indeed, one class which it was almost hopeless to attempt to conciliate, the military. For twenty years, they had predominated, were looked to, and looked upon themselves, as the *élite* of the nation. It was impossible for the new Government to maintain for them their superiority, or to give them even the pay and promotion required. The finance minister said he could not support an army of more than 200,000 men. Military discontent was therefore inevitable. And the only way in which it could have been met was by giving large satisfaction to the non-military spirit and class. A national guard, for example, might have been organised, and might have been made to replace and counterbalance the line. But the restoration had aroused those who called themselves gentry to the assertion of their old superiority, and whilst they equipped themselves as national guards on horseback, the citizens were rather allowed than encouraged to form foot regiments.

To give vigour and weight, as well as contentment, to the citizen classes, they should have been endowed with municipal freedom. Their being thus entrusted and busied with their own local affairs, and influencing them, would have presented a satisfactory contrast with the mutism and nullity of all men before the imperial functionaries. Instead of this, the new Government maintained the old prefects and mayors in their former authority, continued to levy the same taxes, and exact the same obedience, supporting, moreover, the new pretensions of the *émigré* proprietors and nobles, who had returned to reclaim lost property and privileges. Alexander and Louis the Eighteenth thought that quite enough had been done for liberty when a constitution

or a charter was granted. This, however, is but the external form of freedom, the effects or benefits of which never reach or touch the people unless the administrative organisation be equally free. If constitutions have failed all over Europe, in France and in Spain, it is that the mere forms of constitutional government have been established and observed, whilst all local influence, self-government, or independent action have been purposely passed over or malevolently omitted. The Government and the Liberals, as they were called, disputed in Paris as to whether a constitution should be imposed on the King, or octroyed by him, whether the chamber should have the initiative of laws, or the monarch the right of war or peace; grave questions certainly, but of no immediate importance at a moment when it was necessary to raise up classes, and create institutions capable of counterbalancing and replacing the military, their exigencies and their spirit.

The Bourbon princes were by character and intelligence little fitted to remedy the weakness of their cause. No more humiliating contrast could have been offered to the genius and activity of Napoleon than Louis the Eighteenth. He was indeed no bigot. He confined his extravagant admiration of high birth to himself, whilst his timidity rendered him anxious not to offend the known prejudices of the French people. His nullity and inactivity, however, allowed his brother to exercise influence directly the contrary of the royal opinions. The Count d'Artois, who, from a libertine, had become a devotee, was influenced by the old clergy and old *émigrés*, and was for governing France with the ideas and the men that had been familiar to him in exile. His sons, the Dukes d'Angoulême and Berry, were, the first, in appearance more sensible because more timid, the latter, furious because the French did not fall down and worship his family. But what did most harm perhaps was the female influence and authority at the

CHAP.
XLIV.

Tuileries, so important at a French court. This, of course, was wielded by the Duchess d'Angoulême, the captive of the Temple, who could not be expected to forget what she and her parents had suffered from the revolution. The consequence was that the wives of the marshals, who paid their homage at the Tuileries, were observed to descend its staircase suffused in tears of mortification.*

The first great public act that the King had to announce to his people was the treaty of peace with the allies, fixing the frontiers of France. There had been a vague promise to extend the limits of 1790. M. de Talleyrand proposed by virtue of this to include Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons, within the limits of the monarchy. It would have been natural enough in Napoleon to have demanded Luxemburg, as the most advantageous position for future war. The Bourbons making the claim were of course not listened to. But France obtained the flat and more fertile portion of Savoy, with Annecy and the capital Chambéry, Avignon too, and Montbeliard, Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, and Landau. With these it was obliged to be contented, and to learn at the same time that the King of Holland was to possess Belgium, and the King of Piedmont, Genoa. Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Bourbon were to be restored to France. The plenipotentiaries regretted the Isle of France, or Mauritius, which the English retained for the same reason, that it was the strongest maritime position on the route to India.† For commerce Bourbon was as valuable, but the political views of Talleyrand then, as of Thiers since, were for

* Ney's letter to his wife. "Vous étiez dans l'armée de Condé? Combien de temps avez-vous été en émigration? Tels étaient les éclaircissements préalables à toute politesse de la part de la duchesse d'Angoulême."—Mém. de Lafayette.

† Mauritius, with its capacious and easily defended ports, enabled the French at the commencement of the war to intercept the English trade with their possessions in India, and make captures to a formidable amount.

fortresses, and the means of war and annoyance. Prussia desired to introduce into the treaty a clause, according large pecuniary indemnity to itself. This, however, against which the impoverished Government of France rebelled, was at last set aside by the allies.

In the first days of June, the King opened the chambers by announcing the charter, "which of his free will and royal authority he granted to his subjects." With the exception of this ungracious exordium, the charter was even more liberal and far more explicit in its liberalism than the constitution prepared by the senate. It declared all Frenchmen equal before the law, whatever their rank or title. It declared the national property, meaning that of the nobles and clergy, sold by the State, to be inviolable.* It abolished the conscription, and promised liberty of opinion and of the press. Whilst it held forth equal liberty and protection to all forms of worship, it, however, declared the Roman Catholic religion to be that of *the State*. The peerage was to be hereditary, its members named by the King, without limitation of number. To be an elector required the payment of 300 francs direct taxes. Whilst such fair promises and declarations were made by the King, the Royalists kept no secret of their considering it all a sham. "The ministers," says Madame de Staël, "spoke in public of the charter with the greatest respect, even whilst proposing measures that destroyed it bit by bit. In private, they laughed at the very name, and treated the rights of nations as a capital joke."

It was soon shown indeed what the ruling party meant by religious liberty when the princes refused to receive the constitutional prelates, and the Government demanded of the Pope the abrogation of the *concordat*. The laxity of the times had introduced a complete non-observance of the Sunday. To have gradually restored

* For the difficulty of passing them through the commission, see discussion in the committee of the chamber. Beugnot, who records at length the

CHAP.
XLIV.

the sanctity of the day would have been desirable. But to compel it by an order of the police was certainly unwise. The popular outcry was against nobles and priests. To display a government influenced by both was most unpolitic. Yet this the Bourbon family took care to do. A celebrated actress, Mdlle. de Raucourt, dying at the time, the parish clergy refused the rights of sepulture, on which the mob broke into the church of St. Roch, and were about to renew some of the bad scenes of the revolution, when Louis the Eighteenth sent counter-orders to the ecclesiastical authorities. In the lower chamber, a Royalist made a motion in direct opposition to that clause of the charter which declared the revolutionary purchases of emigrant property indefeasible. The more furious Royalists were for annulling the sales, the moderate for rendering them sufficiently insecure to force the new proprietors to compromise with the old.

The Bourbons thus alienated the non-military portion of the nation. As to the military, they could but render their natural aversion doubly intense. The monarch's young *garde-du-corps* and military household filled the capital with gay uniforms, whilst the veterans of the empire on half-pay crowded the streets and cafés, and insulted their rivals. The imperial legislation in favour of the army was abrogated in all essential parts, the endowments of the Legion of Honour curtailed, the schools for the sons and daughters of the military suppressed. Popular generals were disgraced and punished. Ney had withdrawn to the country. Davoust and Vandamme were persecuted. Excelmans was accused as a spy, and brought to trial, merely because he had written a friendly letter to Murat. Soult, ready to flatter any prince that was uppermost, had been made war minister, and he it was who ordered Excelmans to be tried, which did not save him from being himself suspected at court. The state of the army indeed and

its opinions were such that a military insurrection against the Bourbons was inevitable, even if Napoleon had not reappeared to head it.

Had the allies conquered that Emperor in the field, and reduced him to abdication as the consequence of defeat, the minds of the soldiers might have been more resigned. But when the latter result was known to have been obtained by treachery, such as that which Marmont employed, both to his master and to his troops, the imperial soldiers demurred against the decree. The Bourbons had been enthroned, they said, by a trick, and another appeal to arms was considered but justice. Napoleon, in his not remote island, was soon informed of the feelings of the army, and of the simultaneous discontent of every class of the population interested morally or materially in the changes wrought by the revolution. To himself and his family personally, the Bourbons behaved with rancour, not generosity. Perhaps to him, who had sacrificed the Duke d'Enghien, this was natural. But they should have been just. By the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, Napoleon, as a return for his abdication, was to be paid 80,000*l.* a year to himself, as much more to his family, and certain sums to his chief officers. He left treasure, the fruits of his savings, to that amount. None of these stipulations were observed. Jerome's wife, a noble-minded woman, who resisted all the efforts of her family, of the house of Würtemberg, to separate her from her husband, was arrested and robbed of her jewels by a Royalist emissary. At Vienna, the French plenipotentiaries urged the necessity of breaking through the treaty of Fontainebleau, and removing Napoleon to the Azores, or some distant part of the world, a proposal which Alexander would not listen to. Napoleon, in short, was bound by no engagement towards the existing rulers of France, who observed no engagement towards him.

Romancer has never penned scenes or character to

CHAP.
XLIV.

rival in interest those of Napoleon, and of his life. What drama could be compared to that of Fontainebleau, when the Emperor, assailed by his marshals, and afterwards betrayed by one, was compelled to give up his sword? Who has not read the account of his last review in the palace court, his embracing the eagles, his touching farewell? Yet, whilst worshipped by his soldiers, he was abhorred by several of the populations of the south, who received him with imprecations, and even sought his life. He well knew that southern race, which was his own, and such knowledge contributed not a little to his contempt of mankind. At Elba, with his thousand men, his war sloop and brig, denied his annuity, and threatened in his person, what could he do else than meditate his return, and at last risk it? That his doing so was the result of any conspiracy has been sufficiently disproved. M. Fleury de Chaboulon came to him from the Duke de Bassano, with merely an account of the state of public feeling and public affairs in Paris. This was quite sufficient. And in the night of the 25th of February, 1815, Napoleon set sail with 1,100 men to invade France, and, on the 1st of March, landed in the Gulf of Juan, a short distance westward of Antibes.

When tidings of this extraordinary event reached the potentates and plenipotentiaries still assembled in congress at Vienna, their first impulse was to laugh outright. This was soon changed into a curse of indignation and affright. And they gave vent to their passion by proclaiming that not only would they not treat with Napoleon, but, in revolutionary style, they declared him *hors la loi*, a caitiff to strike down whom was the duty of every well-thinking man. And yet the potentates at Vienna had been each playing Napoleon in his way, carving out empires for themselves, caring little for the rights or feelings of the rest of the world. Alexander said he should have all Poland; Prussia, all

Saxony; Austria, Italy and the Tyrol. England was especially bent upon amalgamating Belgium and Holland into one kingdom. This, the French allege very unjustly, was taking them to herself. Lord Castlereagh objected to Prussia absorbing Saxony, and Russia having all Poland, for no very good reason, save that Austria disliked this aggrandisement of its rivals and neighbours. But England had not a word to say against Austria's monopoly of Italy. It might have been wise of England to have favoured the extension of Prussia to the magnitude of a first-rate power. And it was, after all, better for the future prospects of Poland to hand it over as a whole to Russia, which promised it *quasi* independence, and a constitution, than to aid in the destruction of its nationality by continuing to parcel it. England, however, adhered to Austria, and, strange to say, joined it in a triple alliance with France for the preservation of Saxony and Poland. This separation of the allies was considered a great triumph on the part of Prince Talleyrand, and triumph it might have been, had any advantage accrued to France. But that was not apparent. Prince Talleyrand, at Vienna, could scarcely be considered the representative of France. He merely represented the Bourbons, and their petty passions. To overthrow Murat, because of his alliance with the Buonapartes, and to uphold the King of Saxony, because of the relationship of Louis the Eighteenth to the court of Saxony, composed all Prince Talleyrand's cares and duties. And in furtherance of this, he joined England and Austria so far as to threaten war, and augment the French army, thus relapsing into the policy of Napoleon, whose hopes and interests were thereby materially served. These squabbles of congress were at once quieted by the return of Napoleon, at whose reappearance the Powers and their representatives forgot their disputes, and, linking once more their hands and fortunes, reproduced and revived the treaty of

CHAP.
XLIV.

Chaumont, stipulating that each should bring forward his 150,000 men, and that England should resume her subsidies to support them.

Meantime, Napoleon pursued the mountain road through the valleys of the Durance and the Drac to Grenoble. On the morning of the 7th of March, he advanced from La Mure, and perceived a battalion of infantry, with some guns, drawn up across the road between him and the village of La Frey. The little lake of La Frey was on one side of them, the mountain on the other. Napoleon's little band halted for half an hour, till information was brought of the sentiments of the troops. He then advanced, when an aide-de-camp of General Marchand, not present, ordered the soldiers to fire. They hesitated, and the *chef de bataillon* in command gave word to retreat. At this, Napoleon's band came up quickly with arms reversed, the Emperor crying out as he opened his coat, "Do you know me? Will you fire on your Emperor?" Instead of a volley, each soldier put his shako on the end of his bayonet, lifted it in the air, and cried, *Vive l'Empereur*.* On that little field, and with these few words, was France won. A regiment commanded by Labédoyère soon joined the now augmented band, before whom the gates of Grenoble flew open.

On the 10th, Napoleon entered Lyons. The Count d'Artois had come thither to animate the citizens against the invader, and Marshal Macdonald made the same efforts with the soldiers. In vain; the latter was obliged to escape at full gallop. At Lyons, the Emperor issued proclamations, dissolving the chambers, and summoning the electoral body of the nation to assemble on the 1st of May on the Champ de Mars, to assist at the coronation of Maria Louisa and her son, and to sanction the new liberal institutions which the nation required.

* Mémoires d'un Touriste par Beyle.

Talleyrand, Marmont, Augereau, and two or three others were denounced as traitors, and their property sequestered. After three days' stay at Lyons, Napoleon marched along the Saone. Ney commanded a corps of some thousand men in Franche-Comté, which command he had accepted with the assurance that he would bring Napoleon captive. At Besançon, however, he soon found himself and his little army powerless, the military flocking to Napoleon as he marched past, and rendering idle any attempt to repel or to resist. Ney consulted his lieutenants, one of whom was the royalist De Bourmont. None of them counselled resistance; and all left for Ney was, like Macdonald, to abandon his army and withdraw. This did not suit the fiery marshal. Napoleon triumphant might re-enter on his old path of victory, and take signal vengeance upon the invaders. Ney could not resist such a prospect. He issued a proclamation to the troops, telling them the Bourbons and their cause were for ever lost, and that they and he had but to rally to their old Emperor. As Napoleon observed, Ney, from impulsiveness, was but a child.

In Paris, Louis the Eighteenth had made efforts to conciliate the citizens and the constitutional party. He convoked the chambers, and addressed them, reviewed the national guard, proposed to appoint more liberal ministers, yet suspected the imperialist ministers in office. Soult was thus dismissed from the war department. A military conspiracy had well-nigh burst forth in the north, to which Fouché had been privy, but it came to nothing. The soldiers looked to Napoleon alone, and had faith in none of his lieutenants. They were soon gratified; Louis the Eighteenth left the Tuileries for Lille on the evening of the 19th, and Napoleon was borne into them, on the 20th, by a crowd of officers. Davoust became instantly the war minister of Napoleon; Carnot, home minister; Caulaincourt took the foreign department; Cambacères and Fouché, justice and the

CHAP.
XLIV.
—

police. The garrison of Lille would not abide the presence of Louis the Eighteenth. He therefore withdrew to Ghent, the Duke of Orleans and Marshal Macdonald quitting him on the frontier; not so Marmont and Berthier. There was some resistance in the south, the Duchess of Angoulême at Bordeaux, her husband on the Rhone, both displaying courage which was equally vain. The Duke was made prisoner.

It is not surprising that the allied sovereigns or their ministers should have laid great stress on the necessity of conciliating the French public by means of a constitution. Neither is it to be wondered at that Louis the Eighteenth acquiesced in and adopted their opinion. But that Napoleon, on his return, should have supposed that the convening of chambers and promulgation of a constitution could bring to him any efficient support, is surprising.* The truth is, that the class of men for whom the word constitution had a meaning, or the thing itself any interest, was small in the extreme; they made a great noise in the saloons of the capital, and in the press, when it chanced to be free. But they had neither influence nor echo amongst the masses, nor yet with the middle and commercial classes. These desired peace, the return of credit, the resumption of industry, and they feared Napoleon as the enemy and the obstacle to all. But these men and opinions, however dominant in the capital, were in a small minority throughout the country. Napoleon traversed every provincial town and rural district in triumph. In Paris alone he was received with silence and misgiving.

His chance of final success was not brilliant, was not indeed possible, unless the population widely rallied to him. But the constitution was no bait for either the military or for that large class imbued with the military

* Napoleon's idea at Fontainebleau was, that he had fallen not so much from the power of the allies as

that he had "put the people against him."—Mém. de Lafayette.

spirit. The best way to have rallied them was to have been true to his policy and his own spirit, to have restored the conscription, set aside the moderates, the constitutionalists, and appealed to the revolutionists to uphold the revolution. He should at the same time have got rid of, or kept aloof from, the rotten and superannuated either of his own or the revolutionary party. In lieu of the old marshals, he could have found far more energetic and determined lieutenants among the colonels and generals of divisions. He should, in fact, have appealed to the military spirit of the nation and neglected all others. For all others were inimical to him.

Some writers, even amongst his intimates, complain that he returned from Elba with activity benumbed and intelligence blunted. They see proofs of this in the tardiness of his military operations. But this was the fault of the generals he chose. If his sagacity failed him, and his usual foresight was less sharp, it was far more in his civil than in his military administration. In the latter, indeed, he suffered his arms to be bound. He refused to make use of the conscription. In his instructions to his journalists, he rather bade them flatter the hopes of peace in the citizen party than appeal to the populace to rise against the pretensions of the invader.

The first abdication of Napoleon having set free the pens of French writers, two of the most eminent of them, Chateaubriand and Benjamin Constant, had covered him with invective.* The latter, the friend of De Staël and Lafayette, thought it necessary to conceal himself from the Emperor's vengeance. Informed of his presence in Paris, Napoleon merely asked to see him, and, when he did so, at once besought him to forget the past, and sit down to draw up the plan of an imperial constitution. Unfortunately for Constant and for Napoleon, there was nothing original or striking to be invented in

* Bonaparte and the Bourbons.

CHAP.
XLIV.

the way of a constitution. It was beaten ground, long since occupied by the English. And in striving to avoid what was common-place, and fully known, it was only possible to fall into the absurd. Sieyès' repeated efforts had been a melancholy example. Constant, therefore, like the author of the charter, could but copy the English constitution, two chambers and an hereditary peerage; Constant's friend, Madame de Staël, mocking the very idea as impracticable in France and unpopular. Napoleon, indeed, at first objected, but saw no other alternative, his experience of the revolution tending to make him dread a single assembly. The press was declared free, a great concession. But Napoleon would not give up the right of confiscation. To pretend that what he promulgated was but a continuance of the old system, not an abrogation, it was announced as an *Additional Act* to the constitution of the empire.

The principal care of Napoleon, however, was to raise and organise an army to face the enemy. The most surprising circumstance of his career is the few soldiers he was able to collect, a proof that his dabbling in constitutions was not the way to do it. The Bourbons had either under arms or ready to assume them 230,000 men, thanks to Talleyrand's warlike policy at Vienna. But there could not be less than 400,000 men in the country, either dismissed or returned prisoners, or who had served their time. Had a truly war spirit then animated the French population, Napoleon would have found himself at the head of 600,000 men. The conscription, abolished by the Bourbon charter, were it revived, would have brought the youth of the country to his standard. But the French recruit had been too much used to compulsion to join the ranks as a volunteer. "A nation," says De Staël, "does not fight merely to ward off evil, when no ultimate good appears as the aim and reward of victory." If such was the insufficient reply of the home population to Napoleon's demand for forces, there was nothing to

be expected from abroad. Of all the sovereigns that Napoleon had elevated, Bernadotte and Murat alone remained. Both had been opposed to him in the previous campaign. The Swede, of course, would be still so. But Murat had felt himself ill-treated by the allies. The English would not add their sanction to his recognition by Austria, nor could Austria itself keep its promise. Murat, therefore, on learning Napoleon's resuscitation and return, marched to support him, and win for himself the crown of Italy. He advanced to the Po, hesitated to cross it, and at the first reverse retreated. Followed by the Austrians, he was defeated at Tolentino, and instead of bringing an army to the support of Napoleon, came merely himself as a discomfited fugitive.

In the allies there was no hope. The Emperor of Austria found no difficulty in persuading his daughter to prefer the Duchy of Parma for herself to the chance of resuming the imperial throne of France. She refused to return to Napoleon, who stole an hour from his many cares and occupations to visit with Hortense his old abode of Malmaison. Josephine had expired there the previous year, and Napoleon found but the melancholy remembrance of past happiness. "Josephine at least would not have abandoned me," was his sad reflection.

The French population, with the exception of the military class, treated him much as Maria Louisa had done. Instead of the million of votes which had hailed his election to the empire, scarcely as many thousands gave their voices for the Additional Act, which meant the continuance of the empire. The same lukewarmness and abstention was observable in the election of the chamber representatives. Had Napoleon ordained a new and direct election from Lyons, when he dissolved the old chambers, he might have profited by his ascendancy and the enthusiasm of the moment. But he delayed till his constitution had been concocted, and then it preserved the old electoral colleges or electoral

CHAP.
XLIV.

body, consisting exclusively of notables, the class least open to enthusiasm and most dominated by fears and by interest. He tried to modify the influence of the landed proprietor, so imbued with royalism, by ordering that special members should be chosen to represent commerce and manufactures. He also made large use of the permission to include members of the Legion of Honour in the colleges. Notwithstanding, the new chamber as well as the electoral body were precisely of that class least inclined to show zeal or make sacrifices for any cause or any emperor. The attendance in the Champ de Mars, which took place on the 1st of June, thus brought together anything but a popular assembly. Napoleon, indeed, did not intend it for such. He proceeded to open and preside over it in the white satin garments of imperial state. He had better have donned the old cocked hat and grey surtout. So accoutred, he would have commanded with far more effect the applause of the people and the soldiers. It was followed by a distribution of eagles. The chambers met on the 3rd. Instead of electing Lucien Buonaparte president, as the Emperor desired, they seemed to wish to protest against the conduct of that person on the 18th Brumaire, and in his place chose Lanjuinais president, who was best known as a leader of opposition in the senate. They also disputed at some length the form of the oath of fidelity to the Emperor. That Napoleon had nothing to hope from such chambers was manifest. The Emperor, however, opened them in a speech of cordiality and confidence. Scarcely awaiting their answer, he appointed a provisional government in his absence, being his ministers, Fouché, Carnot, Cambacères, and Caulaincourt, with some councillors of state added. Caulaincourt preferred joining the army. Napoleon dissuaded him, saying, "If you go, I shall not have left one sure friend behind me." His parting words to Fouché were, "Remember, if I fall,

there is an end of either patriots or republicans. I am your last dictator." With these prophetic words, Napoleon left for the army on the 12th of June.

Of the 150,000 men that the Emperor counted on mustering to fall upon the English and Prussians, the remainder of his forces being necessarily scattered along his eastern and southern frontiers, under different generals, to keep head against the enemy, he was obliged to detach 20,000 to suppress a rising in La Vendée. Fouché partially quieted the Royalists of that region by representing that the struggle would soon be decided on the field of Flanders, and that the blood spilt on the Loire would then be in vain. All the chiefs listened to him save the Marquis de la Rochejacquelein, who with more courage than skill rushed to an encounter with the opposing force, and fell in the action.

The English student eager for details of the campaign of Waterloo will find it described at length in his own country's memoirs and historians. Here he will find but a succinct account, much as that given of the Peninsular war, both of them told fully in English annals. Napoleon, whose army lay scattered along the northern frontier, concentrated his forces secretly at Maubeuge. Wellington had disposed his 90,000 men, of whom one half were English, between Brussels and the frontier, some at Tournay, some at Nivelles. Blücher's 110,000 men were similarly dispersed between Cambray and Namur. To get between them, and beat one after the other, was Napoleon's design, a happy one if he could inflict a total defeat on either of his enemies, but dangerous if he only succeeded in repelling one; for, as the Prussian and English forces were each almost equal to him, any failure or incompleteness of success on his part would expose his army to be crushed between those of his enemies. The latter is precisely what happened.

On the 15th of June, the French army crossed the frontier, and afterwards the Sambre, driving the enemy

CHAP.
XLIV.

from Charleroi, and came on the 16th in front of the greater part of the Prussian army, some 100,000 strong, drawn up on the rising ground of Ligny. The French were inferior in number, 40,000 of them having marched with Ney in the direct road to Brussels to prevent the English coming to the aid of Blücher. Napoleon commanded Ney to take possession of the cross-roads at Quatre-Bras. The marshal's orders were not only to do this, but to despatch a large part of his force to fall on the rear of the Prussians, whilst Napoleon should be engaged with them.

French writers, notably M. Thiers, characterise this order as an emanation of genius. Now the device of attacking an enemy in front, and sending a division round to attack him in flank and rear, is one of the most obvious of manœuvres, requiring, we should say, no particle of genius. If there were genius, it was on both sides, for Blücher besought the Duke of Wellington to do precisely the same thing by the French. Ney and Wellington were both too much pressed to do either. Ney did detach D'Erlon's corps to execute the desired manœuvre, but was obliged to recall it in his distress. The British repelled all the attempts of Ney to establish himself at Quatre-Bras, but the Prussians were driven from the field of Ligny. A seasonable and well-directed charge of the French guards broke through Blücher's centre, and drove him in some disorder, but not in rout, from the field.

Napoleon then joined Ney in pursuit of the English, who, learning the defeat of Blücher, retired on the 17th from Quatre-Bras to take position before Waterloo, some four or five leagues distant from Wavre, to which spot Blücher had withdrawn. Napoleon had despatched Grouchy with 34,000 men to pursue, harass, and prevent him from coming to the succour of the English. Grouchy's corps, however, not one-half the Prussian, was very insufficient for this purpose, which,

no doubt, chiefly caused the delays and hesitations of the general.

On the morning of the 18th, Napoleon marshalled his 75,000 men, all veteran French soldiers, in front of the Duke of Wellington's army, numbering some 70,000, one-half of whom alone were English, and of these a great portion were under fire for the first time. The veterans of the Peninsula were in America. There were some 20,000 Belgians, belonging to a country so lately constituted that it is no reproach to its soldiers that they were neither zealous nor staunch. Napoleon did not give the signal for attack till half-past eleven, waiting, according to some, for the ground to dry after a heavy night's rain—according to others, giving time for Grouchy to join him. Pressing orders had been despatched to the marshal.

The first efforts of the French were directed to drive the English from the château of Hougomont and the farm of La-Haye-Sainte. The obstinate resistance of the English preventing their enemies from clearing away these obstacles, Napoleon resolved notwithstanding to direct the mass of his infantry upon the English left. It was to mount the height, and establish its position there in face of the enemy. The French ascended the hill in three columns, and, gaining its crest, were deploying under a heavy fire, when the Scots Greys and other regiments of English heavy cavalry charged them, broke through and so thoroughly disorganised them that in little more than an hour's time the French fell back into the vale below. Such was the fortune of the first French attack.

Ere a second could be organised, the Prussian columns were seen advancing in the distance, and the Emperor was obliged to detach a large body of infantry, especially the guards under Lobau, to prevent the threatened irruption. He ordered Ney, however, to carry the farm of La-Haye-Sainte, and await there with his cavalry, until Lobau had first repelled the Prussians, when the foot guards should be sent to his succour, and foot and

CHAP.
XLIV.

horse might then make the second grand attack upon the English position. Ney carried the farm, owing to its defenders wanting ammunition, and was then too impatient to wait. He rode up the height with his troops, and seeing the line of guns which the English, as usual, abandon when they retire within their squares, he resolved to capture them, and ordered up all his horse to charge the English. They fell into squares. The English cavalry, cut up in repelling the first attack, and what remained of it having been brought to the wings by Lord Uxbridge, was no longer in number sufficient to repel their assailants, whilst the Belgian cavalry declined the perilous service. The cuirassiers accordingly rode round and round the English squares, and for a long time were masters of the height, except that portion of it occupied by the squares, in which, wrote Foy, the British infantry seemed rooted to the ground. The young guard was engaged in disputing the village of Planchenois with the Prussians. They succeeded for a time in repelling Bülow's division, and Napoleon seized the opportunity to send first four and then six additional battalions to support Ney and his cavalry in their efforts to conquer the high plain of Mont-St.-Jean. This was the third attack, which the Duke of Wellington no longer met with his soldiers in squares, but in line, drawn up, not in the rear of the eminence, but on its crest, with artillery in the intervals, and the remainder of the cavalry brought back and ready to charge. The evening was closing in fast. The French troops, therefore, as they attained the crest, were not, as previously, allowed to deploy, but were met by the whole British force. And a momentary struggle between the combatants took place on the summit of the hill. Napoleon had his eye fixed on his advancing columns, and was shocked to perceive that, instead of moving forward, it became mingled with the enemy in a confused contest. "*Ils sont mêlés ensemble*," he exclaimed in despair. In

a short time, the French were for the third time driven back from the high plain of Mont-St.-Jean, whilst simultaneously a fresh Prussian corps advanced, and pushed its formidable troops upon the high road. The French could no longer withdraw by it, and were obliged to fling themselves, dispersed and defeated, through the vast cornfields. The old guard, however, still intact, protected the Emperor's retreat. Wellington and Blücher met very near the spot where Napoleon had observed the battle.

The day after, the Emperor found himself at Laon, the country around covered with the scattered relics of his army. He knew not what had befallen Grouchy. So leaving to Soult the command and the care of rallying the fugitives, he hastened to Paris. Shunning the Tuileries, he entered the Élysée palace in the evening of the 20th, flung himself into a bath, and summoned a council for the next morning. The mournful faces met, and did not brighten when Napoleon announced his defeat, and his thirst to repair it. For this he demanded a temporary dictatorship. The only voices which seconded him and signed an appeal to the people, and the revolutionists rather than to the moderates or the chamber, were those of Carnot and of Lucien. The rest, even Caulaincourt, were for consulting the chamber, although the chamber, observed Regnault, would insist on a second abdication. The decided Napoleonists replied by a threat to dissolve the chamber. To succeed, it ought to have been done ere talked of. For the members met at Fouché's, excited each other, and were excited by the ministers to resistance. Amongst those who attended and heard the rumour of dissolution was General Lafayette. Benjamin Constant had consulted him in drawing up the Additional Act, and the general had had conversations with Joseph Buonaparte. Without being adverse to the dynasty, he mistrusted Napoleon's promise of liberalism,

CHAP.
XLIV.

and now came forward with alacrity to depose him. On his motion, the chamber declared itself permanent, and denounced any attempt to dissolve it as treason. A commission was named to persuade Napoleon to abdicate. All the Emperor's friends, save Lucien, gave him the same advice. With the Emperor's abdication in their hand, the representatives of the chamber flattered themselves that they might make terms with the allies. And in order to reconcile Napoleon to this act, the abdication was to be in favour of his son. He hesitated for some time. Benjamin Constant he bade hearken to the clamours of the people without, who demanded his again taking the command and the field, whilst those whom he had loaded with honours merely demanded his abdication. Lucien again pressed an 18th Brumaire against the assembly. Napoleon refused. "I have reigned as a conqueror," he observed, "and desire not to do so as a tyrant." On the 22nd, the chamber insisted, and Lafayette was prepared with a motion for the *déchéance*, or forfeiture, of the crown, when Napoleon's second abdication was announced. "My political life is finished," exclaimed and wrote he; "I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French." *

When this important document was communicated to the chamber, it resolved on nominating a commission of five to form a provisional government. Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, and two other obscure names were chosen, all Royalists, as well as constitutionals, including Lafayette, being set aside. Fouché was the president, who flattered the chamber with the succession of Napoleon the Second, the constitutionalists with the possibility of making the Duke of Orleans king, whilst he at the same time released M. de Vitrolles from

* Constant, Mémoires sur les Cent Jours. Lucien Bonaparte, La Vérité sur les Cent Jours. Fleury de Chaboulon, Mémoires. Mémoires de Lavalette. Mém. de Lafayette. Mém. de Miot, de Beugnot, &c.

prison, and through him opened a communication with the Bourbons. Lafayette and some others were allowed to go as delegates to negotiate with the allied powers. They at first could see no higher person than Lord Stuart, who told them to their indignation they must deliver up Napoleon.

Meantime the Duke of Wellington took upon himself to expedite the return and restoration of the Bourbons. He advised Louis the Eighteenth to repair at once from Ghent to Cambray. But whilst following the Duke's advice, the infirm monarch fell into a trap laid for him by his brother and the ultra-Royalists, and dismissed Talleyrand,* whom the Duke of Wellington favoured, as well as M. de Blacas, whom he desired to see removed.† The Duke was fortunately in time to correct the error, to bring back the King to his senses, and Talleyrand to the King. For Alexander, probably in understanding with Fouché, had made overtures at Vienna for substituting the Duke of Orleans for the elder branch of the family.‡ M. Guizot and the constitutionalists arrived at Cambray in time to suppress an ultra-Royalist manifesto, and substitute a promise, not only to observe but to enlarge the charter. This was not done without a fierce altercation between Prince Talleyrand and Monsieur, supported by the Duke de Berry.§ Fouché, in the meantime, undertook to remove the obstacles in Paris to the return of Louis the Eighteenth. He first summoned a military council, and obtained from the generals an opinion that resistance would be vain. Marshal Davoust himself admitted the necessity of recognising the King. The majority of the chamber, however, still held for Napoleon the Second, and even the Constitutional Royalists were for not recog-

* M. Beugnot recounts the dismissal of Talleyrand, whom the King told to go take the waters of Carlsbad.

† Guizot's *Mémoires*.

‡ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'ou-*

tre Tombe.

§ The scene is fully given in M. Duvergier d'Hauranne's "*Histoire du Gouvernement parlementaire*," t. iii. p. 103.

CHAP.
XLIV.

nising the King, till a more liberal constitution was stipulated. The presence of Napoleon at Malmaison was another obstacle that rendered an armistice almost impossible. The Provisional Government therefore warned Napoleon, on the morning of the 29th, that he must leave for the coast and embark. He was promised passports for England or America. Learning, however, the advance of the Prussians and English separately on either side of the Seine, the Emperor re-entertained the project of attacking them, and sent General Becker to the Provisional Government for authority to do so. Davoust in reply threatened to arrest the Emperor, who immediately resigned all hopes and departed for Rochefort.

Meanwhile, a new batch of commissioners gained access to the Duke of Wellington at Estrées on the 27th, and professed a readiness to acknowledge Louis the Eighteenth on conditions. The Duke handed them the declaration of Cambray, and promised to call the King's attention to their objections. He also promised to do his utmost to induce General Blücher to consent to an armistice. The latter, instead of listening to his colleague, advanced to St. Cloud, in a position at once so provoking, yet so isolated, that his rashness tempted the French generals to attack him. Carnot was chiefly instrumental in dissuading them. But if the army was not to fight, it was necessary to treat, and an offer was sent to Blücher for the purpose on the 2nd. He, in concert with the Duke of Wellington, demanded that the French army should withdraw from Paris, behind the Loire, and the National Guard be entrusted with the tranquillity of the capital, whilst after the lapse of a certain number of hours the allies should enter. Such were the first terms of the capitulation concluded on the 3rd of August. An effort was made to place the works of art in the capital under the protection of the treaty. But Blücher would not consent. The allied general:

promised to "respect the persons and property of individuals in the capital," and not molest anyone for his conduct or opinions during the late usurpation. This guarantee, they afterwards alleged, concerned but themselves, and not either Louis the Eighteenth or his brother allies. The Chamber and the Provisional Government, with Fouché and Lafayette as their advisers, seemed to have taken it for their task to deceive others and themselves. They were untrue to the nation as well as to Napoleon, attained no one desirable object, and betrayed the cause and the persons that they undertook to defend.*

Fouché is represented as the great Mephistopheles of the epoch, who betrayed everyone. But in truth everyone betrayed their own cause and themselves. The Imperialists, such as Caulaincourt, Ney, Davoust, dethroned the Emperor first, and soon abandoned even the name of his son. Lafayette and the Constitutionalists, so fierce towards Napoleon, gave up the country as well as its liberties to the invader. Honest Carnot was helpless, his conduct making one fear that the contemptuous epithets bestowed upon him by Guizot and by Fouché are not so wrong. Fouché gave himself a great deal of trouble to deceive those who wished to be deceived, and was merely adroit enough to get credit for doing that which must have occurred and been accomplished without his aid.

The Duke of Wellington and the Count D'Artois entertained a high opinion of Fouché, and considered him the leader of a revolutionary party which he could persuade and dispose of. They are scarcely to be excused for making the same mistake as Napoleon. The Duke thought that Talleyrand and Fouché together could best manage France. And no doubt they could have proved very able ministers of a despotic prince.

* The most perfect appreciation found in M. Guizot's *Mémoires*, of the conduct of the Chamber and chap. iii. of placemen in general, is to be

CHAP.
XLIV.

But the same personages compelled Louis the Eighteenth to come forward as a constitutional one, to serve him in which capacity Talleyrand and Fouché were utterly incapable. The Duke put them both into the same carriage at Neuilly, and sent them to Louis the Eighteenth at St. Denis, who, finding Fouché pressed upon him, not only by the English duke and Talleyrand, but by his brother and the Faubourg St. Germain,* waived his prejudices and his natural distrust for the moment, and appointed them both his ministers of foreign affairs and police.

M. de Talleyrand completed his ministry at St. Denis. Baron Louis resumed the finance. Marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr became minister of war. The most remarkable appointments were those of the Duke de Richelieu to replace M. de Blacas in the household, and Count Pozzo di Borgo to the home office. These personages were in the service of the Emperor Alexander, who refused them permission to accept office under Talleyrand. The Czar was incensed with that diplomatist for his conduct at Vienna, and the triple alliance which he had planned. The prefecture of police having been offered in vain to several persons, Baron Louis recommended for the post a young man who had been secretary to the mother of Napoleon, and subsequently appointed judge. As such he had refused the oath of allegiance to Napoleon on his return. This was M. Decazes. The first act which devolved upon him was to get rid of the Chamber of Deputies. This he did by locking the door and placing a guard behind the *grille*. Lafayette was one of the first who came to demand entrance. "*No one admitted!*" cried the sentry through the grating.

On the following day, the 8th of July, whilst Napoleon was embarking on board a French frigate in the Charente, Louis the Eighteenth re-entered his capital. He did so in

* The Royalists of the Faubourg St. Germain sent the Bailly de Crussol as their representative to recom-

mend Fouché, who had protected them, to Louis the Eighteenth.—*Beugnot.*

a close carriage, with the blinds down. Yet it was not from the population that he was in any danger of insult, but from his allies the Prussians, who were at the time mining the bridge of Jena, for the purpose of blowing it up next day. Louis threatened to get himself transported to the bridge and placed upon it in his arm-chair.* The Duke of Wellington's interference had more effect. After one explosion, Blücher was persuaded to await the arrival of Alexander, who came on the 10th, and saved the bridge, as well as the column of the Place Vendôme, whence only the statue was lowered. Louis the Eighteenth was not so fortunate in preserving the integrity of the Louvre. The omission to restore the captured works of art had been source of comment and regret amongst the allies in 1814. The Prussians proceeded at once to take the few works of art belonging to their provinces. The government of the Low Countries redemanded its Rubens and Rembrandts. The Duke of Wellington, as well as Lord Castlereagh, were opposed to the spoliation of the Louvre, but Lord Liverpool and the Prince Regent strongly insisted on the work of retaliation. The Duke could not resist, and supported the Dutch in their demands. The Italian requisition was more serious. The French still blame Canova for having presided over the commission charged with selecting the *chefs-d'œuvre* that had appertained to Italy. Can an Italian be censured for restoring his country's works of art to their own capital?

Nothing more strongly shows the softening and civilising effects of large social intercourse than the conduct of different men at this crisis. Wellington and Castlereagh were probably of no very opposite character from Lord Liverpool and the Prince Regent. Yet the former, who had been abroad in foreign capitals and congresses, had grown mild and generous,

* If Louis did not say this, Beugnot said it for him.

CHAP.
XLIV.

whilst those who had never ceased to be surrounded by their insular prejudices were barbarous in their resentments. Blücher breathed nothing but vengeance. And even Alexander, so philosophic in 1814, would no longer listen to the same men and the same observations which had pleased him then.* Yet the French showed much submission. Although the provinces were occupied and ravaged by a million and a half of invaders, the civil authorities bullied and some of them sent off to Russia or to Prussia for not complying with rude orders, still every head bowed. The army behind the Loire, after having in vain tried to make some terms, submitted and assumed the white cockade. This in nowise abated the desire of vengeance, which animated the allies even more than the French Royalists. They insisted on examples. It may be imagined what was urged by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, when the British press, with the exception of its Whig organ, clamoured for French victims, and even published lists of Frenchmen who deserved to be hanged on the Place de Grève.

Fouché, seeking to satisfy this thirst, chiefly of the foreigner, for proscription, drew up a list of some twenty persons to be arrested and tried, and treble that number to be exiled. The minister no doubt hoped that those threatened would escape, and that the exile of the others would be but temporary. Unfortunately, Labedoyère came to Paris, and exposed himself to capture, as Marshal Ney did later, when it was found impossible to stop the vengeance of the reactionists in any other way than by their death. Davoust, after having procured the submission of the Loire and its adoption of the white cockade, was astounded to see several of his generals on the fatal list, nay, to perceive the name of one who had not even served during the Hundred Days.

* Lafayette's Memoirs.

He immediately sent in his resignation, and was replaced by Macdonald. St. Cyr had a difficult position at the war office. He insisted on Louis the Eighteenth not repeating the mistake of appointing household troops, and a privileged guard, to the exclusion of the old soldiers. Instead of listening to him, the court organised the guard, and M. de Vitrolles sent St. Cyr a list of the colonels. The latter declared that he was no longer war minister, since Vitrolles exercised the office. It was with difficulty that Talleyrand persuaded St. Cyr to retain his ministry. His and Macdonald's countenance and co-operation were indeed indispensable to accomplish another exigency of the allied sovereigns, the dissolution of the army behind the Loire.

Ministers consoled themselves for the compulsory performance of these unpopular acts by the hope that, as passions settled down, moderation might prevail, and that a new chamber freely representing the national mind would support a king and his government by checking reaction and entering upon a policy of conciliation. Never was hope more vain. The country was a volcano in whose depths boiled all the passions both of the revolution and of the class which had been its victims. Those of the revolution were much the strongest, but their force had been for the moment exhausted, whilst a million and a half of foreign soldiers pressed upon the soil. Royalist passions were thus alone allowed an issue, and they showed themselves as ruthless and sanguinary, and far more bigoted, than even those which had outraged humanity under the convention.

No part of France had more eagerly welcomed and more powerfully impelled the revolution than the south. It imbrued its hands in the blood of priests and nobles. The population afterwards found reason to regret its handywork. The south owed its prosperity and even its food supply to Mediterranean trade. This was for

CHAP.
XLIV.

many years cut off. Provence and Languedoc pined in consequence. The clergy recovered their influence, and preached unfortunately neither humanity nor tolerance. Nowhere more than in the south prevailed that jealousy which the lower and the needy class entertain of what they call the *bourgeois*, which had become prosperous by industry. The same middle class was generally hated by the relics of the old gentry. The Duke d'Angoulême in 1814 had raised bands in the south to resist Napoleon. They called themselves Royalist volunteers. Beaten by the Imperial generals, they still held together; and when the news came of Napoleon's defeat, they collected again for ascendancy and revenge. Owing to these causes, the city of Marseilles, when tidings of Waterloo reached it, was in complete insurrection. General Verdier, who was there with a few troops, withdrew to Toulouse, and Marseilles became a scene of plunder and massacre. The citizens stigmatised as Bonapartists were robbed and slain. Other towns would not be left behind in the work of vengeance and rapine. In the fertile district at the foot of the Cévennes, the Protestants formed the *bourgeoisie*—they were the well-to-do, the industrious population. The ragamuffins resolved to plunder these, and hoisted the flag of religious orthodoxy to prove their right to murder. The article of the charter making Catholicism the state religion, and the evident tendency to restore the Church its power and ascendancy, had alarmed the Protestants of the south, and they had accordingly welcomed the return of Napoleon. His fall, therefore, was the signal for their enemies to take vengeance. And a general massacre of the Protestants took place, especially at Nismes. Ruffians of the name of Trestaillons and Truphemie, led bands which acted up to the fell spirit of Bartholomew's eve, and of the September massacres, and deluged the country with blood.

The most illustrious victim was Marshal Brune,

who had so gallantly defended Holland. He had no doubt been a Terrorist in his day. Arnaud, in his memoirs, describes him as one of the most active members of the Cordelier club. He had quitted the command at Toulouse, and was journeying north, by Avignon, when he was stopped at the post-house of that town, signalised as a Bonapartist, or worse, and compelled to take refuge in the principal inn, which is near the Rhone. Here Brune was soon besieged by the ferocious mob of Avignon, there being no military force to keep them in order. The authorities and a few national guards did all in their power to save the marshal. But the mob scaled the wall, got into the inn by the roof, reached the room in which Brune was, and shot him. There was an attempt to conduct the body to burial, but the mob tore it from the coffin and precipitated it into the Rhone. General Ramel underwent a similar fate at Toulouse. And the execution of the brothers Faucher at Bordeaux, though preceded by a mock trial, was scarcely less an act of murder.

Whilst the government of Talleyrand and Fouché was thus so little able to prevent the crimes of the ultra-Royalists in the provinces, it was less so to resist their influence or violence in the elections. On the nature of these, in fact, depended the future course of politics. The Chamber of Peers had been remodelled, by no means in a liberal sense. All those who had consented to sit in the Senate of the Hundred Days were removed aside, with the exception of Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and Molé. Some eighty new peers were added. The number of deputies was also increased to 402. Napoleon had set the example of not recurring to real and popular elections, having left the old electoral colleges still in possession of their exclusive rights. The Restoration now did the same. The district colleges were merely to elect candidates

CHAP.
XLIV.

out of which the departmental colleges were to be chosen.*

Talleyrand, in fact, made the same mistake that Napoleon had done, in forming a chamber, consisting of, and chosen by, the wealthier classes. The royal dukes were appointed presidents each of an important college. Prefects of ultra-Royalist stamp were allowed to influence others. There was no idea in the head of either functionary or notable of supporting a government. It was the Royalist party that every one looked to join, to flatter, and to please. There was nothing to be gained or attained by choosing Bonapartists. And as to Liberals and Constitutionalists, independent of the two dynastic parties, it could scarcely be said to exist.

Whilst the country or its upper classes were thus blindly conferring representative power upon men who were fanatical from ultra-royalism, tragical events came to give the interest of actual reality to the fiercest passions of vengeance. Colonel Labedoyère, the first officer who had brought his regiment over to Napoleon in Dauphiny, instead of making his escape on seeing his name in the list of those marked out for trial, ventured to Paris, to visit his wife. He was recognised and arrested early in August, and immediately brought before a court-martial. His family were of old noblesse, which rendered his crime more unpardonable to the ruling party. His defection had been manifest; he did not deny it; and the court-martial could not avoid finding him guilty. But the King might pardon. Every effort was made to induce him to do so. The wife and mother of the condemned fell at the monarch's feet, and at those of the Duchess d'Angoulême. The monarch was inexorable; the daughter of Marie

* There were 366 colleges of districts; but 87 of departments. Four-fifths of the electors were in a manner cancelled by the form adopted. The presentation of a list

is not an election. The list for Paris consisted of 60, of which the departmental electors chose but five —See Lafayette's *Memoirs*, t. v p. 430.

Antoinette plucked her robe from the hands of the suppliants. Labedoyère was executed on the plain of Grenelle. At the same time, Count Lavalette, who was Minister of the Post Office during the Hundred Days, was seized. Ney also. He had sought a retreat at the foot of the Cantal Mountains. A magnificent sabre, the gift of Napoleon, betrayed him, and he was brought to Paris to be tried.

One of the first acts of Prince Talleyrand, when he met the King at Mons, after Waterloo, had been to recommend an amnesty. The tide of reaction had soon borne him and his sovereign far from any such act of generosity and wisdom. He and Fouché were powerless against reaction at home, and equally feeble against the vindictiveness of Alexander. That monarch, in 1814, pretended that Louis the Eighteenth could only succeed by governing in a liberal spirit. But the passions awakened in Congress, and the success with which Talleyrand had then thwarted Russian designs, had more weight than his liberal tendencies in Alexander's mind. That prince now wavered between his old political philanthropy and a kind of mystic theory, which proposed to better the world, not by emancipating, but enslaving it. Instead of courting the converse of enlightened men as he had done the year before, Alexander now joined prayer meetings in dark rooms with Madame de Krudener. And as her coterie was linked with ultra-royalism and ultra-sacerdotalism, Alexander underwent their influence for a time without being aware of it. The Czar had already conceived the project of the Holy Alliance, which was to throw Europe back into all the despotism and cagotism of the past. The civilised world was at the beck and the mercy of a prince who knew not his own mind, and could not keep it to one course for even six months.

Unfortunately, the tide of events, nay, of even constitutional events in France, went with him. It is

CHAP.
XLIV.
—

the misfortune of the French, writes M. Guizot, that "in great crises, the vanquished become merely the dead." One thought dominated the electors, to set aside the Bonapartists, and drown the cause like the name in oblivion. A chamber of red-hot Royalists was the consequence, representing the monarchic sentiment perhaps, but not the formal or general conviction of the nation. The electors on this occasion were the better classes, and yet they showed as much mobility as ever did the mob, and passions far more base. For the clamour was not merely for seeing royalism victorious, but reactionary and vindictive.

If Fouché and Talleyrand were unable to resist the extravagant demands of the reactionists about court, and in the society of the capital, they could not hope to survive the meeting of the Chamber, of which the names of the members already announced the most rabid royalism. Fouché had in fact foreseen the coming storm, and alarmed at Royalist predominance had striven to conciliate by his large list of proscriptions. This not softening the rage against him, Fouché turned round and sought by reports and counsels to alarm the King of the danger of reaction, which he said truly enough would, instead of crushing Bonapartism, revive and strengthen it. He was not listened to, but received first a hint, and then an order to accept a foreign embassy and retire. He accepted that of Dresden, which he only reached to be thrust into unpensioned exile.

If not so directly attacked as Fouché by the ultra-Royalists, Prince Talleyrand had an antagonist more formidable in Alexander. The Prussian ministers had drawn up a formal demand of Alsace, part of Lorraine, and the first line of French fortresses on the north.* The German powers who were to acquire the

* Stein's Leben ; Leben von Hardenburg.

former strenuously seconded the demand. The Archduke Charles was to found a new kingdom of Lorraine. Austria acquiesced of course. The English plenipotentiaries alone protested loudly, insisted that the French would never bear such spoliation, and that a renewal of the war would ensue. All depended upon Alexander, who conveyed to Louis the Eighteenth the hint, that Russia would support him on one condition, the removal of Talleyrand. Louis could not but consent. And when the prime minister waited on him with the demand to support his cabinet against the Count d'Artois, the monarch hesitated. "In that case I must resign," said the Prince. "If so," rejoined the King, coolly, "I must charge some one else to form a Cabinet."* Talleyrand was thunderstruck at a conclusive consequence so natural, yet so new to him. And the King forthwith entrusted the formation of a ministry to the late Russian governor of Odessa, the Duke de Richelieu. Fouché's successor in the police was M. Decazes, who had at first the gift of pleasing everyone. The names of the other ministers are not worth recording, the court and King being too jealous of the little talent that the royalists could boast. M. de Chateaubriand was for this thrust aside. Though somewhat annoyed at the removal of Prince Talleyrand, the English plenipotentiaries gave their full support to the Duke de Richelieu, as of course did Alexander, who came completely over to their advice, in setting aside the exorbitant demands of the German Powers, and granting to the restored monarch the conditions of the peace of 1814, slightly modified. On the northern frontier the French were deprived of Landau, Sarre Louis, Phillippeville; and Marienburg and Charleroi were also taken from them. The war contribution was fixed at 700,000,000 of livres, and the military occupation to be four years, not so

* Memoirs of Vitrolles, Duvergier d'Hauranne, &c.

CHAP.
XLIV.

severe as at first proposed. The Duke de Richelieu could scarcely be induced to sign what he considered so disgraceful a treaty, but consoled himself with the reflection, that "no other minister could have obtained so much." When he poured forth his complaints to his old master Alexander, the latter showed him a map with the Prussian and Austrian demands upon it, reducing France to the line of the Vosges, and muleting it of Lille and Nancy. The Richelieu family keep the map.*

If Russia had associated itself with England in the aim of being wisely generous and conciliatory to France, England had waived its objections to the Czar's appropriation of Poland. The powers renewed the old anti-Gallican treaty of Chaumont, in view of any future outburst of France. At the same time, the three powers which had divided Poland felt the necessity of a more intimate pact between them for the preservation of their gains. All three saw that they grasped each of them a new and vast empire, without consulting the wishes of populations, or the natural affection and repugnance of race. All in consequence acknowledged their insecurity, and saw the facilities which each might have in fanning popular movements amongst their neighbours. To obviate and preclude this, Alexander imagined the Holy Alliance, which preached that the despots were to show themselves fathers of their people, and brethren of one another—in other words, that they should rule with the strong hand, and instead of opposing each other, lend mutual aid in the great and necessary task of universal subjection. This was the Holy Alliance.

Lamartine characterises the Chamber of Deputies, which met in 1815, as completely representing the sentiments of the country, its weariness and disgust of Bonapartism, and its sanguine hopes of happiness and freedom.

* Lamartine.

under the Bourbons. If for country he would substitute the upper class, not merely the old aristocracy of birth but the new aristocracy of intellect, wealth, and functionalism, the observation may be correct. The Bonapartists and those attached to the revolution took no part in the vote, and had no voice in the new legislature. It was composed of new men. So it may be said was the celebrated *Assemblée Constituante*. But this assembly brought together all the thinkers and politicians of the kingdom, men who had studied its wants, meditated upon reforms, and shaped out in their minds the course to be taken by an emancipated people. It was only a proof that the *ancien régime*, however theoretically, and at times practically, despotic, did not or could not altogether paralyse the national mind. This had been at work for half a century, and had elaborated ideas, laws, projects. Napoleon had, on the contrary, kept the national mind fettered. He had allowed neither time nor liberty for thought. There was scant education, no press, and no intellectual society. The consequence was that the representatives or legislators who came together in 1814 and 1815 were ignorant as children and vengeful as savages. They had a new edifice to build, but they knew not how to set about hewing the corner-stone. Their whole thoughts were bent upon immolating victims to inaugurate their work.

The ministers whom Louis the Eighteenth had chosen, however royalist, were far from going the length of the Chamber. The responsibilities of power were alone sufficient to apprise them of the danger of a vindictive policy. They therefore sought to satisfy the passions of the ultra-Royalists by introducing a group of laws conferring upon the government and the tribunals the fullest power for suppressing sedition and the seditious, whilst not concealing the hope and the assurance that the throats they had cut would be sufficient to deter and to prevent rebellion. The first of these laws gave

CHAP.
XLIV.

the government liberty to imprison as long as they pleased without bringing those arrested before any tribunal. Another, which punished seditious cries with terms of imprisonment, was met by loud cries of protest from the ultra-Royalists. Death was the least they would accord to the hoisting of Bonapartist colours. This was followed by the establishment of prevotal courts, in other words, drumhead courts-martial, for the summary punishment of conspirators.

Amidst the shouts of approbation which hailed these measures, proposed, not as exceptions, but as permanent laws, M. d'Argenson ventured to hint that there were other parties than Royalists which demanded protection; the Protestants, for example, were massacred in numberless towns of the south, and government was powerless to prevent it. His too true denunciation raised a storm, and were it in the power of the ultras they would have instantly applied to M. d'Argenson the penalty of having uttered seditious cries. They denied, but would not discuss his facts, had him called to order, and silenced. The Royalists entertained no objections to massacres if wreaked merely on Protestants and Bonapartists. When the laws of repression passed, M. Decazes, in a circular to his personal subordinates, recommended a moderate rather than a rigid execution of them. This, as soon as it became known, created at once a schism between the young minister and the ultra-Royalists of the Chamber, a schism which placed them soon in hostility, not merely to De Cazes and to the whole ministry, but to the King himself.

The ultra-Royalists in a short time came to perceive that laws of repression were of little use, unless they had ministers and judges of their way of thinking. They therefore set to work to overthrow M. Marbois, minister of justice, in which they succeeded at the close of the session and at the same time to suspend, in order to change, the entire bench of judges. This bold attempt was only

defeated by the Chamber of Peers. With the bill for the suppression of seditious cries, ministers had introduced an amendment, including amongst seditious cries any proposal to recover the sold property of the émigrés. It certainly was a dangerous clamour, though it was difficult to descry any guilt in it. On this subject, as well as on the removal of judges, and the punishment of the seditious, many of the Royalist orators distinguished themselves. La Bourdonnaye, says M. Guizot, was the spokesman of the passions of the party; whilst Villèle defended its interests, and Bonald expounded its philosophy. M. Guizot omits Chateaubriand, who at this time abetted that fierce and vindictive ultra-Royalism which he afterwards turned against and combated. Bonald preached counter-revolution as one of the consequences of divine right.*

The debates of the legislature were, however, thrown into the shade by those of the tribunals. Labedoyère had been condemned and executed previous to the opening of the Chambers. Lavalette, whose crime was to have seized and filled the functions of Post Master during the Hundred Days, had been arrested about the same time. But as a civilian he could not be sent before a court-martial. He was brought before a court of assize on the 20th of November. A jury made part of this court, but as the list was concocted at the prefecture, the jury of those days was little better than a government commission. Lavalette did not deny his having assumed the office of Post Director. He was condemned in consequence. His wife, led by Marmont, flung herself at the King's feet and at those of the Duchess D'Angou-

* A recent critic makes merry with the utter ignorance of the politicians and philosophers of the Restoration. M. Renan represents Chateaubriand, Bonald, and De Maitre—the first as too ignorant to write history, the second discoursing

on philosophy without having read any author more original than De Gerando, and the third, as never having got further than the philosophy of the Jesuits.—*Renan on Lamennais.*

CHAP.
XLIV.

lême. She was *enceinte*. The Duchess had yielded to the intreaties of the Duke de Richelieu to ask Lavalette's pardon of the King, who was prepared to grant it; but the ultra-Royalist coterie interfered, and insisted on the execution.* The Countess Lavalette, with great address and courage, contrived to substitute herself in prison for her husband, who escaped in her garments, holding the hand of their little daughter. The Count's subsequent escape from Paris, accompanied by Sir Robert Wilson, is well known. The ultra-royalist society of Paris, even its great ladies, were mortified at Lavalette having baffled justice. They stigmatised his little daughter as a "scélérate" for having aided to save her father, and she was obliged to quit in consequence the convent where she was being educated.†

Marshal Ney was consigned to his Paris prison on the day of Labedoyère's execution. He suffered from the Royalists quite the same indignities that the Royalists suffered under Robespierre. He was confined in a gloomy cell of the Conciergerie, guarded and treated with severity. A court-martial was named to try him. Marshal Moncey, finding himself amongst the judges, declined the duty, very honourably and naturally. St. Cyr, the war minister, condemned him to several months' arrest in consequence. Massena, Augereau, and Mortier consented to sit, but when Ney declined their jurisdiction, and demanded to be tried by the Chamber of Peers, the marshals gladly declared themselves incompetent.

The Duc de Richelieu informed the peers that it was they who would try Ney, and offer to the world a striking reparation for the impunity which the court-martial had extended to the accused. When the prime minister, not a passionate man, spoke such language, what must have been the vindictive sentiments of the court and of

* Duvergier d'Hauranne, *Mémoires de Marmont*.

† *Mémoires of Guizot, of Lavalette, &c.*

its party? The marshal's friends appealed to the Duke of Wellington to protect Ney, as included in the capitulation of Paris. The Duke declined to act this generous part by the marshal, and observed that Ney could not have considered himself guaranteed by that capitulation, since he had left Paris immediately under a feigned name.

The trial opened on the 4th of December. The chief witness was the future Marshal de Bourmont, serving under Ney when he proclaimed that the Bourbon cause was lost. Bourmont, the marshal declared, far from opposing, encouraged the act as unavoidable. Bourmont retorted the accusation by seeking to prove that Ney had all along meditated the treason—and alleged that he had the cross of the Legion of Honour with the *eagle*, not the *fleur-de-lis*, in his pocket, and that he wore it. This was disproved, and with it the accusation of the marshal's defection having been premeditated. 139 peers voted for the sentence of death, many afterwards joining the 17 who had declared for deportation, and entreating the Duc de Richelieu to obtain the marshal's pardon and exile. Five peers also abstained. The royal family were, however, all of them, the Duchess d'Angoulême included, resolved on inflicting and demanding the extreme penalty against Ney. The Duke of Wellington was in the same sentiments, forgetting how anomalous were the circumstances, and how little the traditional laws of treason and allegiance were applicable to a time when events, even more than men, turned round with the wind. The scaffold, said Marshal Moncey, in his letter, never made friends. Not only did it make no friends in the present instance, but it awakened a whole country to enmity. A few weeks previous the Bonapartists were in general discredit, as the elections proved. The death of Ney restored the party at once to national sympathy and esteem. The blow which struck him down was considered to have been dealt to

the military glory and hardihood of the country. A few weeks before the catastrophe of Ney, Murat met a similar fate on the coast of Calabria, whither he had been lured by Bourbon emissaries. The Turks think that when they have slain the chief men of any party or enterprise, they extinguish it for ever. And they may be right for Turkey. But in Europe principles survive men, and instead of being crushed by the fall of their champions, very often gather strength from these having been sacrificed.

The day after the execution of Ney, which took place on the 7th of December, ministers brought down to the Chamber a law of amnesty, excepting those already doomed to death or exile in the lists of Fouché. An additional clause banished the family and the relatives of the Bonapartes. It was a great mistake of the King and of Talleyrand not to have issued at once the amnesty, which was promised from Cambray, making such exceptions as might reasonably satisfy justice. Fouché's list was no doubt intended for this purpose. But the King's proclamation unfortunately deferred the composition of such list to the Chamber, which Fouché's did not satisfy. M. de la Bourdonnaye had instead at once proposed to exile or execute all who had taken office or exercised command during the Hundred Days, which was to proscribe the whole army and the greater part of the civilians. In lieu of the amnesty proposed by the minister, with the exception of Fouché's list, the commission of the Chamber adopted very nearly La Bourdonnaye's proscription of Bonapartists, ranged in three categories.* That furious Royalist supported his proposal in a speech which chiefly resembled and recalled the ideas of St. Just. Death, nothing but death, would satisfy M. de la Bourdonnaye, who declared, still in

* For what passed in commission, see Duvergier d'Hauranne's history, who relates what he heard

from his father, a member of the commission.

accord with St. Just, that Terror alone could prevent conspiracy. Whilst the ultra-Royalists were thus, like hounds in chase, foaming at the mouth for the blood of their enemies, the day of Lavalette's execution approached. Ministers were for pardoning and the Chamber for punishing. His flight filled the ultra-Royalists with rage. They prepared their categories. They accused the ministers of having allowed Lavalette to escape, nay threatened to impeach them for it. These in turn threatened to dissolve the Chamber.* It is to be noted, that even those leaders of the Royalist party who afterwards saw the necessity of moderation, nay of semi-liberalism, such as Chateaubriand and Villèle, were zealous supporters of La Bourdonnaye and his categories. A compromise, however, took place between them and the Government. Even this could only be effected by the Duc de Richelieu invoking the aid and announcing the resolution of the King not to sanction the large proscription and confiscation of M. de la Bourdonnaye. He agreed that those marked out for exile should suffer the penalty without trial. When afterwards the categories were put to the vote, they were rejected by a majority of nine. So narrowly did the country escape the proscription of the White Jacobins.

These debates necessarily produced a deep schism in the Chamber. All were Royalist, but Royalist in different degrees. Some, those who grouped round the Count d'Artois, were for re-edifying the past and restoring the old state of things, nay, a far worse than that which existed previous to 1789. Then indeed the King was nominally despot, the Church and aristocracy dominant in society and endowed with many privileges. But the King's power was then easily defied, and the aristocracy had no political influence. Were the

* Duvergier d'Hauranne.

squirearchy and clergy to become in 1816 masters of the legislature, they would wield a power far greater and more galling than they possessed in 1788; the nation being completely opposed to such power and the use made of it, another revolution sooner or later was inevitable.

The King and the moderate Royalists sought to avoid this, and there came naturally to be formed around Louis the Eighteenth a middle party of moderation, holding the fittest opinions for place. Their pretensions exasperated the ultra-Royalists and their leaders, for these were eager not merely to apply their principles, but to grasp office. Louis the Eighteenth wished to avoid both. He doubted the wisdom, and set aside the influence of his brother, and determined, as far as he was able, to uphold moderate ministers and a middle party. This flung the majority of the Assembly to aim at overruling the King, a policy which not only the more violent adopted, but even such men as Chateaubriand and Villèle.

The electoral law became the field of battle for the parties. According to the charter, one-fifth of the Chamber was to be renewed annually. It was necessary to fix by what law. Ministers prepared one in December (1815). It was highly conservative, especially from having two degrees of election. A cantonal assembly was to choose the electors. It was composed, like the Imperial colleges, of the highest taxpayers, but was swelled by the functionaries of the district, civil, military and clerical, thus giving increased electoral influence to the Government *employés*. Referred to a commission, of course in the interests of the majority, M. de Villèle, its reporter, superseded the ministerial plan of a functionary body of electors by an apparently more liberal one, but really placing the elections in the hands of the squirearchy and the agricultural interests, and refusing all salary or indemnity to the deputies. This was an

approach to the English system; and M. de Villèle sought to render the rural proprietors not only masters of the elections, but gifted with administrative power in their locality, another imitation of the English system. But this, however it succeeded in England, would in France have placed the popular masses at the mercy of the *hobereaux*, as the liberals denominated the squires. The scheme might have been most acceptable to a House of Lords; but the French Senate was composed chiefly of old functionaries, and these, opposed to a mere landed aristocracy, threw out the bill. Subsequently, when ministers took advantage of this to announce that the Chamber should be renewed by one-fifth, according to the old electoral law, the Assembly passed a resolution that it must not be so, and that the Chamber should be re-elected *in toto*, or else its session continued.

On a subject still more imminent and important the Chamber was at variance with the minister. The Hundred Days had thrown the Treasury into disarray. The arrangements of Baron Louis no longer sufficed. To the ordinary expenditure of 525,000,000 francs, nearly 300,000,000 additional were due to the allies as war contributions and indemnity. The Chamber, chiefly composed of rural proprietors, stood aghast at the plans of Corvetto, the finance minister. He proposed to pay all the arrears, the debts of the Hundred Days included, by bonds at 8 per cent., mortgaged on the state forests. These had been Church property, which the Royalist Chamber looked to restore. It set aside Corvetto's proposal, and even his predecessor's arrangements, and merely offered to pay the whole arrears in 5 per cent. stock. This brought but 60 in the market, which would mulct the creditors of one-half their claims. What creditor, exclaimed M. Bonald, ever gets more than a percentage of what is due to him? The finance minister's plan was to increase the taxes on land. The Chamber begged to transfer this burden to houses and

similar property. The Duc de Richelieu was obliged to submit to these hard conditions. The Duke of Wellington and Count Pozzo, alarmed at seeing the Chamber take the conduct of even financial affairs into their own hands, remonstrated with the King. Louis the Eighteenth made no reply, but he meditated not the less withdrawing his neck from the ultra-Royalist yoke.

What filled the measure of the King's disgust with the Chamber was, the kind of conspiracy into which its leading members entered to restore the Church to its supremacy. Louis retained much of the Voltairian spirit of the preceding century. He bore in mind the Ligue, and the several occasions in which the Church had dominated and depopularised the dynasty. The efforts of the Congregation, as the new ultra-Catholic association was called, now alarmed him. The ministry had vastly increased the yearly allotment to the Church. The Chamber required that this should be made a law, and the Church at the same time rendered capable of accepting and inheriting landed property. The ecclesiastical rule prohibiting divorce was re-established. Attempts were made to restore the civil registers to the clergy, and to hand over the university and the whole direction of public education to ecclesiastics. To stop this flood of reaction, Government prorogued the Chamber in April. This was followed by the substitution of Lainé, a semi-liberal constitutionalist, for M. de Vaublanc, who leaned to the Count d'Artois in conducting the home office, and who had allowed the prince to convert his title of General of the National Guard throughout the kingdom into almost an administration.*

Whilst the marriage of the Duke of Berry with a Neapolitan princess gave some liveliness to the court, a movement at Grenoble occurred to fill it with anxiety

* To get a full idea of the ineptness of the ultra-Royalist party, one has but to read the memoirs of

M. de Vaublanc and those of M. de la Rochefoucault.

and agitation. Grenoble had been the first French town to proclaim the principles of the revolution. The capital of a frontier province, its population had almost all served in the army, and every village now contained an officer sprung from the ranks, and detesting the awards of 1814 and 1815. An enthusiastic adventurer, named Paul Didier, went amongst these veterans, and professed himself the agent of a society formed to overthrow the Government. His idea was to proclaim the Duke of Orleans, but the Dauphinois would only hear of a Bonaparte, and so he proposed Napoleon the Second. With such uncertain aims he still contrived to recruit some 4,000 of the population of the valley, and marched with them to Grenoble, on the night of the 1st of May, 1816.

The authorities were only warned at the last moment. The first troops who met the insurgents wavered and refused to fire. When the officers seized some muskets and discharged them, the advanced part of the insurgents fled. And when the main body came up, the soldiers did fire, and Didier's band dispersed. Some thirty of the captives were brought before the prevotal court. The minister of police, consulted by telegraph, replied that no mercy was to be shown save to those who made revelations. But there were none for the poor peasants to make, and twenty-one were shot forthwith, amongst whom was a boy of sixteen, named Miard. Didier escaped at first to Savoy, but was subsequently taken and delivered up. He met his fate with fortitude. A conspiracy about the same time was alleged to have been discovered in the capital. Some twenty persons were implicated, and then selected, though with proof of little more than imprudence against them, to suffer the death of parricides, their hands being cut off before their heads. This, with the trials of some Bonapartist generals, Cambronne, Travot, Delisle and others, occupied the summer of 1816, and instead of attaining their

CHAP.
XLIV.

intended aim of terrifying those hostile to the Bourbons, on the contrary sowed the seeds of more extended and more implacable resentment.

Had this severe repression and punishment of Bonapartists taken place merely in the name and for the cause of public order, the greater part of those who objected would have passed it over. But the Government and the King were eclipsed by the Count d'Artois, and by the priesthood, who took their places. Even the replacement of M. Vaublanc by M. Lainé did not prevent the prince, as General of the National Guard, from exercising immediate authority; whilst the priesthood filled the country with missions, and disturbed every town with processions (forbidden by the law). And as the counter-revolution thus put on the garb of sanctity, the party of the revolution—that is, of the principle of equality, and of the freedom implied by it—affected Voltairianism and infidelity, which had previously slumbered, but which now awoke, to become popular and national.

Every sensible man, within or without France, saw that the Count d'Artois and the Duchess d'Angoulême were driving the country to a revolution. Foreign courts and diplomatists saw it equally. Those of England, Prussia, Russia, even Austria protested, and plainly told them that unless the red-hot Royalist and Church parties were put down, and a moderate system of government established, it would be impossible for the allies to evacuate France, and abandon it to inevitable revolution. Their remonstrances aroused the Duke of Richelieu. Decazes himself had been long aware of the necessity of getting rid of the Chamber, and the King felt his prerogative infringed upon and his dignity threatened by it. On the 7th of September, in consequence, appeared a decree dissolving what Louis himself called the *Chambre Introuvable*.

There was an explosion of rage amongst the *ultras*.

The Count d'Artois was beside himself. Chateaubriand issued his famous pamphlet of "*La Monarchie selon la Charte*," with a Postscript, expressing doubts that the King could have lent his hand to an act so suicidal. The printer, in haste to insure the publication, had neglected the necessary forms, and this laid the publication open to seizure. M. de Chateaubriand came himself to defend his work, and even excited the printers to resistance. Louis the Eighteenth struck his name off the list of state ministers, and thus deprived him of his pension. But the pamphlet appeared, and Chateaubriand assumed the character of a political martyr. The ultras indeed were in nowise prostrated by the blow which the King had dealt them. They moved heaven and earth to direct the elections still in their favour, repeating everywhere that the King, however determined to yield to his minister, was in heart ultra-Royalist. Had M. Decazes full power he would have been able to influence the elections; but this was denied him. The old electoral body of the highest taxpayers was preserved, and all that Decazes could depend upon, were the numbers of regular functionaries which the Government of 1815 had adjoined to the colleges. But the Duc de Richelieu would not permit even this, neither would he permit the colleges to appoint liberals presidents of colleges. The result was that ministers obtained in the elections a certain majority, of moderates indeed, but still leaving the ultras powerful if not preponderant. A few liberal orators were returned to the new Chamber, of whom Lafitte and D'Argenson were the most noted.

With this Chamber commenced a government which M. Guizot styles that of the *Centre*, and its enemies that of the *Bascule*, consisting of moderate and practical politicians, who sought to keep an even and constitutional course between the reactionary royalists and the liberals, behind which imperialists and revolutionists

CHAP.
XLIV.

rallied. Much has been said of the fatuity of the elder Bourbons, and of their having learned so little by misfortune, and yet it would be difficult to imagine a fairer trial of moderate policy and constitutional government than that which Louis the Eighteenth essayed from 1816 to 1820. Why did it not succeed? Some will say, that the attempt was hopeless from the beginning. To impose a dynasty upon a country, and then impose upon that dynasty the conditions of governing constitutionally, it was necessary to suppose that the majority was either in favour of the new royal family or capable of rallying to it. Far, however, from being in favour of or capable of rallying to it, the majority of the French were strongly attached to the principle of equality and the riddance of sacerdotal and aristocratic influence and action, which the revolution had accomplished and Napoleon confirmed. Louis the Eighteenth was prepared either to respect these principles or make a compromise with them; but his family, the younger members of which were destined in all appearance to succeed him, entertained ideas and avowed aims in direct contradiction of all that the country cherished. Hence arose hatred to the Bourbons, which the conduct of Government subsequently to 1820 gradually augmented, till it begot the explosion of 1830.

The true way to have overcome this, and to have rallied to him the moderate politicians and the middle-class public, even Louis the Eighteenth either did not take or did not persevere in. A constitution is idle unless its principles be fully followed out, and be supported by the prevalence of the majority of the nation. If that majority of the French were decidedly hostile to royalty or the Bourbons, his constitutional government was impossible from the first. They were not so, however. Had the King nullified the political influence of his family, and accepted the decision of his people, as announced in the elections, he would have

given office and power to thorough and energetic liberals, such as Foy and Périér. These men, instead of betraying him, would have rallied probably to his cause, and carried the Bourbons, or all such Bourbons as trusted them, through the popular storm, which would have broken upon them and not upon the dynasty. But the Bourbons never reconciled themselves to any constitution, or never read one otherwise than that their opinion and party should be dominant. Their lot was thus merely to make the most unhappy experience of a false or half constitution, and necessarily perish with it.

M. Guizot has demonstrated with all the truth of experience the disadvantage of a middle party governing, such a party making an admirable audience or support to a government, but by no means ably administering itself. It committed at this time other faults, no doubt, which M. Guizot does not allude to. The chief one was not to have made the people generally feel the advantage of a constitutional over a despotic system. The mere power of voting for a deputy every five years cannot do this. But institutions of local and municipal liberty, a participation of the country in its own management, would have interested the whole country in the system of representative government. Centralisation killed all this, and left the country ignorant and indifferent towards political questions. M. Guizot indeed admits the difficulty of making centralisation work with representation. No doubt to maintain the one is to nullify the other. Chateaubriand declared, that seven high functionaries were quite sufficient to exercise all authority in each department. When he enumerated these authorities, some one cried out, "You forget the executioner." The spirit of a functionary government necessarily depends on the head. To amend it requires a revolution, a substitution of Bonaparte for Bourbon. That is what the want of local liberty leads to. Hence, if the great experiment of a moderate constitutional system foundered

CHAP.
XLIV.

in France, it was in the first place owing to the ultra-Royalist princes, but in the next to a partial and insufficient application of the constitutional principle itself. This system was allowed to work amongst the middle ranks of life. But it disgusted the higher, which it did not reach; and the lower, which remained insensible of its influence and ignorant of its very existence.

One of the most fatal characteristics of political society and parties at and during the Restoration was their extreme nervousness. The Royalists imagined that they walked upon a path undermined by conspiracy, their fears and precautions rendering these suspicions true. The liberals, on the other hand, saw in the conduct of their opponents much more astute and determined plans of counter-revolution than actually existed. The mutual dread of their enemies having or obtaining a parliamentary majority deprived both of all patience and all calm. And as soon as such a result became evident or menacing, the thought was not to combat such ascendancy by parliamentary means, but reverse it by a change of the electoral law. The history of the Decazes and Richelieu middle party is, they began by changing or fixing the electoral law, so as to abate the ascendancy of the ultra-Royalists; and then finding that the result of these measures was to favour the gradual increase and possible predominance of the liberals, they had to amend the law to provide for this and prevent it.

The first proposal brought by the Decazes and Richelieu ministry before the new Chamber was one to modify the elections. It had been drawn up by M. Lainé. The Chamber of 1815 had owed its royalist tinge in a great measure to each deputy being elected in a small locality, local influence and landed fortune of course predominating. The new law arranged that all elections should be direct, that of all the deputies of a department taking place in its chief town, where the *bourgeois*

influence would counterbalance its landed rival. All who paid 300 francs direct taxes had a vote, all in fact who had sufficient property in land or houses. One fifth of the Chamber was to be re-elected each year to avoid the excitement of a general election. The law passed by 132 votes against 100. The King's personal influence and exertions were found requisite to engage the Chamber of Peers not to reject it. By this law, passed in February 1817, the electoral franchise was given to 100,000 proprietors, out of nigh 30,000,000 of population.

The Royalists protested indignantly against so large an admission of what they called the middle classes. Yet never surely was term so misapplied. Large landed fortunes were especially rare in France, and the extensive emigration of the *seigneurs*, who arrogated to themselves the title of first class, left but country gentlemen of a few hundreds a-year, not superior either in fortune or enlightenment to the upper ranks of what they styled the *bourgeoisie*. The greatest absurdity and folly, one might almost say the crime, of the Restoration was to have divided the rich and easy classes, which had quite enough to do to hold their own against the multitude of humbler labourers and earners without quarrelling amongst themselves for idle differences of origin or birth.

The truth is, there is and was no such thing as an upper class in France. What we mean by the term is a body of men, who, as possessed of either land or capital, can feed and employ the multitude of labourers and earners beneath them, and who, being the best and richest customers of the trading class, have also a greater influence over it. There is no such state of things in France. The peasant farmer sows and reaps his own food. The few who labour for hire form the minority, and take their tone and their ideas from the small proprietors. An analogous feeling of independence pervades the farm and the workshop. There is no link,

CHAP.
XLIV.

no patronage, and no obligation between class and class. Other means of influence by the rich are likewise annulled. Authority is in the hands of the functionaries. Endow it as you will in a country revolutionized like France, you cannot make an aristocracy. To pretend that there was one, and to legislate for it, as was attempted by the ultra-Royalists, was at once insanity and anachronism.

There is this, however, to be observed, that the arrogance of the squires or gentry so disgusted and alienated the notabilities of money and commerce, that these made common cause with even the lower of the middle class in opposing the pretensions and aims of the ultra-Royalists. Their denouncing of these pretensions gained the great commercial notabilities the support everywhere of both imperialists and admirers of the revolution. The consequence was that in the re-election of the second fifth of the Chamber, in 1817, according to the new law of election, Casimir Périer was returned to sit by the side of Lafitte; Delessert, Roy, and Ternaux, afterwards joining them as representatives of the *haut commerce*. With these leaders of the commercial world came the eminent men of the bar. The legal profession had recovered its scope and power with the Restoration, the use of the jury rendering it popular, and the many trials of journalists and compositors enabling their legal defenders to acquire position and fame. Hence the reputation of Dupont de l'Eure, Dupin, Mauguin, Ravez and Barrot. Imperialist functionaries joined them, such as Bignon, Chauvelin and Caumartin. The press and letters furnished their peculiar talents; Camille Jourdan was the great liberal orator. Chateaubriand was confined to the peers; Constant and Lafayette did not take their seats till 1818.

Whilst the liberal party were thus augmenting in numbers and impatience, events occurred which demonstrated plainly the ineptness of their ultra antagonists.

Lyons was a town in which there could not but be much disaffection. To entice or provoke foolish people to rush into acts of sedition was an easy task to the police. And this they executed, to the great delight of the prefect and the general, both ultra-Royalists, who hoped to show their zeal and obtain honour by enacting at Lyons the tragedy of Grenoble. An officer, who acted decoy and informer, was shot on leaving the general's quarters. This was enough for the latter to consider it conspiracy. In consequence, some 500 persons were arrested, and 28 were condemned and executed. The Commissary of Police, in the meantime, had communicated to M. Decazes that there had been no plot, save in the brains of the commander and the prefect. Marmont was sent down to see into the matter, and his report was to the same effect. His aide-de-camp, Fabvier, published the circumstances, and shed shame and disgrace upon the Royalist functionaries, as sanguinary as they were incapable.

It was then felt impossible to maintain the prevotal courts which had caused this innocent blood to be spilt, and it became necessary to have judges and commanders chosen in a more just and liberal spirit. M. d'Ambray was in consequence dismissed from the department of justice, and was succeeded by Pasquier. Molé became marine minister. The Duke of Feltre was superseded at the war office by Marshal Gouvion de St.-Cyr.

The latter instantly set about proposing a law for the reorganisation of the army, which was become necessary, as the allies had agreed to withdraw their forces of occupation. Moreover, it was also necessary to reverse the attempts of the Count d'Artois and Clark to form gradually an exclusively Royalist or Vendean army. Had this been accomplished, it would have been unpopular and odious to the country, and instead of providing the means to keep down discord and disorder, it would have

produced the state of things most apt to provoke them. Gouvion St.-Cyr, a more liberal war minister, replaced the army very much on its old footing, and re-established the conscription. The Royalists opposed it, and Villèle proposed in its place the recurrence to voluntary enlistment for the line, a militia being organised at the same time. Had this not meant the enrolment of ultra-Royalists alone, it might have been worthy of consideration for the small army which the Restoration proposed to keep up. Under Napoleon, the conscription, severe as it was, had its compensation; it rendered the army a kind of corporation endowed with large revenues and *dotations* from conquered lands. The prospect of sharing such emoluments reconciled the recruit to the ranks and to the privations of the lower grades. This, however, had vanished. And although one-third of the advancement was preserved to men from the ranks, yet these became officers so late in life, whilst the youths from the schools had the start of them, that the higher grades of the army were in reality only open to men of fortune and education.

The promotion of the common soldier being thus a delusion, the evil of taking so large a portion of the population from the pursuits of industry was but too evident. The conscription is the great check to population, prohibiting marriage before the age of 27, and generalising the habits of camps and barracks in lieu of those of domestic life. But if one nation is to enrol and equip its entire population, its neighbours in self-defence must do the same. Supported by the feeling of the nation in this respect, and impelled by the Liberal party, which wanted to obliterate the reactionary administration of the Duke de Feltre, Marshal St.-Cyr passed his law of recruitment and army organisation through the two chambers.

A certain liberty of the press was another concession, which M. Decazes deemed it necessary to make to the

growing strength of the Liberals. The authorisation of Government being necessary for the establishment of a new journal, and the censorship still weighing on the old, the daily press was severely restricted. This had driven writers to more serious and lasting publications, to books and pamphlets, and to periodicals in which bold and well-digested reasoning came forth at stated intervals. The *Minerve* and *Conservateur* were the Liberal and Royalist organs, both of them able, and both of them attacking and vilipending the Government, that took up its position between them. If the conscription was little to the taste of the Royalists, St.-Cyr's proposal, to organise the old Imperial veterans as a reserve, was still less so. But they wanted such a France as did not exist, and could not be made to exist. And St.-Cyr's law passed. The Government, whilst abolishing the censorship, prepared to subject them to certain measures of precaution. Liberal and Royalist both exclaimed. Villèle demanded the adjunction of a jury composed of the highest tax-payers, as the only tribunal of the press. The Doctrinaires, as the more philosophic of the Liberals were called, strenuously opposed. Camille Jordan and Royer-Collard objected to the seizure of works in the hands of the printer. Ministers felt ashamed of their Royalist allies when these introduced a clause extending penalty and prohibition to old authors, and thus proscribing the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. In disgust at the extravagance, the chamber of peers rejected the law altogether.

What chiefly gave the Cabinet power to resist such defection of the Liberals, joined to the increasing acrimony of the Royalists, was the knowledge that the Duke of Richelieu possessed the confidence and approbation of the allied powers. Both the Emperor of Russia and the English Tory leaders dreaded the Count d'Artois, who was animated with all the spirit of the last Stuarts, and who was taking the evident path to a

CHAP.
XLIV.

catastrophe similar to theirs. The Emperor Alexander, in a visit to Louis the Eighteenth, fully expressed his sanction of the King's policy and of the attitude of the Duke of Richelieu and Decazes. His conversation was indeed like his character, mystic and wavering, but for the moment it was warmly expressed. They therefore besought his powerful protection to lighten the sore burdens of military occupation. He persuaded the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle to take this French demand into consideration. When the occupation of France had been settled in 1815, it was admitted that this occupation should endure for five years, if necessary, but might under favourable circumstances be limited to three. Notwithstanding the large amount paid, the demands of the allies exceeded a milliard and a half of francs. This was reduced to 320 millions of francs, and covered by a loan, adding seventeen millions annual interest to the French debt. The 5 per cent. was then at 78 francs. Thus provided, the Duke of Richelieu went to Aix, when great was his astonishment and indignation to find that the ultra-Royalists had forwarded a secret note, deprecating the withdrawal of the allied forces, and representing the country as relapsing into the hands of the chiefs of the revolution from the liberalism of the Duke of Richelieu and M. Decazes.

Despite of such intermeddling, the Duke of Richelieu obtained at Aix the speedy evacuation of the French territory. The continental sovereigns were all in want of money. And the Duke of Wellington, though in the enjoyment of high position and emolument as commander-in-chief of the occupying armies, still did his utmost to put an end to a state of things so galling and onerous to France. The historian Capefigue, the confidant of M. Decazes, does full justice to the disinterestedness and liberal conduct of the English Duke, who had throughout been most conservative of French

interests and French pride, notwithstanding the arm of the assassin having been raised against him.

CHAP.
XLIV.

Although the note and remonstrance of the ultra-Royalists, deprecating the sudden and fatal withdrawal of the allied troops, did not prevent the sovereigns from fulfilling their promise to the Duke of Richelieu, and acquiescing in the arrangements for the evacuation of the French territory, still it rendered them more alive to the resuscitation of the Liberal or, as some considered, the Imperialist and Revolutionary party. French elections took place at this period of 1817, during which Alexander and the King of Prussia paid a short visit to Paris. But when the result of the elections, and especially the return of Benjamin Constant for Paris, was made known at Aix, the foreign monarchs and diplomatists showed misgivings. The unfortunate nervousness of French statesmen and parties at the least rise or augmentation of power in one or other party has been mentioned. But the allied sovereigns, and even English ministers, were quite as nervous, showing alarm one day at ultra-Royalism, the next at ultra-Liberalism, and driving the French king and his counsellors to and fro, as if the State were a ship whose helm was to be put about at every swelling of the wind. The Duke of Richelieu was as little experienced in constitutional government as the Czar, and when the latter evinced some misgivings, the Duke felt himself bound to do the same. So because one or two Liberals had been elected in the capital, the Duke promised his great patron and diplomatic friends to set about changing the law of election.

The Duke's intention was soon known to the Royalists, who promised him every support. This kind of accord took place without the Duke informing either the King or M. Decazes. In England we should call this treachery, in the Duke it was political ignorance. M. Decazes, however, got wind of it, and hastened to offer his resignation as minister of police.

CHAP.
XLIV.

A financial crisis came for the moment to suspend the ministerial one. When the loan for paying the allies was about to be contracted for by the house of Baring, the Paris bankers murmured and insisted on having it themselves. They were gratified, and the demand for the new stock caused it to rise greatly. This was the greater temptation for those who had taken the stock to sell. There ensued a sudden fall of 20 per cent., and a subsequent panic. The finance minister Corvetto was superseded by Count Roy.

Louis the Eighteenth has himself left an account of the intrigue of the Duke of Richelieu, in concert with the Royalists, to change the electoral law, and consequently to get rid of M. Decazes. The manoeuvre was difficult, for the strength of parties in the chamber was nearly equal, the Right and Right Centre prevailing, however, over the left, which comprised the decided Liberals, and the Left Centre, including the Doctrinaires. A portion of the regular supporters of the ministry going over to the former would at once change the majority. This was arranged in a coterie, over which the Cardinal de Beaufort presided, and which his friend, the Duke of Richelieu, joined. In consequence, the president, vice-president, and secretaries, of the chamber were all chosen from the Right or ultra-Royalist side. Ravez was preferred as president to De Serres. The Duke of Richelieu resigned, as did Lainé, Molé, and Decazes. The King, smothering his resentment, then asked the Duke to form another ministry, who was ready with his reply, that he was willing to do so, on condition that M. Decazes should not only quit the ministry but the country. This the monarch thought hard, for he had himself procured the recent marriage of his young minister with the daughter of Count St.-Aulaire, and to condemn the newly-married couple to exile was ungenerous. The King, however, deemed the Duke of Richelieu a necessary minister up to the time

of the evacuation of France by the allies. He therefore subscribed to all his conditions, and M. Decazes was appointed ambassador to St. Petersburg. The Duke of Richelieu then set about forming a ministry, but soon found it impossible. His semi-Liberal colleagues, such as Lainé and Roy, could not agree with Royalists such as Villèle, whom the Duke wished to bring into office. He was compelled to announce to the King his failure in forming a ministry.

The ball thus came back into the hands of M. Decazes. He did not, however, assume the post of prime minister, but left it nominally to General Dessolles, a comrade of Moreau, who enjoyed the countenance of Alexander. De Serres became minister of justice. Baron Louis resumed the finance department. Decazes assumed the home office. Freed from timid and reactionary colleagues, the latter embarked at once on a policy which ought and did indeed for a time satisfy even the extreme Liberals. The army, once more entrusted to St.-Cyr, saw its old Imperialist officers reinstated. In the home department, Decazes appointed Liberal prefects, and got rid of the ultra-Royalist functionaries, who had neutralised every conciliatory effort of the Government.

Strange to say, it was the chamber of peers that took most offence at this, and now led the way in opposition to Decazes. That minister's programme was to stand by his electoral law. The upper chamber passed a vote condemnatory of it. The minister, supported by the King, replied by the promotion of sixty-three peers, many of them Imperialists; Davoust, Jourdan, Mortier, Moncey, Soult, and Lefèbvre were of the number. By this bold measure, the upper chamber was rendered what the lower had become, national. The King was in the same way of thinking. And could the Liberals have observed moderation, and supported Decazes, instead of weakening him by ex-

CHAP.
XLIV.

aggerated demands and capricious attacks, the great problem of a reconciliation between the Bourbons and all that was reasonable of the Revolution might have been accomplished.

One of the aims of M. Decazes, a most natural and praiseworthy one, was to complete the institutions of the monarchy. A law for the responsibility of ministers was considered and proposed; it was well meant, but had better been avoided. Another and most essential one for regulating municipal institutions was entrusted for proposal to M. Guizot. A third concerned the press.

The object of the minister was the laudable and liberal one of getting rid of the censorship. But in order to this, and to the consequent entrusting of the repression of seditious writings to the tribunals, it was necessary to specify the degrees of crime and misdemeanour, and to fix upon whom the responsibility fell. This made the law appear penal, whilst in reality it was a doing away with restrictions. The jury was introduced as a necessary element in press trials. On the other hand, the great preventive of the censorship was replaced by demanding of all journals the deposit of a large sum as caution money. Notwithstanding the liberal tendency of the measure as a whole, it was fiercely attacked by Benjamin Constant and the orators of the Left. On the other hand, the leading speaker of the ministry, M. de Serres, did not always keep his temper, or refrain from extreme argument. Irritated by the attacks from Royalist as well as Liberal, he dealt sharp repartees to both, which, however victorious in dispute, were fatal to a minister who took his position between two contending parties, able at once, if they would, to overwhelm him. "The majority of all assemblies are sensible and sane," exclaimed M. de Serres, arguing upon the electoral law. "Even the Convention," observed M. de la Bourdonnaye. "Ay, even the Convention," replied

M. de Serres, "of which the majority would have gone quite right had it not been intimidated."

One of the great merits of the government of M. Decazes was the recall of those exiled by the chamber of 1815. Notwithstanding this, De Serres, speaking of the regicides, declared that they should never be allowed to return to the country. Though it was but a figure of speech, devoid of even truth, for several regicides had been permitted to return to France, it still offended the left, and stamped De Serres as an enemy of the Revolution.

It would have been more wise and more generous for both parties to have allowed the subject of regicide to sink into oblivion. The vote for it had proceeded from either the mad fanaticism or the terror of the hour. The former had evaporated, and those who had undergone it were ashamed of the latter. It was therefore an ill-judged provocation when the directing committee of liberal electors procured the nomination of Grégoire as deputy for Grenoble. Bishop Grégoire had not indeed voted the King's death in the Convention, being absent, but had written to signify his adherence to the sentence. The ultra-Liberals of Grenoble, in obedience to the Paris committee, gave their votes to Grégoire. But even at Grenoble they did not form the majority, and the regicide was only returned by the aid of Royalist votes,* given in despite of and with the view to injure Decazes and the middle party, as following a policy which led to such returns. The Royalists in Paris and in the chamber were thus offered the pretext and opportunity they sought, of denouncing at once Decazes and his law of election.

Whilst the Liberals were thus foolishly tripping up the very ministry that was really doing their work and developing their principles, and whilst the ultra-Royalists denounced it in parliament and in the press, courtiers

* Guizot's Memoirs.

CHAP.
XLIV.

were endeavouring to undermine Decazes in the King's favour in the same fashion that was practised in the days of Louis the Fifteenth. Louis the Eighteenth, however infirm, was still sufficiently under the influence of old court habits and ideas to desire the appearance, if not the reality, of a mistress. He had at first paid homage to Madame Princeteau, the sister of Decazes; but she was too honest and too bourgeoise to tolerate even the semblance of such a favour, or to profit by it either for her brother or herself. Count Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld introduced a court lady, who was not so delicate, to the King. Madame du Caylus, through her beauty, attained the honour of royal intimacy, with its pecuniary profit and its political influence. M. de la Rochefoucauld in his *Memoirs* tells the story, and boasts of having acted pimp on the occasion, thus contributing through the new favourite to disenchant the old King with Decazes.

The election of Grégoire had in the meantime shaken the confidence of the King, not indeed in his minister, but in his electoral law. When the Count d'Artois came to expostulate with him on such a result, Louis the Eighteenth had admitted that it was dangerous, and should be remedied. Decazes, consequently, in obedience to the King, consented to modify the electoral law. The change, indeed, to which he consented was not important. The elections were to take place no longer in the capital of the department, but in the chief town of the district, thus favouring local and rural interests. This was the principal change; but General Dessolles, Baron Louis, and Marshal St.-Cyr would not acquiesce. It would be a breach with the Liberals. And then, how could the ministry resist the Ultras? They withdrew, and Decazes formed a new ministry, with himself as chief, Pasquier foreign affairs, Roy, and Latour Maubourg.

Never had the Bourbons a ministry more decidedly

liberal, and never was there a time in which it was more expedient for Liberals to support such a cabinet. Great effervescence reigned throughout Europe. In the years which had elapsed since 1815, it had become fully evident to the people of every continental nation that their governments, in making use of and profiting by their enthusiasm at that epoch, had ended by breaking every promise, and by consigning each country to despotism worse than that from which they had been liberated. Hence had come secret societies, popular movements : Germany was in agitation, Spain had burst forth into full revolution. The European courts were alarmed, and communicated their alarm to the Tuileries, and Louis the Eighteenth, who had signed the Holy Alliance, was strongly pressed to act and govern in its spirit. Those very European statesmen who had taxed the Bourbons with ultra-conservatism now came forward to make quite a contrary reproach.

The only obstacle to this reaction was the liberal spirit of M. Decazes, who had gained an influence over the French monarch that no one else possessed. He alone could stem the resuscitated influence of the Count d'Artois, who, after having broken with the King, returned again to friendship and reconciliation on the occasion of the election of Grégoire. It was nevertheless this moment that the Liberals chose to fall with all their acrimony upon M. Decazes. Not only did Imperialists and ultra-Royalists denounce him, but even the Doctrinaires, the semi-Liberals of the Left Centre, accused and separated from him. He offered them place. Royer-Collard replied for his friends with much truth that they were not fit for it, and would do the government more harm than good. Decazes went on alone. The session commenced, and in January 1819 the minister brought forward his plan for modifying the electoral law. It was less liberal than had been expected of him, but the hostility of the Left flung him to the other

CHAP.
XLIV.

extreme. He had far better have resigned, and so indeed thought the King. His purpose with respect to the electoral law was to establish two kinds of deputies, as in England, deputies of towns and districts, and deputies of departments, or town and county members. But the county electors were chosen by the district electors, which was intended as a check. Such was the scheme which M. Decazes brought forward, amidst a loud storm of parliament and of the public, when a thunder-clap came in the shape of a tragical event to silence for a moment and confound all parties.

It is perplexing to find a strong and apparently irresistible current of human opinions and events stopped and turned by the individual act and solitary resolve of a single obscure individual. Such was the case when Ravaiillac's rough knife cut short, with the life of Henry the Fourth, the projects of that monarch for humbling the House of Austria, and changing the political state of Europe. Of less importance to Europe, but still of great moment to France, was the assassination of the Duke of Berry, on the 13th of February, 1820. The murderer Louvel, an itinerant vender of tape, "had received under the republic that kind of Roman education which the Convention and the Directory gave to the children of the people in the midst of popular ceremonies and philosophic fêtes. Plays, speeches, hymns, were then poured forth to a goddess of reason, to patriotism and liberty." Louvel was a fanatic of this kind of anti-religion, still prevalent amongst the citizen class, which forgot or had never seen the crimes of the Revolution, whilst worshipping its principles and its triumphs. The Bourbons were the arch enemies of these ideas and this worship. And Louvel resolved to immolate them one after the other. He went to Calais as early as 1814 to await Louis the Eighteenth's landing, and make him the first victim. Foiled in this and in many subsequent attempts to slay one of the princes, he at last found

his opportunity as the Duke of Berry was handing his wife into her carriage on the steps of the opera house. Louvel slid between the prince and his attendants, and drove a poignard into his breast. He tried to escape, but was soon taken. The prince, conveyed to a little room behind his opera box, received there the last adieus of his wife and family.

It must be confessed that there was here every cause for just indignation and for the kindling of every Royalist passion. Unfortunately these passions always partook of blindness, and rushed at imaginary, instead of aiming at the real, causes of their discomfiture and failure. Like Napoleon's return from Elba, the crime of Louvel was represented as the result of a wide-spread conspiracy, in which the Liberal party had joined, so that not only M. Decazes, but the King himself, was regarded as the accomplice of the odious crime. If anything, M. Decazes and his latent policy went to prevent such crimes, to soften and smother the rankling poison which begot them. The national mind was deeply fraught with dislike or horror of the Bourbons, which produced in one heart an assassin, in another military conspiracy, and in all the elements of a great popular insurrection. The last, which was the acme of the popular sentiment, would be irresistible when it came. And every effort of legislation should have been to neutralise, prevent, and combat it by moral means. Instead of this, the whole course of things and efforts of men went to increase and magnify it.

As the only reparation for the death of his son, the Count d'Artois demanded the dismissal of Decazes. The King could not see the connection; but though he still believed Decazes' policy the true one, he was unable to resist the entreaties of his sorrowing and greatly exasperated family. Decazes was dismissed, and the Royalists uttered a shout of exultation. "*Decazes a glissé dans le sang,*" exclaimed Châteaubriand. They had lost

the Duke, but with him, or in his blood, the obnoxious minister had fallen. Such was their consolation.

Decazes, created a duke by the King, went as ambassador to London, with a strong personal recommendation to George the Fourth. That monarch, however, declared the Duke Decazes not sufficiently well born to merit even his politeness. After some hesitation, the Duke of Richelieu assumed the post of prime minister, first taking care to obtain the promise of assistance and support from the Count d'Artois. De Serres, Siméon, Pasquier, Portalis were the Duke's new colleagues.

The immediate consequence of the violent death of the Duke of Berry, and of the fall of M. Decazes, was the introduction of laws placing the liberty of individuals completely at the mercy of the Government, and far more than abrogating that liberty of the press hitherto enjoyed. The former might be considered exceptional, and springing from the alarm caused by the late catastrophe. It led, however, to fierce debates. General Foy stigmatised the ultra-Royalists as a "handful of wretches." M. de Corday retorted by an insult. An exchange of shots took place; after which Foy made a noble apology, declaring he did not include monarchic Royalists amongst those whom he had denounced. Such personal antagonism excited the public more than eloquence. Tumults became frequent in the streets, the youth of the schools constantly coming into collision with the police.

The law against the press re-established the censorship, and thus completely undid the more liberal legislation of the preceding year. The nature of such a law is best understood by its results, and this was to suppress the more serious periodicals, to which eminent writers gave more thought and pains than was possible in the daily press. Thus the *Minerve*, the Edinburgh Review of France, was unable to continue, its antagonist,

the *Conservateur*, perishing with it. War was declared against intellect and education. M. Guizot and men of his stamp were unpitiously expelled, not only from office, but even from the council of state, which ought to have been left some show of independence.

What the Royalists chiefly demanded of the Duke of Richelieu, and which he was simple enough to grant them, was such a sweeping change in the electoral law as would replace the chamber then existing, with some score of Liberal orators, by a chamber similar to that which sat in 1815, consisting exclusively of Royalists. Yet the existing chamber was chosen by the wealthy and well-to-do electors to the number of not quite 100,000. Whatever a class of men threw out and chose, ought surely have been abided by, and could not be dangerous. Connection there could be none between the politics of such a body and the fanaticism of a Louvel. But the Royalists were dissatisfied. They were menaced with being put in a minority by an electoral population of 100,000. And they resolved to restore and consolidate their power by limiting the electoral body to 10,000. We shall see that in time even this would not suffice to render ultra-Royalism predominant. In fact, it was incompatible with constitutional government of any kind, whilst it was equally incapable of maintaining despotism.

Louis the Eighteenth had sufficient sagacity to perceive all this, but wanted courage to prevent it. It is surprising that such men as Pasquier, De Serres, and the Duke of Richelieu could not see it—at least, that they could not see that, in transferring parliamentary power to the Ultras, they were at the same time transferring the government, and so committing political suicide themselves. For, a high Royalist chamber and majority once attained, such ministers as they must give place to the Villèles and the Labourdonnays.

The new law of elections was brought forward by the

CHAP.
XLIV.

home minister, De Serres, on the 17th of April, 1820. It proposed that the district electors paying 300 francs, who previously elected the deputies, should now merely choose a list of candidates. The choice of deputies out of this list was reserved for a narrow college consisting of the highest tax-payers in the department; these, estimated at about 10,000 or 12,000 persons, would monopolise the whole electoral power. The impudence of such a law almost took away the breath of the Liberal members. Indeed, it did so completely, for when Stanislas de Girardin rushed to the tribune, neither Chamber nor president would allow him to speak a word. This and the following sittings were but a series of tumults.

When the regular discussion opened, the aims of government and the Royalists were plainly stated by General Foy. "The nation," said he, "broke out in revolution to get rid of its aristocracy. And now the proposal was to restore it under a mock form of representative government. None but the rich man was hitherto eligible to be deputy. It is now proposed that none but rich shall elect. This narrow class dominated before, and was driven out by an explosion. To place the dynasty with such a support as that is merely to erect it, with an abyss behind into which it is sure one day or other to fall." Labourdonnaye, in reply, maintained that the rich proprietor could alone be trusted to uphold the monarchy; all others would betray it. The speech which excited most admiration was that of M. Royer-Collard, and yet it was one of philosophy and theory, *doctrinaire*, in fact, rather than one of eloquence or sense. He represented *legitimacy* or hereditary right as the noblest of principles, to be counter-balanced by the legitimacy of popular sovereignty. Events, indeed, did set one of these principles against the other, the antagonism to end in revolution. M. Royer-Collard sought to reconcile things utterly incompatible. Villèle repeated or anticipated the English Tory argument

against reform, that the country was entitled to the best of government, not the fairest. The great manufacturer Ternaux showed that the upper ten thousand to be endowed by this law with exclusively electoral power had really but a small share of the whole property of the country, and paid but an insignificant portion of its taxation. Camille Jordan moved an amendment in favour of direct taxation. Though sinking under a malady, which was to prove fatal, he supported his amendment with great eloquence, warned the Bourbons that they were treading the path of the Stuarts, and that the present law was nothing less than a division between them and the nation. Camille Jordan, with his friends, the Doctrinaires, as they were styled, the chief intellects of the parliament and the country, had separated from the ministry, and gone into opposition. The Chamber was thus not very unequally divided. The amendment of Camille Jordan was rejected by only 10 votes, the division being 123 to 133.

For the first time since many years the debates of the representative assembly communicated their agitation to the streets. The students were especially excited; many of the orators of opposition were the professors of the university; M. Chauvelin, Liberal member, who was brought to the chamber in a chair, from inability to walk, was cheered and accompanied by a crowd. The police dispersed it, and rudely treated Chauvelin and other deputies. A young student named Lallemand was shot by one of the royal guards, for crying *Vive la Charte*.

These riots in the streets, tumults and protests in the chamber, portended little less than civil war. And as the King openly disapproved of the policy which led to such a state, and expressed his regret at having abandoned that of Decazes, the ultra-Royalists saw the necessity of yielding somewhat. An amendment, therefore, which on its first proposal had been scouted, was

renewed, and Camille Jordan's amendment of direct election reconsidered. In a chamber of 430 members 238 were to be chosen directly by the electors paying 300 francs in the districts, whilst 172 were to be chosen by colleges of the highest taxpayers of the departments. To this scheme liberal members rallied; they began to dread the disorders of the capital. Villèle, at the same time, accepted and approved the compromise, deeming such a law sufficient to procure a Royalist majority, even although direct election was maintained. Such was the law as it passed in June 1820, sufficient for the present to secure a Royalist majority, but not, it was soon found, an ultra-Royalist one. The effect of it was then, after a time, to split the Royalists into two parties, and drive the extravagant one to its own perdition. The first vote showed 154 against 95. The liberal public of towns was less incensed against the creation of departmental colleges, than against the faculty, implied and allowed by the majority, rather than stated in the law, that the highest taxpayers should have the right to vote for the district as well as the department, in other words, for both town and country elections. It was this provision that even gave the name to the law known as that of the *double vote*.

This electoral law however modified, proved to be but truly what Camille Jordan had foretold, a divorce between the dynasty and the nation. The more ardent liberals formed at once a Society or Committee with the avowed object of succouring all those who should become victims of the severe laws respecting liberty of the pen and the press. While such men as Périer, Lafitte, Constant, and Barrot, limited their views to this end, other members of the same Committee, Lafayette, Dupin de l'Eure, Manuel, Merilhou, considered and used it as a Society of continued plotting and insurrection against the Bourbons.

The passing of this electoral law was followed by one

of its natural consequences, a formidable and wide-spread conspiracy, to which Lafayette and his friends were privy, but of which old imperial officers were to be the acting instruments, both in Paris and in the provinces. The signal for the outburst was to be the seizure of the Château of Vincennes. This was prevented by a gun-powder explosion, that took place there and caused a change or increase of the garrison. On the eve of execution, Marmont was informed of the plot and of its imminence. At a council of Ministers some were for letting it explode. The marshal insisted on precaution, and numerous arrests of the officers implicated took place, completely quashing the insurrection. A few days after the discovery of this plot, at Michaelmas 1820, the Duchess of Berry was confined of a son, hailed enthusiastically by the Royalists as the Duke of Bordeaux, and future heir to the Bourbon family and throne. Great was the jubilation. Even moderate men rejoiced in the strength and continuance promised the monarchy, passing over the fact that the young prince and the electoral law which produced an exclusively Royalist Chamber, saw the light together, the prince cutting off the hopes of the Imperialists, but the law unfortunately reducing all other parties, even the Constitutionalists to distrust and disaffection.

The period had now come for re-electing one-fifth of the Chamber. In addition to this the Colleges of Departments created by the new law were called to return their county members as they might be named. The choice of the latter fell, in general, upon the fierce Royalists of the old *Chambre introuvable* of 1815. The breeze of patronage and favour blew, too, so evidently in the Royalist direction that even the district electors were influenced by it. Thus a new Chamber was produced, the number of members nearly doubled, which reduced the Liberals from being nearly one-half, to a party of from one-fifth to one-sixth.

CHAP.
XLIV.

Whilst the Bourbons of France, the monarch himself reluctantly, be it said, were thus gradually separating themselves and their cause from that of the great majority of the nation, to rest it upon a party without capacity or foresight, the foreign members of the same unfortunate family, more ignorant and with more power to follow the dictates of their fatuity, were exercising in the neighbouring country, all the bigotry and capricious despotism which some thirty years before had led to their fall. No human being had ever lowered so completely human nature to the animal, as Ferdinand the Seventh. He showed the cunning, as well as the ferocity, of the wild beast, without any higher range of taste or intellect. Such was the being to whom the allies had entrusted the lives and fortunes of the gallant Spaniards. It is needless to describe how light he made of both. That any Spaniard, save himself, should have liberty to think or act he could not conceive. This was the monarch called upon to govern not only Spain, but the New World, the latter all but emancipated by the syncope of authority in the mother-country during the French invasion. Ferdinand, of course, cut the few links that bound the colonies to Spain. He then collected an army to coerce and reconquer them. And when the officers of this army met and consulted together in Cadiz, their indignation was turned, not against the colonies demanding freedom and independence, but against the stupid despot at Madrid. A revolution ensued, military first, civilian afterwards. Legitimacy, in the person of Ferdinand the Seventh, was subjected to the control of the Cortès, and within the bounds of Constitutional Law. March, 1821. The triumphant Royalists of France were shocked. Undermined themselves by military and non-military conspiracy, they had some reason to be fearful.

The Bourbons of Naples were in a worse predicament. For their kingdom had been actively ruled by French

princes, who had introduced several of the undoubted benefits of modern French administration. The court of Naples had to undo all this, to displace, to destroy, to avenge. When in Sicily, they had encouraged a wide secret society, called by the name of Carbonari. They directed it against Murat. The Neapolitans and Sicilians retained the secret organisation, and directed it against the Bourbon. Aided by its General Pepe, it achieved in Naples (July 1821) a revolution similar to that recently accomplished at Madrid. The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed and accepted by Ferdinand of Naples, as by Ferdinand of Spain.

Metternich was then the guiding hand of European governments, and his principle was to freeze the current of human affairs, so as that there should be no progress, no innovation. The King of Prussia, who had broken the promise of constitutional government to his subjects and to Germany, could but adhere to Metternich. Alexander wavered. He still preserved some shreds of his old liberalism of 1814, and had his misgivings that repression could neither suffice nor endure. But the Poles proved recalcitrant, and in some Russian regiments were discovered, at the time, germs of that wide-spread conspiracy against despotism which pervaded Europe, and insinuated itself among the military.

The Austrian minister, having been promised the sanction and support of Russia, made light of those of England and of France. Whilst an army of occupation was collecting in Lombardy, the King of Naples was summoned to meet his brother sovereigns at Laybach. He told his people that he went to support their cause, and in a few days informed the sovereigns that he came to betray it. An Austrian army, under General Fremont, found its way without any difficulty through the Abruzzi to Naples, where it soon reinstalled Ferdinand in his despotic power. In the mean time, an insurrection had taken place at Turin. There Charles Albert played the

part of Ferdinand, joining the revolution one day, and betraying it the next. The revolution had been accomplished by the most eminent men of the country, organised in the society of Carbonari. The latter learned to mistrust, for the future, all princely co-operation.

The constitutional efforts of the educated class of Italians were easily crushed by the legions of Austria. The people were still, and long after, what the priesthood had made them. The Spaniards, more remote, enjoyed much more scope and time to combine their revolution, France being not yet prepared to intervene, and it being too flagrant an insult for other powers to attempt to do so across French territory. The same struggle was, indeed, taking place in France itself, between the principles of liberty and despotism. The latter had risen to power from the time of the death of the Duke of Berry, which had terrified the Moderates into aiding and paving the way for their ascendancy. This once gained, they proceeded to use it with all the violence and virulence of the Jacobins. The questions laid before the Chamber in the session of 1821 and 1822 were, as if they had been purposely selected to provoke both parties in the state to the most furious antagonism. The first subject was the dotation of the army, in other words, the pay and pensions of the highest and oldest officers. This dotation, settled by Napoleon on foreign countries, was now to be paid by the Treasury. The Royalists were for giving these imperial veterans but a pittance, whilst in amendments they purposed to remunerate highly the Chouan and Vendean chiefs. The Liberals, even such men as Foy, lost all patience and temper at this punishment and impoverishment of the veteran French soldier. Debates became little more than mutual denunciations and defiance. The Liberals, perceiving that no argument had

any weight with their opponents, spoke merely with the view to stir up public opinion and to represent the dominant party, as hostile to the military glory, as to the political progress of the nation. Such were the arguments with which Foy, Constant, and Manuel met the ravings of Castelbajac and Donnadieu. The army administration being entrusted to Latour-Maubourg, was soon conducted in a spirit completely the opposite of that of St. Cyr, the extreme Imperialists were set aside, and Royalists alone appointed to commissions and command. Such facts as these were apparent to every one, and came home to every family. And although the press was allowed scarcely comment upon such subject, Béranger took it up in his songs, which flew from ear to ear, and from mouth to mouth, and fulfilled even more than the stifled mission of the journals.

To the Royalist crusade against military men and military glories of the country came to be added the equally unpopular crusade of the clergy against the university, its professors, and its doctrines. The university deserved better treatment. Its eminent professors, such as Cuvier and Guizot, had engaged in vigorous war against materialism in philosophy, and against extremes, especially including the revolutionary extreme, in popular history. But the Duke of Richelieu had given the ministry of Public Instruction to the most coarse, retrograde, and ignorant of politicians, a Breton named Corbière, the follower of Villèle. He at once placed education under the exclusive control of the clergy, discontinuing the *Enseignement Mutuel* then in vogue with the Liberals, and did not shrink from declaring, that the Jesuits would prove cheaper and better schoolmasters. Lay professors the minister was determined to do away with altogether. "How can you expect a system so diametrically opposed to the national spirit to last?" exclaimed Benjamin Constant;

“depend upon it before ten years have elapsed (he spoke in 1821) your whole edifice, with the party which builds it, will be swept away to destruction!”

It was unfortunate for France and for the restored Bourbons that the epoch did not produce a statesman fit and capable of fulfilling the post of Prime Minister. The previous syncope of constitutional and political life indeed rendered this natural, and it was one of the errors of Napoleon, that his system extinguished the high political talent of the country. Prince Talleyrand and the Duke of Richelieu were both ignorant and incapable of domestic administration, especially in accord with the wishes of a Parliament. Decazes possessed the knowledge, but he wanted the persistence, the time, and perhaps the ability, to form a party. He had no claims to head either the Liberals, or the Royalists. Nor had he the commanding intellect to be acknowledged the chief even of the select band of eminent men known as the Doctrinaires. Whilst to have formed what he could best have done, a party from the functionary class, required time, and a hold of power based on something more solid than the personal favour of Louis the Eighteenth.

M. Decazes fell, to all appearance, alone. The Doctrinaires had aided in his overthrow, and some of them, such as Lainé and De Serres, succeeded him as ministers, but the blow which struck him was aimed at them also. And when Pasquier, Lainé, and De Serres advised the Royalists to pass an electoral law exclusively in their own favour, these men were but committing political suicide. They were soon indeed told their fate. The ultras denounced them fiercely, and when Pasquier, in astonishment, asked whether they were determined to get rid of every politician, save the furious ultras, they replied they must at least get rid of *him*. Villèle, however, stood up for a time for instruments so useful. He joined their ministry without any especial office, merely demanding that of Public Instruction for Corbière.

But when the work was done, the electoral law passed, Villèle and Corbière withdrew, in order that the fall of the Richelieu ministry might take place without damaging or implicating them. The temporary support given by the Royalists to the Duke of Richelieu lasted during 1821.

In October of that year new elections for one-fifth of the Chamber took place, and turned out, as was inevitable, altogether in favour of the Royalists. Villèle instantly flung off the mask of friendship, that he had worn towards Richelieu and De Serres. And when the session opened, he and his friend Corbière were no longer seen on the ministerial benches. The Duke of Richelieu had hoped to get quietly through the difficult questions of foreign policy raised by the Italian and Spanish revolutions, by steering a middle course and abstaining from active interference. Such a neutral and indifferent attitude displeased alike Royalists and Liberals. The one asked him how he could allow Austria to treat the whole of Italy as if it were its own. The other demanded how long it was intended to permit revolutionists to keep a Bourbon under duress and oppression. An amendment which evinced the discontent of both sides was proposed to the address and carried by a large majority. It was a mortal blow to the administration. Its members, however, made efforts to survive and to reign. They offered the Royalists a batch of more severe laws against the press, which was refused. They made overtures to the Left, which demanded the abrogation of the worst clauses of the last law of election. There was nothing left but to resign. Louis the Eighteenth, though hurt at the circumstance, was softened by the blandishments of his royalist mistress, and consented to receive M. Villèle and Corbière, the former as Finance Minister, the latter in the Home Department. M. De Montmorency took Foreign Affairs; Peyronnet, Justice; the Duke of

Bellune, War ; Clermont Tonnerre, Marine. Thus the close of 1821 brought as the necessary consequence of an exclusively Royalist chamber, an exclusively Royalist administration.

Whilst the panic and anti-revolutionary tendencies of the governing and more wealthy proprietorial class was thus transferring power to the ultra-Royalists and ultra-religious party, the more active and educated ranks of life, including the professional and the military, being denied the open warfare of Parliament and of the press, turned to the formation of secret societies and conspiracies. There were numbers of the former, but they all merged at last into that of the Carbonari, of which the name and organisation was borrowed from Italy. Not sure of the sincerity of the King or government, the ultra-Royalists did the same. They formed societies, at least semi-secret, for the enforcement rather than the propagation of religious observances, and for the restoration of the country to its ancient state of political subjection to a King, an aristocracy, and a priesthood. Such was the aim of what was called the Congregation. Its opponents mustered in gatherings called *Ventes* or *Venta* of Carbonari. The future judge, counsellor, minister, and legislator of Louis-Philippe, even those who like Barthe became the Justice Minister of the Orleans dynasty, enrolled their names at this time in the *Haute Vente* or the subordinate one.

Lafayette was president. Notwithstanding the care of successive war ministers to purify the army, it was necessarily filled by the generation which, if it did not witness, had heard of, the warlike exploits of Napoleon, and who saw in his memory, apotheosised by his recent death, a more noble object of reverence than aught the restoration could offer. The non-commissioned officers were universally anxious for another such emperor, to restore their profession its old advantages. Military plots were thus formed in the east, west, and south, in

the great garrison town of Befort, the cavalry school of Saumur, and at Marseilles.

CHAP.
XLIV.

The conspiracy of Béfort was the most important, as the plan of insurrection comprised Strasburg and Metz, whilst funds to organise and support it were supplied by the rich manufacturers of Mulhausen.* The time of the plot exploding was fixed for the first days of 1822. Lafayette and his son, Manuel, and Dupont de l'Eure, Scheffer, and D'Argenson, were hastening to the scene of action, when they were stopped on the road by the intelligence, that the plot had been discovered, one of the conspirators seized, and the rest in flight. The officers in the secret had ordered their soldiers to prepare for a march, without acquainting them with the purpose. They unconsciously divulged it, and the attempt was so prematurely quashed, that the chief conspirators had full time and opportunity to escape and avoid detention. No sufficient proofs to warrant death was found against those seized, but for an attempt or rather an intent, to rescue them, Colonel Caron was condemned to death and executed.

The military plot at Marseilles evaporated by the discovery of that of Befort. Those of Saumur and La Rochelle, though equally failures, still took a deep hold of public interest, from the fact of a general being found to be at the head of them, and from the circumstance of the existence and activity of a Carbonari *Vente* being completely disclosed to the government. Saumur was one of the most disaffected towns of the Loire, the entire region, indeed, being more or less so. The existence of a cavalry school in the town, as well as a garrison, added combustibles. A *Vente* of Carbonari was formed there, as at Nantes and La Rochelle. The chiefs had been at Paris, had seen and consulted with

* Vaulabelle's *Histoire des Deux Restaurations*, well informed of the plans and doings of the Liberals of the epoch, offers here the fullest source of information.

the leading liberal deputies there, and had agreed to rise simultaneously with Befort. Brigadier-General Berton, an officer who had been set aside and persecuted without sufficient cause by the war minister, consented to head the insurrection, which was at first to have broken out in the town. The plan was foolishly changed for one of a first rising in the village of Thouars, and then marching with the peasantry on Saumur. But Berton lost time, the peasantry would not join him, whilst on approaching Saumur (February 24) he met with almost as much opposition as adherence, and instead of forcing his way he retreated. Berton was no fit leader of military insurrection, to whom of all others Danton's motto applied, of—*Audace, audace et toujours de l'audace*.

Berton and his accomplices fled to the coast, some to escape, he to redeem his failure by another attempt. In the mean time, a regiment quartered in Paris, and found to be deeply infected with Carbonarism, was ordered out of it to proceed to La Rochelle. It was the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, and especially the sergeants that had engaged in the plot. Four of them formed a kind of fraternity, known in popular language as the four sergeants of La Rochelle.* The government, alarmed by the frequency and universality of these conspiracies, made at this time extraordinary efforts, and disseminated spies and agents, especially throughout the regiments. Some insinuated themselves amongst the conspirators of La Rochelle, others attached themselves to Berton in an insurrectionary movement, which he was preparing at Saumur. The Carbonari were thus betrayed, their chief members, military and civil, at La Rochelle seized, some not remaining proof to the interrogations, menaces, and cajoleries of the law and police officers.

* Even to this day 1866, their tombs are religiously visited by crowds of the people, in the cemetery

of Mont Parnasse, on the commemoration of All-Saints.

The Rochellois were brought before a Paris tribunal, whilst General Berton underwent his trial in the provinces. His treason could not be denied, but the public sympathy was awakened in his favour, not only by the ill-treatment which he had previously received, but by the baseness of the officer who had wormed himself into the general's confidence, and betrayed him.

Although Lafayette and his brother Carbonari were far more deeply implicated in the BÉfort conspiracy, than in that of Saumur and La Rochelle, still the latter elicited more evidence against them. The sergeants of La Rochelle had been introduced to the chiefs of the *Haute Vente*, and received instructions from them, and of the conspiracy of Saumur. Baudrillet and Grandmesnil had spoken with Lafayette in Paris, and received encouragement and information from him. Baudrillet had admitted this in his first interrogation, but being reproached for his weakness by Grandmesnil, he afterwards evaded the importance of what had escaped him, by giving a very different description of the Lafayette he had seen and talked to, from what that personage really was. Still, as the public accuser of the time maintained the complicity of Lafayette and others, the Liberals in the Chamber were most vehement in their indignant remonstrance. Lafitte and PÉrier, who were alluded to, though they had ever refrained from the conspiracies in which Lafayette meddled, were as loud in their abnegation.

There cannot be imagined a more striking scene, or more critical moment, than that which occurred during one of these debates—Grandmesnil, the physician of Saumur, had escaped to Paris. Whilst his friends were preparing the means for his further evasion, one of them brought him to the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies to witness the debates. He there heard himself attacked as *contumace* by the ministerial side, and as an *agent provocatif* of the police by the other. Several times he

CHAP.
XLIV.

arose in agitation, about to declare himself and belie such charges. Once he put his leg over the wooden barrier before him, as though he would jump into the house and denounce both parties. Fortunately, his friend was able to restrain him, and save him from a position so dangerous to all parties. If Grandmesnil was thus persuaded to hold his peace, and Baudrillet to unsay what he had said, the four sergeants of La Rochelle, though offers of life were held out to them, if they would make disclosures, were also firm in preferring death to what they considered dishonour. And thus Lafayette and others escaped, through the stern fidelity of the victims, the fate to which the Royalists would have gladly doomed them.

The failure of this wide-spread conspiracy or conspiracies is surprising. The merest chance defeated one or two of the attempts, which, had they succeeded, would have generated an instantaneous and irresistible rising throughout the country. The French, indeed, showed themselves bad conspirators on the occasion. Lafayette, especially, was little fitted for such a task. Sanguine, easy, scrupulous, he was as unfit a chief, as the Carbonari could have chosen. Still the House of Bourbon owes much to fortune for having escaped the conspiracies of 1822. And yet fortune, at the time, played them but a sorry trick, for the triumph, then so easily obtained over disaffection and rebellion, civil and military, inspired the ultra-Royalists with a hardihood, and with a contempt of their antagonists, which induced them to venture upon acts more bold and more rash, till the popular resentment was sufficiently roused to effect that in the open day which the Carbonari, in their secret *Ventes*, had utterly feared to conceive, much less to accomplish.

It is probable, that had the Royalist minister been other than M. de Villèle, he would have rushed into a prosecution of the chief Liberals, and produced increased

bad consequences. But the great characteristic of De Villèle was caution. His days had not been passed in emigration. Though a native of Toulouse, he had spent the early part of his life in the West Indies, where he made, with his fortune, a reputation for capacity and habits of business. Returned deputy for Toulouse, he soon acquired influence amongst the Royalists by affecting to join in the enthusiasm and extravagance which he disapproved. He saw clearly the cause of successive ministers failing, to be in their neglect or inability to form a party. He despaired of doing this by bringing the Royalists to share his sentiments; so he professed to share theirs. He was full of zeal in their *conciliabules*, whilst in his converse with the Moderates or with the King, he professed himself disgusted with the impracticability of the extreme partisans. Aware of the difficulty of governing in despite of the monarch, he directed his efforts to overcome the antipathy of Louis the Eighteenth. He succeeded during his short adjunction to the Richelieu administration, being principally aided by the insinuation or blandishments of Madame du Cayla.

Had M. de Villèle been an accomplished statesman, he would have attained power at a favourable moment for one of his character and his views. The fiercest battle between the Royalist and liberal opinions had been fought under the second ministry of the Duke of Richelieu, and the moderate colleagues of the latter had borne the brunt of it. Military conspiracy had been crushed, while the vindictive prosecution of Liberals, supposed, yet not proved, to be conspirators, had been discountenanced by the Chamber of Peers, when trying those brought before it. There was a prospect, therefore, of being able to administer the internal affairs of the kingdom with something like calm. But unfortunately for M. de Villèle, foreign questions rose up at the time predominant. The very amendment to the

address by which Villèle had risen to power, censuring his predecessors for not being more chary of the honour of the country, compelled the new minister to take a more decided part. This was precisely what he disliked. He knew little of foreign politics, and had not become interested in them. The revolution of Italy had been crushed; that of Spain continued its fluctuating course, and Villèle would gladly have allowed it so to continue. But the more passionate of his party were not of this mind. Some, from hatred to popular revolution, were eager to put down that of Spain; others, like Chateaubriand, sought in the putting of it down bright achievements and illustration for themselves. They wanted a crusade.

M. de Villèle's good sense was averse to such a project. But he did not take the best way to avoid or defeat it. In order to please the Count d'Artois, he had nominated M. de Montmorency to the post of Foreign Secretary. He was also desirous of replacing the name of the Duke of Richelieu by a name as great. The King, on learning M. de Montmorency's nomination for the post, expostulated with Villèle, told him he would repent it on finding an enemy, not a friend, in such a colleague; but M. de Montmorency was *chevalier d'honneur* to the Duchess of Angoulême. He was at least preferable to M. de Chateaubriand, who looked for the place, but who would have been a much more formidable rival. Chateaubriand could not object to the nomination of his friend, Montmorency, and made no difficulty of accepting under him the post of ambassador in London, where he replaced Decazes. The viscount, however, soon disliked his position in a country where there is so little gratification for foreign vanity, and so little room for political or at least for diplomatic intrigue.

Chateaubriand from London not only himself urged Villèle to put down the Spanish revolution by force, but he fomented these ideas in the minds of the Royalist

party. Villèle was most desirous to avoid such an extremity; and he parried the urgent counsels of Châteaubriand by observing that the East was in a flame, and that if France became engaged and embarrassed in Spanish politics, Russia would have the field completely open to her in the Levant. In truth, however, the Spaniards themselves weakened and disgusted all those who demanded non-interference with them, and who put trust in their efforts to establish a constitution. The Liberals turned adrift the clergy, who still remained influential; monks had no other means of livelihood than to turn guerillas. The royal guards were in the same predicament. There was as much self-interest and self-defence in the royalist rebellion as fanaticism. The King shared the interests as well as the sentiments of the rebels; they made an attempt at counter-revolution in Madrid, the result of which was to instal the ultra-revolutionists in power, and render the constitutional government of the Moderates not feasible. It was impossible to respect a creature so baneful, so treacherous, and pusillanimous as the King. Whilst the French Royalists professed a religious devotion for the royal person whatever the character of the individual. When, therefore, Alexander consented to allow a Congress at Vienna, for the chief purpose of considering the affairs of Spain, the Czar at the same time waiving his right, as well as his old inclination, to support the insurrection of the Christians on the Danube, De Villèle could make no opposition.

Louis the Eighteenth gave his minister the excellent advice to go to the congress himself. But Villèle was no diplomatist, and preferred sending Montmorency, whilst to counterbalance the tendencies of such an advocate for religious crusades, Châteaubriand was adjoined to him, as an upholder and expounder of the worldly interests of France.

Although M. de Montmorency's instructions enjoined

CHAP.
XLIV.

him to reserve to the French government itself the decision of the time and opportunity of interfering in Spain, Montmorency consented at once to a joint despatch of the powers, which made it a European not a French question. England protested and refused its adhesion. Châteaubriand not only remained in the background, but was kept there by Montmorency, who declined even employing his able pen in the drawing up of notes and documents. Montmorency, on his return to Paris, was created a Duke by Louis the Eighteenth, who however, at the same time, declared Villèle, what he had not yet been, President of the Council of Ministers.

The new chief took advantage of his pre-eminence to order the French Ambassador at Madrid to endeavour to persuade the Spanish minister to make concessions and to show moderation. Montmorency, who, on the contrary, prepared for the expediting of an indignant note, in concert with the Powers, to the Spanish government, felt affronted, and resigned. Villèle filled his place by naming Châteaubriand, who was even more zealous than Montmorency, and who was for acting at once without the other Powers.

The notes were forwarded to the government of Madrid. San Miguel answered them, as a Spaniard might be supposed to answer a summons from St. Petersburg or Vienna, ordering in what manner the Spaniards should conduct themselves towards their own sovereign. The three ambassadors of the Holy Alliance forthwith left Madrid. The French, as well as English, remained. But on learning San Miguel's defiance, Châteaubriand drew up a fresh note of fiery remonstrance and indignation. Presenting it to the council, Villèle deprecated, but would not oppose it. To have done so would have been to desert his post as head of the ultra-royalists, and leave it to Châteaubriand. The latter therefore overrode his chief, dictated and carried the provocative note of the French cabinet to Spain, and precipitated the march of the

Duc d'Angoulême at the head of 100,000 men across the Pyrenees.

Strange to say, of the general parties and personages, who hurried on this invasion of the Peninsula, none had for their object or their cares the interests or the welfare of that country. M. de Montmorency's circle were chiefly desirous of saving and perpetuating the Spanish Church, the monks included; others were for preserving a Bourbon in possession of his absolute power. M. de Châteaubriand wanted to lead the French army to easy victory beyond the Pyrenees, in order to obtain power thereby to transport it to the Rhine, and renew the old aggressive policy of Napoleon.* Alexander flattered the French political adventurer, because he hoped to obtain from the ultra-royalists permission and support to do the same in the Levant. Metternich was for bullying and putting down the Spanish Constitutionalists, but not by a French army. Not one of these distinctive aims was attained. Spanish liberty was indeed stifled for a time, but neither the church nor the monarchy, nor French Royalism, nor Russian intrigue came nearer to the end which they sought. As to the French government, the conduct of Ferdinand, when restored to power, disgraced instead of strengthening not merely the cause of Royalism, but the name of Bourbon. The death of Napoleon, which took place about this time, brought out his character and exploits in bright contrast with those of the rival dynasty, and gave great opportunity for the extolment of his admitted merits.

The determination to invade Spain, announced in the Royal speech, opening Parliament on the 28th of January, 1823, occasioned warm debates and fierce animosity in both Chambers. In the Peers, Prince Talleyrand distinguished himself, by declaring, that he had been once called by the Emperor Napoleon to

* *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.*

CHAP.
XLIV.

sanction a similar interference with the politics and independence of Spain, that he had not only opposed and deplored it, but pointed out the well-known and fatal consequences which ensued. He was startled, shocked, to find himself, after a lapse of years, placed in the same situation, and called upon to give the same counsel and utter similar warnings. In the Lower Chamber, the unpopularity of the proposed intervention was increased rather than diminished by the explanations which M. de Villèle gave of it. France, he said, was between two alternatives: either to make war upon Spain to put down its democracy, or to engage in a defensive one on its northern frontier against the Powers who were determined that this democracy should be put down. There was little truth in the declaration, for Villèle's acquiescence in intervention, was chiefly to preserve his place, from which he was threatened with ejection by the ultra-royalists and Monsieur, unless he waived his own objections and came over to their policy and their ideas.

The minister's avowal proved an apt theme for opposition, which dilated on the fact of the Eastern powers dictating to France in 1823, just as they had done thirty years before. Manuel was especially warm and eloquent upon this subject, and did not shrink from pointing out in glowing language, the result which the intervention of foreign menaces produced at that time. It was then, exclaimed he, that revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending itself, put forth new energy and force—

At these words the entire Right stood up, and burst into exclamations of resentment. They considered Manuel as alluding to the act of regicide, by which France then defied her enemies. He sought to explain, to deny that he meditated any such conclusion, and to state how he really intended to finish his sentence. They would not listen to him. The sitting broke up in

disorder and the next was opened by a fierce demand of La Bourdonnaye for the expulsion of Manuel. It was not merely by the partakers of his opinion in the Chamber that Manuel was defended on this occasion, but by such men as M. de St. Aulaire and Royer Collard. Yielding to a certain sense of shame, M. Hyde de Neuville proposed to change the vote of complete exclusion to that of exclusion merely during the remainder of the session. This was voted April the 3rd; Manuel disdaining to answer aught in his defence.

On the following day Manuel, entering the Chamber by a side door, took his seat with the other members of the Left. Great clamours arose on the opposite side. The President was for a time at a loss what to do. He summoned Manuel by the *huissier* to withdraw, which he refused. A body of National Guards and veterans were then introduced. The major who commanded them, immediately summoned Manuel to withdraw. On his again declining, the officers ordered the sergeants to employ force; but they showed evident signs of disliking the office, and the soldiers present joined in the reluctance. Manuel's friends immediately burst into cries of *Vive la Garde nationale!* These were soon followed by a squad of armed police, whose commander, named Foucaud, after in vain summoning Manuel, gave the order, "*Empoignez-moi M. Manuel,*"—to grip M. Manuel. They accordingly seized that deputy by the collar, and were preparing to drag him out of the Hall, when he observed that further resistance was useless, and quietly walked out. Sixty-two deputies, all the members of the Left, followed him, and signified on the day after this scene their withdrawal from a Chamber "which had exceeded its powers, violated the Charter, and acted once more upon those extravagant principles which had betrayed the revolution into crime. The intentions of the majority were evidently to engage in foreign war, as a prelude to counter-revolution at home, and to

another occupation of the national territory by the foreign soldier."

The secession from Parliament of the members of the liberal opposition, put an end to all discussion as well as to any public interest in the acts of the assembly. The four millions sterling demanded for the intervention in Spain, was voted without further observation. All eyes were turned towards the Pyrenees. It was considered a very hazardous measure to collect one-half of the French army in one district. Prince Metternich himself had pointed out the danger. But the French minister relied, and not without reason, on the caution and mistrust impressed on the minds of the French military by the discovery of the secret plots, and by the execution of more especially the military conspirators. The movers, such as Lafayette, D'Argenson, and the civilians had escaped. Berton, Caron, and other officers had paid the penalty. The previous hatred to the Bourbons, so general in the French army, had, moreover, been a professional sentiment. The Bourbons were strangers to the soldier, and inimical to his career. This time a war was opening, which might lead to others, and might give scope for military glory and advancement. The presence and efforts of insurrectionary propagandists in the camp (Fabvier was one of them) were protected indeed and concealed, and met with smiles and approbation, but no zealous or determined adherence.

Notwithstanding this improved spirit in the army, ministers, with the exception of the confident Châteaubriand, were anxious, and their uneasiness was turned to panic, when they learned that a large bale of uniforms, buttons, and cockades of the imperial *régime* had been taken in the baggage of one of the aides-de-camp of the general of the staff. This was Guillemillot, who had once been attached to Davoust. A council of ministers instantly summoned, as hastily decided, that the Duc de

Bellune, war minister, should proceed to Bayonne, take Guillemillot's command, and inquire into the circumstance. He did so, to the great annoyance of the Duc d'Angoulême, who wanted no marshal to overshadow him, and who, consequently, defended Guillemillot and the army from the suspicions of the cabinet. Guillemillot himself and the chief officers made light of the signs of disaffection. All declared that the best thing was to take no notice, but at once commence the campaign. It was more easy to give the order than to execute it. No provision had been made for feeding the 100,000 men whilst advancing into Spain. The War Office had been too busy in purifying regiments and appointing royalist officers to think of a commissariat. The War Minister, Bellune, and the Duc d'Angoulême, were in a dangerous predicament, unable to move, when the financier Ouvrard came to their assistance, and offered to feed the army, of course upon very onerous conditions. Ouvrard had previously offered to do much more, that is, to raise and pay a Spanish royalist army to resist and overthrow the Cortès and restore Ferdinand to power. This, however, did not suit Châteaubriand's views, who wanted to reap the honour and profit himself, and not cede this to the legitimist Spanish regency of Urgel. But Ouvrard's offer to feed the French army was gladly accepted, and on the strength of it, orders were given to pass the Bidassoa.*

The day before the advance to the frontier, Colonel Fabvier made his appearance on the Spanish side of the stream with about 180 followers. It had been his purpose to penetrate across the Spanish videttes on the opposite side, but the state of the tide prevented it. So that Fabvier could but hoist the tri-colour from his own side of the river, and try to induce the soldiers opposite to fraternise with them. These, after a time, fired a gun, but as it took no effect it rather encouraged

* Ouvrard's Mémoires, and that of the Duc de Bellune.

CHAP.
XLIV.

the refugees. A second fire, however, struck down two or three, and a subsequent round of musketry from a body of gendarmes, killed and wounded many more. There expired the attempt of the imperialist military to make any impression on the royalist army. The Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th, his soldiers carrying some days' provision. On the 11th of June, the army was at Tolosa famishing. The French generalissimo and his staff were in considerable anxiety to learn how Ouvrard would keep his important promise, to feed the army, for which he had accumulated no stores whatever. Ouvrard was no sooner in the town than he summoned the chief inhabitants, and told them, if they would avoid their property being plundered, they would spread through the country his instant offer to pay in coin treble the value of all provisions brought in. Tolosa presented next day the aspect of an abundant market. Ouvrard had solved the riddle that the Duc d'Angoulême could not comprehend.

As to the Cortès and the Constitutionals, they fled before the advance of the French, entrusting the defence of the capital to O'Donnel. He sold it at once. The Cortès and government dragged Ferdinand with them to Cadiz, whilst the Duc d'Angoulême followed. After passing the Sierra Morena, he was alarmed at the extravagant vindictiveness and rage of the ultra-royalists or rather ultra sacerdotalists, whom he had come to restore. He issued a decree dissolving their government and forbidding its multitudinous arrests. But as usual, they took no notice of his clemency. In some towns they marched the mass of the citizens to prison under the guard of the monks and the mob. The Constitutionals thought to take advantage of the disgust thus occasioned by launching Riego forth from Cadiz to make a diversion in the rear of the French. But he failed, was captured, foretelling by his fate that of the revolution. The fortifications before Cadiz were stormed by the French.

The city might have held out long, as it had done against Napoleon. But Ferdinand was lavish of flattery and cajolery. He promised amnesty, clemency, and friendship to the Constitutionalists, if they would let him go, and kept on the mask till the very moment of his being landed free on the opposite shore. The instant his foot was there, he assumed his true look and character, that of the executioner. Alava, who accompanied him, saw that look, and escaped.

The French government, as soon as it received the decree of Ferdinand, abolishing the constitution and all that had taken place under it, and restoring the suicidal and priestly despotism of the previous century, was heartily ashamed. Both Châteaubriand and Villèle were so. The latter consoled himself by declaring such things inevitable, the former by the great glory, which he deemed accruing to himself. The successful campaign, whilst it delivered Spain to a stupid tyranny, which could not endure, and which was worse than the turbulence of any revolution, definitively disgusted the English government and the English people with the Bourbons. Châteaubriand defied Canning, and looked to a Russian alliance, to aid him in nothing less than a recovery of the Imperial frontier of the Rhine. The English minister, in retaliation, recognised the independence of Spanish colonies beyond the Atlantic, which had successfully won that boon, and only wanted to be confirmed in it. Such a policy had long been pressed upon the English government, but had always been evaded as impolitic and unfair.* Now it became just retaliation, and Canning, as he boasted, called the New World into existence to redress the endangered balance of the Old.

It is due to the memory of the Duc d'Angoulême

* Lord Grenville, and the statesmen of his day, repelled all the proposals of General Miranda for this purpose as encouraging revolution. — See Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. vii.

CHAP.
XLIV.

to observe, that when left to himself, and removed from the ultra-royalist fanaticism of the court, he displayed a liberal and generous disposition. He made every effort to moderate the savage and sanguinary reaction of the Spaniards, whom his army had restored to power. When he returned, he insisted on the removal from the war office of the reactionary Duc de Bellune, and the substituting for him of General Guilleminot, who had been denounced as a Liberal. In this he had partly succeeded. But Louis the Eighteenth was sinking in health, and utterly unable to resist the exigencies of his brother and the ultras; so that Guilleminot was sent envoy to Constantinople, and an *émigré*, De Damas, a follower certainly of the Duc d'Angoulême, was appointed successor to the Duc de Bellune. In the exultation of its triumph, government made a clean sweep from place of every functionary that could be accused of even semi-liberalism. The celebrated professors of the Collège de France, the Cousins, the Villemains, and the Guizots, were all silenced, and the university handed over completely to the priesthood. The *École normale* was suppressed. The tyranny exercised over Liberals and the press became almost identical with that of the *ancien régime*. Messrs. Corbière and Peyronnet were, indeed, far more severe and inquisitorial than any minister of Louis the Sixteenth had dared to be.

If Châteaubriand was exultant in the success of his great military exploit, Villèle was well pleased at its being brought to an end. The aim of the former was to follow up his triumph by more popular aggression on the Rhine, in concert with Russia; Villèle proposed directing the care and activity of government to domestic questions. Châteaubriand lived amongst the ideas of half a century previous, Villèle, on the contrary, looked to the present. He saw England prospering, increasing its productions, its exports, diminishing its expenditure, reducing the interest of its debt, mooting and acting

upon a variety of new and fruitful principles in commercial and colonial policy. The French minister thought, that the fixity of the English parliamentary system allowed its ministers to enter upon this path, and the great foundation of this fixity he thought he descried in Septennial elections. The recent elections had been rendered exclusively royalist, as much by the influence and dictation of the government functionaries, as by the low state of the liberal party. Villèle, therefore, resumed Decazes' project of a majority made and kept by the government. He did not perceive, that what was a rope of hemp in England, might prove a rope of sand in France. He, however, determined to try and make the utmost use of the influence that the prefects and the clergy had gained over the electoral colleges. Since the success of the army in Spain, opposition seemed idle, and especially in the provinces. The time-servers and the interested saw no other prudent line of conduct than complete subservience to the dominant party. To take advantage of this, the ministers dissolved the Chambers, and superseded the custom of annual elections of one-fifth by a simultaneous re-election of deputies throughout the whole country.

The result answered his desire. The agents of government employed every means of violence and seduction. And they were the more successful as they laboured with the stream. Liberalism became gradually out of fashion, except in Paris and the great centres. Not more than thirteen members of the Left were returned.

The minister opened the session by a law of Septenniality; prolonging the existence of the legislature to seven years. "Seven years," exclaimed Royer Collard, "is an age in France! Where are the men and ideas of seven years ago? Where shall we be seven years hence?" Royer Collard was a Cassandra, to whom no one listened. And the law was voted.

It was accompanied by another measure, fraught with

CHAP.
XLIV.

far graver consequences. This was a proposal to reduce the Five per Cents. nominally to Three, but really to Four per cent., since even the holders, who refused the conversion, were to be paid at the rate of Seventy-five. Whatever the merit of this as a financial measure—the rise of the Five per Cents. above par, affording at least a fair pretext for the operation—as a political one, it was a move, at least for Villèle, in a wrong direction. The money which the minister was to gain by the operation, he proposed diverting to the purpose of paying an indemnity to the *émigrés* who had lost their property. Although this was closing one of the wounds of the revolution, and consolidating the title of the purchasers of confiscated property, still it was denounced by the Liberals, and considered by them as a gratuitous offering to the now dominant classes of clergy and noblesse. It was at the same time exceedingly invidious, and, they declared, unjust to the commercial and middle classes. The momentary rise in the funds which allowed Villèle to bring forward his proposals, was, they affirmed, temporary and artificial—Government, it was alleged, despoiling capitalists, small and great, of one-fourth of their income to hand it over to the *émigrés* and the *hobereaux*, as the squires were called. The great bankers Périer and others maintained this opinion, and the former was able to express them in the tribune of the Chamber. In Paris, so full of *petits rentiers*, there was a perfect storm of opposition and discontent. This latter class found an unexpected advocate in the Archbishop of Paris, who denounced Villèle's measure in the Peers, as a war upon poor and middling fortunes. And Villèle was obliged to promise to respect them in the definitive law.

His concession, however, proved useless. The bill triumphantly passed the Lower Chamber, but in that of the Peers it encountered an unlooked-for opposition; that upper House was not what Villèle would have liked

to make it, a representative of the wealthier portion of landed interest. It was composed of functionaries, of the veteran generals and civilians living upon pensions, and monied savings, rather than upon hereditary property. The Peers, too, were dwellers in the capital, rather than in the provinces, where they had neither interest, dignity, nor influence. They thus shared in the sentiments of the Parisians, rather than in those of the squires. And from the first they showed their dislike of the law.

Their want of allegiance to the prime minister was more than countenanced by his rival in the Cabinet, Châteaubriand. That politician found all power monopolised by Villèle, who had adroitly managed to secure the favour of both the King and the Count d'Artois. For this purpose, Villèle gave up everything to his colleague Corbière and the Church party. Châteaubriand, when he wished to inaugurate fresh schemes of foreign policy, was not listened to. At this his spirit chafed; and he vented his anger in sarcasms upon Villèle's law, although Châteaubriand evidently was ignorant of the first principles of finance.

Such being the case, it was too much to expect him to become its advocate. But his opposition was so public in court as well as in the columns of the "Débats," that when he offered Villèle to resign with him, in case the Conversion bill was thrown out, the minister took it as a sarcasm, rather than a promise of adherence. The minister in selecting the Church and the retrogrades for his allies, had disgusted all the intellectual even of the royalist party. And these overwhelmed him in the press and in society. More solid and respected was the opposition of such men as Count Roy and Mollien in the Upper Chamber, who were considered far superior in the science of finance to Villèle himself. To such combined hostility the law succumbed, its very first clause being rejected in the Chamber of Peers by 120 to 105 votes.

CHAP.
XLIV.

Not only was Villèle mortified by this check, but the King also, who, through the daily influence of Madame du Cayla, had come to support his minister with almost as much zeal as he had shown to Decazes. The monarch, moreover, had a personal dislike for Châteaubriand, and, in truth, the viscount had the art of alienating every political friend. His memoirs remain a striking proof of the utter egotism and of the general unamiability which obviously characterised a man absorbed in self. A few days after the rejection of the bill, the "Moniteur" announced that M. de Villèle was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, in room of Châteaubriand. A right royalist and incapable *émigré*, General de Damas, was subsequently appointed to fill the place.

Châteaubriand immediately commenced opposition in the press. He found an apt organ in the "Journal des Débats," and whilst the journalists of the Left denounced Villèle and Corbière as the ministers of reaction and sacerdotalism, Châteaubriand depicted them as poor devils without capacity or firmness, mere secretaries to the reactionists and the congregation. The minister, galled and fretted, sought to stem this torrent and take vengeance on the press by prosecuting them before the tribunals under the recent law, for "a tendency to bring contempt on the government." But some of the articles incriminated were merely the announcement of irrefragable facts, such as, that the Home Minister had caused M. Magalon, editor of a liberal paper, to be dragged through the streets handcuffed to a *galérien*. It was upon this occasion that appeared the first symptoms of the resistance of the judges to the dominant party, and yet the Imperialists and Republicans had been removed, whilst their places, with all new appointments, were filled from the rising Royalists of the bar. Notwithstanding this the old leaven abounded in the Palais de Justice. The judges there, time out of

mind, had been jealous of ecclesiastical influence and antagonistic to the priesthood, and now that the court and government showed exclusively sacerdotal leanings, a kind of Jansenist spirit awoke in opposition and animated the judicial breast. The Royal Court acquitted the "Courrier Français."

The Courts of Justice thus failing the government, it set up a kind of office, and supplied it with funds for the corruption or purchase of the journals which most galled it. The same agent who had been so successful in introducing Madame du Cayla to the King, was appointed Minister of the Household, and charged with corruption of the press; one is sorry to tell, that his name was La Rochefoucauld. He could only purchase some minor prints, but failed with both "Constitutionnel" and "Quotidienne," the latter a royalist organ. In these straits, and unable to bear the daily torrent of invective, Villèle re-established the censorship, the blank columns caused by it exciting almost as much resentment as the suppressed diatribe. Such writers as Châteaubriand then betook themselves from the columns of the diurnal press to pamphlets, whilst Béranger had always a new song to pour amongst the crowd and demonetise the monarchy.

It was immensely to the surprise as well as mortification of Villèle, to find himself outvoted in one of the Chambers, as well as depopularised by the press. He had overridden his liberal enemies by reducing them to a mere fraction in parliament. His more immediate competitors for office, De Serres and the Duc de Richelieu, had died. Decazes seemed forgotten.

Villèle remained sole master, so writes M. Guizot. Instead of having to defend himself against a strong opposition of the Left, he found himself in front of one combined with that of the Right. As long as Châteaubriand, remained by his side, Villèle was attacked merely by the extravagance of La Bourdonnaye and Delalot. But

CHAP.
XLIV.

when that noble writer descended into the arena against the minister, he became the centre of an opposition of all colours, royalist and liberal, *ancien régime* and *jeune France*, with both the popular and the aristocratic press on his side. Harassed by such an opposition, Villèle fell into a greater peril than even that which it threatened. He was delivered up without refuge or defence to the influence of his own party. His lay friends were bad enough, but his ecclesiastical followers soon impelled him to measures and to a policy, which terminated by completely depopularising the minister, and finally driving him from power.

Louis the Eighteenth has been generally belauded for having kept the monarchy erect, and himself upon the throne as long as he lived. But, in truth, the aged monarch, by giving himself up, towards the end of his reign, to the ultra-royalists, and above all to the ecclesiastical party, began to undermine the weak edifice that he himself had raised. He could no doubt have established a constitutional government, if he had tried it, fully and heartily abided by its principles, and accepted its consequences. But the determination not to govern but with a majority in his views, and to make, *per fas et nefas*, that majority, or the electoral law, which produced it; this was not only begun, but established, by Louis the Eighteenth, and Charles the Tenth did but follow it up. When Villèle chose De Damas and Doudeauville as his brother ministers, and governed in their spirit, he merely preluded by his government to that of Polignac.

The King had for some time lost all connection with the outer or popular world. He had no longer a minister or confidant of even the middle party to acquaint him with the public sentiment or the public exigencies. His brother had succeeded in forming a regular investment of the throne. Villèle would have been moderate had he dared, but Villèle was as closely besieged and as much threat-

ened and subjugated as the King. Villèle and Louis the Eighteenth used to converse together as to how they could best resist, and what they must necessarily yield to the ultra-royalist demands. Resist or deny them was impossible, for the minister had destroyed alike the middle and liberal party. Opposition to ultra-royalist exigencies could only come from the King. But they had agreed not to importune him; whilst Louis, in turn, fond of his ease, made use of Madame Du Cayla and Villèle as buffers to protect him from the shocks of the exigent party. To her ear the Royalists confided their demands, and Madame du Cayla disclosed them to the King, who, calling Villèle to private council, resisted, yielded, or compromised.* In reality, the Count d'Artois was already King, whilst Louis dreamed away his declining existence, enjoying the brilliant semblance of a court, with all its old etiquette, and from vanity seeking similar enjoyment by being wheeled through the halls of Versailles or the Trianon, or left to repose in his old apartments there, conjuring up the past, and vainly congratulating himself at being the restorer of his race, and the maintainer of its privileges and its rights.

The last acts forced upon the dying monarch by Madame du Cayla, and the Justice Minister Peyronnet, were the appointment of a Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs,† and the reorganisation of the Council of State by the expulsion of Decazes' friends and the introduction in their place of priests. It was the last occasion upon which Louis the Eighteenth protested against the extreme tendencies of his brother. As the autumn of 1824 advanced, the King fell into almost continued somnolence. His extremities being benumbed, began to mortify. The monarch full of the spirit of the 18th

* Lamartine.

† Mémoires de l'Abbé Liautard.

CHAP.
XLIV.

century had always treated the ceremonies of religion with respect rather than observance. To arouse him to admit the performance of those befitting his state was difficult. It was, however, managed by the blandishments of Madame du Cayla. After this he bade adieu to his own family, and addressed some warning words to his brother. He recommended to him the *Charter* as his best heritage, and besought him to preserve it for the sake of his subjects, of himself, and of the young Duc de Bordeaux. On the 16th of September, Louis expired. The Count d'Artois was immediately saluted king by those who thronged the Palace. The first use he made of it was to shut himself up in the royal apartments, and burn or make away with all papers, including, it is supposed, a testament of the late king in favour of Madame du Cayla. This was the recompense for what she had done for the new king's power and cause. Charles the Tenth granted her a life pension of 1,000*l.* a-year.

It was unfortunate for the experiment of restoring the Bourbon dynasty permanently in France that its two representatives belonged to the previous century, and came to the throne imbued with its habits and ideas, not with those of the age over which they were called to reign. Whilst Charles the Tenth had preserved all the besotted ideas of that century, the very ones which had undermined and ruined the throne, Louis the Eighteenth was a fair type of the liberalism which preceded 1789. He had learned either to mock or to treat lightly all the idols of the ancient *régime*. He ridiculed the pretensions of the ultra-religious, the ultra-monarchical, and even the ultra-moral. But his character was too weak, and his resolve too vacillating, to allow his convictions to extend beyond the negative. He, however, always maintained two things, Legitimacy and the Charter. And had his family allowed him to execute honestly the latter, the nation would have

pardoned and accepted legitimacy. But the royalist administration certainly falsified the Charter, and aimed at governing and legislating in the name of a party, which time and events soon proved to be but a small portion of the nation. Younger princes might have escaped from this political and religious nightmare—the resuscitated spectre of the ancient *régime* which the restored old court kept alive and worshipped, to the disgust of the nation, of the parliament, and even of the King. The old princes both underwent its sway, which their grandson, in the bustle and collision of life, might have shaken off. As it was, the brothers of Louis the Sixteenth did but make the hopeless effort of governing France of the nineteenth century with the superannuated prejudices and ideas of the eighteenth. They and their government were an anachronism, and were finally rejected by the age and the generation, as something foreign and repugnant to them.

CHAPTER XLV.

CHARLES THE TENTH.

1824—1830.*

CHAP.
XLV.
—

IT is scarcely to be wondered, that Kings should be sometimes infatuated with the great merit of their birth, when crowds come forward to utter welcomes and indulge in jubilation at the accession of sovereigns who, as princes, have shown the utmost contempt for popular interests and popular rights. Few monarchs received more ovations of joy than Charles the Tenth in the first days of his reign, not only from his courtiers and from the gentry who came to greet him, but from the citizens of Paris, and even from the mob. One of the first acts of his reign being a review of the National Guard, he was so beset by the crowd of people on proceeding to the Champ de Mars, that the lancers of his escort were obliged to form a circle round him to keep off the people. *Point de hallebardes*,—"No halberts," exclaimed Charles the Tenth to the soldiers, forbidding them to disperse the populace. The words were repeated, and excited loud

* The author was a resident in Paris during this and the greater part of the following reign, a close observer of political events, with more or less acquaintance with the statesmen and writers of the day. The following chapters were chiefly written from his notes and reminiscences, which it would be difficult to trace to their further sources ;

and hence the few references made in these chapters. The author, has, however, not failed to consult the able historians, who have treated of the epoch, Vaulabelle, Lamartine, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Capefigue, Vielcastel, besides the innumerable pamphlets and periodicals that appeared.

huzzas. One might have supposed it was Henry the Fourth entering his capital.

Whilst his accession was thus hailed by the people, and by the National Guard, the Liberals were at first gratified to learn, that on the Peers and members of the Lower Chamber presenting their respects, Charles declared his determination to maintain the Charter and constitution of the late King. The Charter indeed, since it had been made to give a royalist majority, was all that the King could require. He had no reason to dislike or denounce it. With a parliament of his own way of thinking, Charles found for the first time a people equally loyal, equally eager to applaud. And being a prince who never looked below the surface of things, he did not see the truth, which was, that the people put faith in his frank and free demonstrations of liberalism, and merely came forward on their part, to forget the past and meet their once reactionary prince half way on the road he had apparently taken to conversion.

It was a flagrant mistake on both sides, and only stands as a proof how ready the French people were to accept the Bourbons, had they taken pains to render themselves acceptable. A little incident first awakened the public to suspicion. A popular actor, named Philippe, having died, the priest refused to receive his remains into the church, or perform any service. A similar refusal to receive the remains of an actress had occurred at the commencement of Louis the Eighteenth's reign, and that prince at once commanded the clergy to desist. Charles the Tenth, it now appeared, would do no such thing. Neither would Corbière, the Home Minister, interfere with the clergy. This at once opened the eyes of the Parisians to the character of the new reign.

An act as unpopular about the same time issued from the War Office. It was an order, placing upon half pay the veteran officers of the empire, all, in fact, who had not served for a certain time.

CHAP.
XLV.

Yet previous to such acts as this, Charles the Tenth personally compelled his ministers to abolish the censorship. The monarch deemed that his own popularity could cover at once himself and his ministers' reprobation, when, the next moment, both indulged in measures that were certain to provoke it. The popularity of the new reign did not last above a month. The parliamentary session soon opened and displayed the real intentions and action of the government.

The royal speech, opening the session on Christmas eve, 1824, announced a bill of indemnity to the *émigrés* whose lands had been confiscated. Some days after the New Year, M. de Villèle explained that a milliard (1,000,000,000 fr.) would be required for this purpose. He accompanied it as before with the conversion of the Five per Cent. to Three-and-a-half. The *Garde des Sceaux* at the same time proposed a new law of Sacrilege, with increased facilities for the founding of convents and nunneries. A civil list of 1,000,000*l.* sterling was proposed for the King.

The Duke of Orleans had been treated with some dislike and jealousy by the late King. His unsold estates, which were the greater part of the former possessions of the family, a considerable portion consisting of forests, were restored him only under the title of *apanage*. The Duke wanted them to be secured by a parliamentary vote, and Charles the Tenth proposed to do this. The ultra-royalists objected and showed their rancour to the Orleans family, but the law passed. The Duke was also styled Royal Highness, a title that Louis the Eighteenth would never allow. But Charles the Tenth restored all the old appellations and dignities of the family. His son became Dauphin, the Duchess d'Angoulême, Dauphiness, the Duchess of Berry, Madame. The Dauphin was the supposed title of a young prince, and attached to him were *menins*, or boys to suffer whipping for him. The very mature Dauphin

had now his *menins* in the shape of old courtiers. No wonder that Béranger mocked and that the French people grinned at them.

CHAP.
XLV.
—

Had M. de Villèle been allowed to follow the dictates of his own policy he would have been contented with introducing the indemnity to the *émigrés* and the accompanying conversion of the stock at high interest. This, with the vote of the civil list, would have satisfied him, and occupied the session without awakening the passions of the multitude. But Charles the Tenth sanctioned M. de Villèle's continuance in office solely on the condition of his satisfying the priestly party, which surrounded the monarch. Lamartine has sketched the personages, lay and ecclesiastic, which formed that camarilla. They were the most inept and silly persons that could be collected from a large and intelligent society. Charles the Tenth contrived to skim the froth of the age, and to form his secret council, leaving out all the genius and intelligence even of the royalist party. No writer had done more for religion than Châteaubriand: the innate dulness of the King's private circle could not abide him. Although he was more of an amateur religionist than a real one, he could at least give good counsel, and would have prevented his party from incurring unpopularity themselves and bringing it upon the King, for the sake of passing laws which were of no use to the cause.

The law of Sacrilege, for example, which condemned to the punishment of parricide, the cutting off the hand first, and other tortures, persons guilty of profaning the Holy Cup or Wafer. What result could it produce? No one could be found capable of insulting the great object of Catholic reverence, unless he were a madman or an idiot. Yet for him were revived the barbarous penalties of the middle ages. There were already 1,800 convents in France under the existing law, and surely they prospered sufficiently and propagated fast enough,

CHAP.
XLV.

without facilitating heritage to monastic establishments. It was for such futile aims that the Church sacrificed the monarchy. The latter, as M. Guizot observes, could have stemmed the current of opposition, had the efforts of government been directed merely to the restoration of lay institutions. Laws respecting these, such as the re-establishment of entail, and the right of the eldest son, would have been considered as not affecting the peasant or the citizen. But the clergy were ubiquitous, their tyranny was everywhere. Not the smallest place or favour under government was to be had, in the reign now opening, without the applicant having attended confession and obtained a priest's certificate. This kind of tyranny came home to every cottage, and divided not only towns but villages into independent and hypocritical devotees. "Up to this period," says M. Guizot, "the current of ideas was in favour of religion and its restoration. But from the moment that the clergy made use of their power at court to dominate and tyrannize, a reaction took place, infidelity became the stronger current; and the works of Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, which had almost disappeared, once more saw the light, and, despite of prohibitions, became the intellectual food of even the humblest readers."

If the law of Sacrilege afforded a fertile theme for the philosophic orators of the liberal press, like Royer Collard, the indemnity to the *émigrés* was chiefly opposed by those of imperialist leanings. The scheme itself could scarcely be considered by impartial judges as illiberal or unjust, however foolish and criminal was the first emigration, which ran away rather than submit to constitutional reforms, and undertook to invade France and subdue it, in concert with the foreign enemy. But those who escaped from the Terror, or from the proscription of successive parties, could not have deserved the loss of property. If the nation had benefited by the division of the soil and the substitution of

the lower and middle for the upper class in the possession of land, the nation could afford to pay for what in this case had been unwarrantable spoliation. All indeed would have admitted this, had the old proprietorial families accepted the new order of things, and could it be seen that the pecuniary indemnity fully satisfied them. Far from this the Royalists, chiefly *émigrés* who formed the court, and the majority in the Chamber, were making use of their power to reverse all that had been achieved by the revolution; and therefore the indemnity to them was resisted, as so much paid into the treasury of a foe. The late severe measures against the general officers of the empire was coupled by General Foy with the present munificence to the *émigrés*, and he asked if the crumbs which fell from the splendid banquet table of the *émigrés* might not be allowed to fall to those discarded veterans who had immortalised the republic and achieved the glories of France.

Whilst the opposition in the Lower Chamber to the law of indemnity thus aroused all the passions of party, in the Chamber of Peers the objections had more weight because they were purely financial. Count Roy, ex-minister of finance, brought forward the principal objection to the bill, which was, that the rate of interest had not fallen below 5 per cent. The subsequent year proved him to be correct, the Three per Cents in some months after conversion being quoted at 60, not at 75. Great bankers had, however, speculated on Villèle's former bill of conversion, and still held large quantities of Five per Cent. stock which the new law of conversion alone would allow them to get rid of without loss. Hence urged the opposition to M. de Villèle's law: "Reject it, and the only untoward result will be lamentations and loss in Jerusalem." The law, however, passed for the conversion of 140,000,000 of francs of the Five per Cents. which, by a singular coincidence of figures,

CHAP.
XLV.

were in the hands of 140,000 holders. How circumscribed was the monied interest in France at that epoch is shown, not only by these figures, but by the argument admitted on both sides, that the holders of the higher stock must accept the terms of the minister, there being at the time no other possible mode of investment.

Fierce as had been the cries of opposition against the indemnity to the *émigrés*, the liberal party obtained no small portion of it. The Duke of Orleans received a large sum; the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 60,000*l.*; the Duke de Choiseul, 40,000*l.*; Lafayette, 18,000*l.* Whilst Villèle was pouring these sums into the laps of the *émigrés*, he was singularly ungrateful to the man who had enabled their government and the Duke d'Angoulême to achieve the conquest of Spain. Ouvrard demanded his price, a large one certainly, between two and three millions sterling. He received the greater part, but with opposition in parliament. The Liberals and the Ultra-royalists thundered against the dilapidations of the War Office, and hinted that Ouvrard could never have obtained such a bargain except by bribing all around the commander-in-chief. Villèle could not screen Ouvrard, and abandoned him, even although, by so doing, he abandoned his colleague the Duke de Bellune, and even the Dauphin. Ouvrard, another Beaumarchais, was sent to prison and there wrote his memoirs, which, if not so witty, are quite as piquant as those of the dramatist.

The ceremony of the coronation followed the close of the session, and was as splendid as the zealots of the old monarchy could make it. Hugo and Lamartine were its laureates. Châteaubriand poured forth his loyalty in prose on the occasion, and got little in return save an empty jest from Charles the Tenth. The King perhaps remembered that Châteaubriand had hailed with equal enthusiasm the birth of the King of Rome. The vial of Holy Oil which had anointed Clovis, and which the

Convention had broken on a dung heap, was miraculously discovered and used again, far more to the amusement of the wits, than the edification of the multitude. Both the Sacrilege law and other sacerdotal ones of the session, the crowning and anointing of Charles the Tenth, might have been accepted as a national pageant. But the spirit of the new reign and government was already too evident for the public to feel any other sentiment towards it than derision.

Although Villèle succeeded in carrying his financial measures, they passed in both Chambers opposed by a minority far more formidable than the minister expected. The truth was, that the Septennality, which he intended to result in increased servility, produced on the contrary more independence. Whilst La Bourdonnaye drew away the Ultra-royalists, Châteaubriand seduced the Moderates, and liberalism though counting few voices in the Chamber, acquired louder action in the nation. The death of General Foy at this time from a heart disease, revealed the immense popularity of this chief of opposition. His loss eclipsed every topic, and almost suspended business. As he died poor, a national subscription, set on foot for his widow and children, produced a large sum; Lafitte contributed 2,000*l.*, the Duke of Orleans 400*l.*

Such events as these kindled the national enthusiasm in favour, unfortunately, of all that the government repudiated. And the clergy took most preposterous pains to excite animadversion, and keep alive the anger against them. As the year 1826 began a new quarter of a century, they instituted what they called a Jubilee, which was the occasion for religious processions, fêtes, and scandal. For all who did not join in these processions were marked out for disgrace by the ruling powers. The consequence was that the timid and the time-serving joined in them. The Duke of Orleans showed his gratitude to the King by figuring in these

CHAP.
XLV.

exercises, even Marshal Soult thought it prudent to bear in one of these processions the torch of a penitent. All the Royalists did not show equal submission to the times. An Auvergnat gentleman of this party, named Montlosier, came forward to denounce the existence of the Jesuits, and their establishment in France as illegal and as menacing.* The liberal journals took up the theme, and the *procureur-général* commenced prosecutions against them for a tendency to bring religion into contempt. The journals chose M. Dupin for their advocate. No individual more fully represented the spirit and character of the old French lawyer than Dupin. Steadily monarchic, his jealousy of ecclesiastical encroachments upon the rights of judge and jurisconsult equalled that of the old parliament which banished the Jesuits. The Cour Royale could not resist his eloquence. And the journals were acquitted.

By gratifying the religious party in their schemes for sacerdotalising the internal government and administration of France, Villèle at least succeeded in putting an extinguisher upon the plans of the Châteaubriand party for initiating a new and aggressive foreign policy. His colleagues indeed of the War Office pursued a dangerous course, if France was contemplating a new war. For not only were all the imperialist officers dismissed, but the army itself so disgusted by its subjection to the priests, that even young officers resigned, and abandoned the military career in disgust. Châteaubriand had chalked out a far different course, and the Czar Alexander for a long time counted on his co-operation. That monarch expired about this time at Taganrog; and his death suspended for a while the schemes of the French ultra-royalists for a Russian alliance. Europe indeed was interested by a cause far more sacred than the

* The tomb of Montlosier stands erected at a few paces from his family château, the ecclesiastics of

his district refusing him sepulchre in their cemeteries.

greed of sovereigns or the cold calculations of statesmen. After years of heroic struggles the Greeks were now threatened not merely with subjugation, but extinction. And the Liberals of all countries, of France as of England, came together to aid the Hellenes, with money, with arms, with eloquence. One statesman alone seemed fully to sympathise with their cause. And this was Canning.

Villèle, drawing to the close of his influence and his career, confessed himself too much harassed to undertake so vast an enterprise. Châteaubriand and the ultras had drawn him into Spanish intervention, the consequences and embarrassments of which still weighed upon the government. Villèle therefore declined what Canning proposed, which was, that England and France should intervene to save Greece, taking the initiative of the generous act out of the hands of Russia. The French minister failing him, Canning appealed directly to the new Czar, and the First Protest of European diplomacy in favour of Greece was signed in April, 1826, between England and Russia, France joining.

A difference had arisen between Spain and Portugal, much more pressing and, for the Western powers, more important. The death of the sovereign of Portugal, had opened the succession of that country to his eldest son, Don Pedro. He already reigned in Brazil, and found it impossible to occupy two thrones, one on either side of the Atlantic. He therefore proposed transferring that of Portugal to his daughter, Donna Maria, and at the same time marrying her to his brother, Don Miguel. The latter, however, claimed it for himself exclusively, whilst the partisans of Donna Maria maintained her rights, coupled with the establishment of a constitution granted by Don Pedro. There arose in Portugal the same quarrel between Cortès and absolutism which had prevailed in Spain, and which the French had solved by putting down the Cortès. The government proposed to do the same in Portugal, but

CHAP.
XLV.

Canning intervened and despatched 10,000 troops to Lisbon, which proved an insuperable obstacle, not only to Ferdinand, but to the French ultras. Villèle alone admitted that Mr. Canning's conduct was justified by treaties. He was not, like M. de la Bourdonnaye, for following up the crusade against Spain, by a war against England for Portugal. On the contrary, he joined England so far in blaming the conduct of the Spanish government, that the French ambassador was withdrawn from Madrid. Villèle was prepared to go even further than this, and join England in recommending the Spanish government to recognise the independence of its South American colonies. The French minister had passed his youth in these countries, and knew how vain it was for Spain to hope to recover its lost dominion. Spanish statesmen were obstinate, however, and Villèle saw with displeasure England acquire that predominance in South America which Spain, and conjointly with Spain, France, might have acquired.

"During the three years," writes M. Guizot, "which elapsed between the accession of Charles the Tenth and his own fall, M. de Villèle did not struggle against the fickle inconsequence of the King but took advantage of it to ward off the blows of his various enemies. Too clear-sighted to hope that Charles would persevere in that line of steady and sagacious moderation which his brother had pursued, he managed that the new king should at least show himself, now and then, moderate and popular, so as not to appear altogether given up to reaction. Clever to seize the proper moment for influencing the monarch, Villèle induced him to abolish at one time, if he re-established at another, the censorship, soften the rigour of the laws, as well as to aggravate them, and to utter phrases that might be considered as liberal, amongst other expressions of his admiration for the bygone state of things. Similar was Villèle's policy before the Chamber. He proposed laws which went to

the address of all parties. The indemnity of the *émigrés* was intended to satisfy the lay Royalists, the recognition of Hayti was a sop to the Liberals; his financial regularity and reforms gratified intelligent men, and especially the functionary class, in France the best able to form a judgment on these matters. The law of entail and right of the eldest son flattered the would-be aristocracy; that of sacrilege, the priesthood; and in the midst of this there was always an effort to do something, if possible, for progress. Villèle flattered himself that this was the wiser policy for the epoch, an epoch which he characterised as the end of revolution." In this he was mistaken, for his prince and his party so worked and so befooled themselves and the nation, that they resuscitated, instead of lulling, the old spirit of revolution, which rose and grew, and at last menaced with such violence as to defy all such timid and one-sided policy as Villèle attempted. That minister was trodden down at last by the united passions and antipathy of the two extreme parties.

M. Guizot exaggerates when he represents Villèle as, in the slightest degree, favouring progress. He performed a few acts in that direction at first; but later he was able merely to bring forward those laws which the reactionists dictated, suppressing or moderating some few of their extravagant demands. Amongst his concessions to the Liberals is counted his recognition of the independence of Hayti in 1826. He did this at the price of an indemnity of six millions sterling to be paid by the new republic to the old colonists, and of a tariff, by which French commodities were to pay one-half of those of other countries. It was a measure dictated by the simplest good sense, and one of course fiercely denounced by the Ultra-royalists, who desired to reconquer San Domingo, as well as Spain, France, and the world to monarchy and absolutism.

If the recognition of San Domingo, the first measure

CHAP.
XLV.

of the session of 1826, was hailed by the Liberals, that which followed it was a move in a far opposite direction. The proposal was to change the law for the equal division of property, at least for those fortunes which paid more than 800 francs territorial impost. Of such properties a large share was to fall to the eldest son, if there was no will to the contrary. Facilities for entail, or substitution, as the French call it, were also given by another clause. No attempt could be more foolish, more unpopular or out of place. In a country where the possession of land, especially to a certain extent, implies political influence, and, with political influence, the power of providing for younger children, the *droit d'aînesse* may have arguments in its favour. But in France where land brought no more influence than other property, it was idle to attempt to distinguish it, or reconstitute it feudally. M. de Peyronnet, the author and patron of the law, endeavoured to uphold it from the necessity of putting a stop to the subdivision of landed property, which in some Departments deprived the state of all revenue from land-tax. It was not worth collecting from so many and such small holders. But if this was the case, why limit the operations of the law to the highest tax-payers? The true correction to the extensive subdivision of the land was the increase of capital. Economical reasons had, however, little weight. The objection to the measure was that it went to restore the *ancien régime*, and against this the outcry was loud. The middle class was peculiarly indignant. How such a law could affect the shopkeeper of the rue St. Denis would have been difficult to explain. This class might certainly derive higher profit from selling to an aristocracy than to their equals. But it mattered not, the *bourgeoisie* were furious at the idea that any class should be considered above them. Not even priestly domination more depopularised the Bourbons, than this poor and futile attempt to preserve the old rustic manoir.

Villèle incurred all the unpopularity merely to please the squires, for really what he proposed would have gone a very small way towards reconstituting aristocracy or maintaining squirearchy. The national prejudice ran contrary to the *droit d'aînesse*, and one of Villèle's published letters bears witness how fully aware he was of the nullity of his legislation, yet he allowed himself to be overborne by Corbière and Peyronnet, the latter of whom, especially, was the chief originator of this attempt to bring back France to the ideas and organisation existing previous to 1789.

Strange to say, the great obstacle to the enterprise of restoring feudal aristocracy was found in the constitutional aristocracy of the day, viz. the Chamber of Peers. This was avowedly composed of the highest fortunes and greatest eminence of the country, and it absolutely refused to be feudalised. De Peyronnet's ideas of a landed interest, perpetuated in a class, and gifted with political influence, eagerly favoured and abetted by the small gentry of the Chamber of Deputies, was repudiated by the notability of the country. The principal clause of the law was rejected by the Upper Chamber; that facilitating entail to one generation alone passed; of this Napoleon himself had set the example. Loud and universal was the jubilation throughout every part of the country, not merely for the rejection of a law subversive as it was considered of the great conquests of the revolution, but at the fact of there having arisen in the Chamber of Peers an unexpected bulwark against the menacing tide of ultra-royalism.

This check to Villèle, or rather to the ultra-royalist faction, was the principal event of the session of 1826. If it served as a warning to the minister, it had no such effect upon the King, who appeared more eager than ever to gratify the reactionary zeal of the priesthood. In the same session the petition of M. de Montlosier against the Jesuits came before the Chamber of Peers,

CHAP.
XLV.

which, while it condemned the violence of his denunciations, admitted that the establishment of the Jesuits which he denounced was illegal. The young Duke of Bordeaux had at this time reached the age when it was the custom to remove a prince from female tutelage to that of a preceptor. There were not wanting prelates who, to exemplary piety, added learning, tolerance, and respect for the advanced ideas of the age. All these were passed over in the choice of a preceptor for the young prince, and a prelate was chosen, Bishop Tharin, who alone of his class had come forward with loud panegyrics of the Jesuits, and a desire that all education should be submitted to them. The committal by Charles the Tenth of his grandson to such a preceptor was a kind of spiritual divorce between the prince and the people. When the days of revolution came, many who would have accepted the Duke of Bordeaux as a sovereign repudiated the pupil of Tharin.

It was a great misfortune for the family of the Bourbons, that M. de Villèle, at the close of 1826, did not stop short in the course of political and religious reaction through which the court was driving him. The minister had ample sagacity to perceive the danger, of which indeed he received sufficient warnings. The turning of the Chamber of Peers against him, and the colour of such partial elections as took place, were indications of a change in the opinions of the electoral body, and consequently of those who were considered Royalists. These, like all parties which find themselves completely masters, had divided to pelt and damage each other. Not only Châteaubriand and the *Journal des Débats* wrote down Villèle and, with Villèle, the court and priesthood, but La Bourdonnaye and the furious lay ultra-royalists did the same. It was these enthusiastic monarchists who first directed the most fatal batteries against the monarchy. The opinions of Villèle were not antagonistic to those of the

more moderate Royalists who seceded from him. He regretted the sacerdotal leanings of the King as much as they, and he was far less fanatical in general policy than Châteaubriand. But personal rivalry divided these two men, and Villèle, however moderate his sentiments, would not rally or have recourse to the party which Châteaubriand led. They, indeed, would have repudiated him, for the Viscount hated Villèle as much as Villèle hated him. This was one of the causes of the ruin of the Restoration, for Villèle had no resource but to cling closer to the religious and reactionary party. Moreover, he suffered personally from the hostile press, as did the reactionists; and when these prepared in the recess from 1826 to 1827 to propose and bring forward a law to muzzle or destroy the journals, Villèle inconsiderately consented. He could not have committed a greater error, for the liberty of the press was at the time precisely the ground upon which the liberal and the anti-ministerial Royalists agreed. The latter, and notably Châteaubriand, made the greatest use of their literary superiority. The prints which represented the sentiments of La Bourdonnaye were no less vehement. Villèle merely thought of mowing both down with one sweep of the legislative scythe. He forgot that the union of these two parties could place him in a minority in the Lower Chamber, and thus inflict upon him the fate of Decazes.

Unaware of the danger, or despising it, Villèle allowed Peyronnet to open the session of 1827 with his law, not merely for gagging the press, but annihilating the trade and industry of printing altogether. The principal regulations for the daily press were, first, a law limiting the number of proprietors of a journal to five, of which three, assuming the character of *gérants*, were to possess half the property and furnish the *cautionnement*, and present themselves as the objects of fine and punishment. A formidable series of these was

CHAP.
XLV.

added, sufficient to alarm any capitalist. The expected result was to disorganise and ruin the journals already existing, and prevent any other from springing up. "You want to annihilate all journals save two or three," exclaimed La Bourdonnaye in the ensuing debate. "On what grounds do you accuse us of such an intention?" asked Villèle. "Your own words in the committee," replied La Bourdonnaye; "all the members of it heard you, and some thirty of these are present. Can you deny having said so?" M. de Villèle remained silent!

The censorship in fact allowed the journals to live, and, in living, to amass force and vengeance for a future period. Peyronnet proposed to kill them outright. But it was against books and pamphlets that the chief prohibitions of the new law were directed. When the minister re-established the censorship at times during the interval of the session, the writers, such as Châteaubriand, had recourse to pamphlets. To prevent this, all such publications were subjected to a stamp duty of a franc a sheet, which rendered them more costly than a large volume, and consequently precluded pamphlets altogether. A deposit of some days after printing and previous to publishing was enjoined. In that time not a sheet was to be removed from the printing-office, even for the necessary operations of stitching and binding. The heavy fines and the loss of *brevet* were imposed upon printers for infringing any one of a host of restrictions and regulations. The printers declared, one and all, their trade to be at an end. This was serious, not merely to them, but to the number of workmen connected with or engaged in printing. They were said to consist of from 40,000 to 50,000 in Paris alone. This was a formidable recruitment for popular turbulence or *émeute*. Amongst the crowd of petitioners against the prohibition of all publicity appeared no less a body than the French Academy, which had

lately assumed the colour of Royalist, and had recently elected such members as Frayssinous and Montmorency. When the Academy went to the Tuileries with the petition in behalf of the existence of the printing-press, Charles the Tenth would not receive them; nay, he went so far as to punish two or three of the most noted Royalists of the academical body for daring to remonstrate. Villemain was deprived of his place, Lacretelle of his pension; and Michaud, who had been an agent of the Bourbons during the Imperial reign, and had risked his life for the dynasty, was superseded as King's reader for petitioning against the Law of Love. Peyronnet in one of his speeches had styled his Draconic law against the press as a *Loi d'Amour*. The expression was so monstrously ridiculous that every one caught it up and repeated it, and Peyronnet's bill soon became known under no other name than that of the *Loi d'Amour*.

The project led to fierce and eloquent debates in the Lower Chamber. La Bourdonnaye was one of the first who spoke against it, as contrary to the principles of the Charter; but its most powerful opponent was Royer Collard. "It was the first time," he said, "that the government of a civilised nation attempted to destroy the press altogether. This it did, assuming the false principle that the intelligence given to man was a mistake of Providence, which it was for rulers to correct. It was thus considered good policy by them to brutify the human species, and reduce it to the minimum of ignorance. Ignorance, according to the rulers of France in 1827, was the true science of man, and the only sane law of society. And who was it that dared to introduce such a tyranny of mind and body?—Men without reputation, and with nothing but ephemeral power. The terrorists in the revolution made such an attempt; they had the guillotine at their disposal, which M. de Villèle had not. Then Napoleon crushed the press, but he covered his crime by the glory of his character and his

deeds. But who were the present men who made a similar attempt? Where are their deeds, their glory, their conquests, their superior talents? These nobodies," said M. Royer Collard, regarding M. de Corbière, "surpass their predecessors in temerity, as much as they sink below them in incapacity and folly. The war which the government has undertaken is waged against civilisation. Does any one imagine that it can prevail?"

Casimir Périer asked was it intended to proscribe Voltaire and Rousseau?

Ministers were silent, but their zealous supporters at once answered the question in the affirmative. "In that case," continued the orator of the opposition, "you make war upon literature in the past as well as in the future. You must invade and despoil existing libraries, you must imitate the Inquisition in its old *auto da fès* of books, and renew the legislation and the acts of ten centuries ago."

The *Law of Love* passed notwithstanding, and obtained a majority of a hundred votes. The Chamber of Deputies with few exceptions represented the non-intelligence of the nation, and the rancour of the greater number against the press was intense.

It was then brought before the Chamber of Peers, who had just given symptoms of their dislike to ministerial extravagance and tendencies by the favour which they had shown to Montlosier in his denunciation of the Jesuits. They had appointed a committee on that occasion to examine into the question previous to the debates. They did the same now, and this new committee summoned printers and others to give evidence and information as to the result of the proposed press law upon the capitalists and workmen connected with that kind of industry. This was ominous. Ministers grew alarmed, and blamed the King for not having allowed them sooner to swamp the independent majority of the Peers. Villèle had proposed this at the time of the coronation, and

Charles the Tenth, then deeming himself all popular, declined it. The Upper Chamber, however, might have hesitated to take so bold a step as to reject a measure on which the government had employed all its influence and power, when an incident occurred to increase opposition, and even throw the moderate out of their moderation.

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt was one of the most respected personages in France. He had shown courage in undergoing the perils of the revolution, and had slackened neither in his loyalty nor his philanthropy. He was at the head of numerous charitable establishments not emanating from the ultra-religionists. These did not pardon such independence; and the Home Minister, Corbière, made himself the instrument of their rancour by depriving the Duke de la Rochefoucauld of a variety of gratuitously filled and charitable offices. About this time the Duke died, at the advanced age of eighty. One of his beneficent acts had been to found a scientific college at Chalons. The pupils there proposed to the family to come up and act as bearers of the coffin of their benefactor. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, representing the family, accepted the offer. When they came to perform this pious act, a commissary of police, by order of the Home Minister, intervened. There ensued a panic and a discussion, but the Duke de Doudeauville, a cabinet minister then present, overruled the commissary of police. The procession was again put in movement, whilst the police consulted M. de Corbière, and received from him the injunction to prevent the pupils from carrying the body. In consequence the funeral procession was again stopped in a street ere it reached the cemetery, and a scuffle ensued with the pupils and the police, in which the coffin was thrown on the ground and broken, and the remains of the aged Duke shattered. The Chamber of Peers as well as all the Rochefoucaulds felt

CHAP.
XLV.

the act of Corbière as a personal insult, and the expression of indignation was so strong both on this subject and upon that of the press law, that the government found it necessary to withdraw the latter altogether or to accept its inevitable rejection. If the rejection of the law of *Droit d'Aînesse* was the occasion of general illumination and feasting throughout France, the withdrawal of the *Loi d'Amour* gave rise to louder acclamations. The population of the great towns especially, such as Lyons, of which printers formed so considerable a body, were most enthusiastic in their demonstrations of joy.

Charles the Tenth could never comprehend his being unpopular. He was good-humoured, affable, and gracious, and scarcely failed to elicit from the people, when he came frankly in contact with them, the customary tribute of favour and applause. Just as Peyronnet's law was about to fall, the anniversary came round of the Royal family's return to Paris, which it was usual to celebrate by the National Guard exclusively furnishing the guards and sentinels of the palace. This was preceded by a review in the courtyard. The day was the 12th of April. Whilst passing the review, the citizen soldiers, not visiting on the monarch the unpopularity of his ministers, greeted him with loud and general cries of *Vive le Roi!* Charles was more than usually gratified with the manifestation, so much in contrast with all that he heard or witnessed of the unpopularity of his government. He expressed his satisfaction to the officers as well as his regrets that the entire body of the National Guard was not present. Those whom the King thus addressed replied, that all the National Guards were of the same opinions as those just expressed, and that a review of the whole force would prove it. Charles caught at the proposal—an imprudent one under the circumstances, and some would say, a fatal one. It was, certainly, one of the first steps, the *Law of Love* being the first, which

conducted Charles the Tenth down from the throne to exile.

Ministers sat in Council on the subject of this review, which they naturally dreaded, amidst the popular manifestations for the withdrawal of the recent law. Besides, they meditated, in concert with the King, the most unpopular acts, the re-establishment of the Censorship and the subjugation of the Peers by a large promotion. To pass a review of the Parisian citizens and claim their applause under such circumstances was neither fair nor frank; but Charles had promised, and the review was ordered to take place in the Champ de Mars on the 29th (April).

From 20,000 to 30,000 National Guards mustered on that day. The King on horseback, the Princesses in carriages, proceeded to the field. The Guards were distributed in Legions according to the different quarters of the city. The first belonged to the opulent districts. The National Guards of these welcomed the King with the accustomed cry of *Vive le Roi!* Those of the more central quarters mingled this cry with another of *Vive la Charte!* But when the Royal cortège passed the legions of the popular and manufacturing districts, *Vive la Charte!* alone was heard, and *Vive le Roi!* suppressed. The King displaying ill humour, "Do you find the cry of Long live the Charter offensive?" cried out a bold soldier from the ranks.

"I came here to receive homage," observed the King, "and not a lesson." Still there was nothing flagrantly hostile or offensive to the King himself. But the Duchesses of Angoulême and Berry were not so well received. Instead of *Vive la Charte!* they were greeted with the cry of "Down with the Jesuits!" It was upon the ministers that the popular indignation was chiefly vented. They were, to be sure, not present at the review. But on quitting the Champ de Mars, the popular legions took their way home by the

CHAP.
XLV.

Rue de Rivoli and the Place Vendôme, where the Hôtels of Finance and the Chancery were situated, in the front of which they stopped to vociferate "Down with Peyronnet and Villèle!"

Had ministers been wise, they would have passed over these popular ebullitions, especially as the King was disposed not to show any resentment at the semi-disapprobation shown him. But Villèle himself began to lose temper and moderation at this time—qualities which Peyronnet and Corbière never had. These met in council to consider the cries vociferated before their hotels—as if statesmen had not grievances enough to consider; and the ministers who were so affronted proposed no less than the dissolution of the National Guard of Paris. Messrs. Chabrol and Frayssinous objected, as did the Duc de Doudeauville. Charles the Tenth himself presided the Council. He had immediately after the review been inclined to moderation, but the Princesses, and especially the Duchess d'Angoulême, urged him to resent the insult offered them, which recalled to her those proffered to Louis the Sixteenth and her mother. Thus influenced, the King proclaimed the dissolution of the National Guard. The citizen soldiers, relieved from a disagreeable duty, piled up their arms in silence, and were pleased to have no longer to meet or to defend the Bourbons. The Duc de Doudeauville resigned: he had sagacity to foresee the coming storm.

After this but one more law was brought forward to complete the session. It was for enabling the Prefects to pack the jury, and by a side wind at the same time modify the electoral lists. The Chamber of Peers did not indeed reject it, but so modified and amended it as to make a somewhat liberal law of what the government intended to be a reactionary one. It deprived the Prefects altogether of the power to modify the lists of either electors or jury, as the government purposed. The ministry did not smother its menaces against such an

Upper Chamber—so much so that there were several interpellations in the Chamber as to the bruited intentions of the government. The ministers maintained an ominous silence. The session closed; and it was immediately followed by a decree re-establishing the Censorship.

But not even the severe restriction of the Censorship could satisfy Corbière. Soon after its promulgation expired Manuel, somewhat forgotten during the last years, which his poverty compelled him to spend as the guest of Laffitte at Maisons. His death summoned all his old friends to his funeral, when they expressed in no extravagant terms their love and admiration for the deceased. The discourses were collected and published by Mignet, who, with the printer and publisher, was immediately summoned before the Correctional Police to suffer condemnation for the act. Lafayette instantly claimed to be the object of prosecution, as his was the speech incriminated. But even the Judge of Correctional Police could not respond to the fury of the government, and acquitted those brought before it.*

About the same time the King visited the Camp of St. Omers, from whence the general expectation was, that he would issue an *ordonnance*, assuming absolute power. But the time was not yet come. The only legal obstacle in the way of court and ministry was the Chamber of Peers; and this, there was the constitutional mode of overcoming by a large creation of Peers. The field for political men had, however, been much narrowed by an electoral system so restricted. Of those whom it had thrust forth into political life, very many, even Royalists, had gone against the administration. If therefore, for the sake of swamping the liberal majority of the peerage, some sixty or seventy deputies were promoted to the higher rank, the more important majority in the Chamber of Deputies might be lost.

* Lafayette's Letters. September, 1827.

CHAP.
XLV.

New elections, thought Villèle, will at least return deputies of similar sentiments to those promoted. But to complete these manœuvres it was indispensable to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies when the list of new Peers was announced. It was with much reluctance that the King assented to these measures of Villèle. Not that he deemed them too strong, but that the courtier party attached to him personally denounced that minister as the cause of the King's unpopularity, and recommended already a bolder statesman in the Prince de Polignac.

Villèle for the moment had his way. Seventy-six new promotions to the Peerage were proclaimed, and the Chamber was dissolved on the 5th of November. The elections were ordered to take place in ten days, thus allowing, it was hoped, no time for the Liberal party to concert or organise opposition. The unpopularity of the minister, even with the Royalists, proved to be organisation enough. The Royalists and Liberals in opposition coalesced, the journals of one recommending the candidates of the other. There spread through the country a general hurra against Villèle. And whatever colour were the candidates elected, they were at least antagonistic to the minister. Paris returned none but members of opposition. The wealthy and the poor quarters showed the same spirit. When it was known that none but Liberals had been returned, the shopkeepers of the Rue St. Denis resolved to illuminate, as they had done when the *Droit d'Aînesse* was rejected. It was at first but good sport to them. It became less so when the populace joined in it. They descended in force from the suburbs, and when they perceived a house ill-lighted, they called for *lampions*: if not immediately satisfied, they broke the windows. The police tried to stop them, and the people for the first time showed an inclination to resist the authorities. Taking advantage of an entanglement of carriages and carts, or of

house in demolition, the mob here and there entrenched themselves against the police, and threw up barricades of planks and paving stones. The same manœuvre had been employed centuries back against the Valois, and now reappeared like a national protest against the Bourbons. Opposite the passage *du Grand Cerf*, in the Rue Grenetat, near the great market, and the church of St. Louis, barricades were erected, which the police were unable to force. The troops were obliged to be employed, and before their first volley the defenders of the barricades disappeared. A circumstantial account of the making and taking of these barricades appeared afterwards in the *Moniteur*, and considerably encouraged the people at a future opportunity to erect them, as it unfortunately inspired the government with confidence in its powers of overcoming such disturbances. Such was the peril to which even the sage Villèle had already brought the Bourbons.

Insignificant as this first serious *émeute* might appear, it still suggested to one of the liberal journalists of the day a panacea for existing troubles and disaffection, without going the length of revolution. Cauchois Lemaire, in a letter to the Duke of Orleans, which he had the hardihood to publish, recommended him to come forward and bid for the throne. "Courage, Prince," said the pamphlet; "exchange your ducal blazon for a civic crown. Take, in the monarchy, the place which Lafayette would hold in a republic. Be our first citizen. The French people is a great child that must have a tutor. Do you assume the office, to prevent it falling into worse hands. The car of state is upsetting. Do you on your side, the people on theirs, come forward to keep it from total overthrow." The prophetic advice cost the writer a heavy fine and fifteen months' imprisonment.*

* Cauchois Lemaire, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1830*.

CHAP.
XLV.

The elections were to Villèle complete shipwreck; he stretched out suppliant hands to one party after another—to the Royalists and Liberals. Both repudiated him. If he retained position and influence during December, it was merely to give the King advice as to the construction of a ministry, and to exclude from its composition all who were his personal enemies. In this last effort Villèle succeeded. The Count de Chabrol undertook the office of forming or choosing a new administration. He presented a succession of lists to the King, who consulted Villèle, and drew his pen through many names. He would not hear of Châteaubriand. He objected to La Bourdonnaye. The King was determined that the ministry he was about to appoint should only be temporary, and therefore he did not object to Casimir Perier or Sebastiani. These would not accept office. At last on the 2nd of January the following ministry was constituted: M. de Martignac, Home Minister and real head of the cabinet; Count Roy, Finance; Portalès, Justice; De la Ferronnayes, a friend of Châteaubriand, Foreign Minister; St. Cricq, Commerce; De Caux, War. With this semi-liberal administration Charles the Tenth inaugurated the year 1828.

Villèle's chief merit may be summed up in a few words: he managed to retain power in the midst of most fluctuating circumstances and fickle people for a period of eight years. He did nothing, however, to consolidate the monarchy. If Charles the Tenth was an insurmountable obstacle to this in the latter half of Villèle's administration, Louis the Eighteenth in its earlier years might have been made to second and approve of such an attempt. But Villèle's hands were tied by the party on whose back he had clambered to power. So that, in reality, the minister was merely able to attain office and enjoy it without making it subservient to aught greater than personal aims. His chief cause of weakness proceeded from want of mastery

over his own party, which was owing to his lack of sincerity and truth. By nature and disposition a moderate Royalist, he was prevented from acting as such by men like the Duc de Richelieu, De Serres standing before him as well as Châteaubriand. He was thus obliged to lend himself to the ultra-royalists—not only the lay politicians, but the ecclesiastical ones. Among and over these he could only hold pre-eminence by dissimulation, nor could he counteract their extravagance except by occult and insidious means. In this false position his best aim was always neutralised, and he spent so much time and power in merely holding the helm of this ministerial bark, that he could attain nothing else. He kept afloat—that was all; and instead of conducting the vessel to any safe or honest port, he was driven to windward, and was finally unable to preserve either it, or himself, or the monarchy from wreck.

Kings have an instinctive horror of intellectual superiority, that being the only quality to which they must bow, and which is able to put a yoke upon them. Can Charles the Tenth be so much to blame for obeying this instinct, when even Napoleon, himself an intellectual giant, could not bear any who equalled or approached him? Cleverness and ability is the highest range to which politicians who serve a monarch ought to pretend. Villèle had these. His successor, Martignac, had infinitely more.

A native of the Gironde, he recalled by the warmth and blandness of his eloquence those celebrated orators of the Revolution who bore the name. Like them he was highly educated, of cultivated and literary intellect, the very contrast of Villèle and Corbière. He was a man of society too, and even of pleasure, which Charles the Tenth in the asceticism of his age chose to frown at. Martignac, a disciple of Lainé, had been to Spain with the French army of intervention, and had brought back from it a horror of ultra-royalism and ultra-sacerdotalism,

CHAP.
XLV.

both of which he saw so egregiously developed and illustrated by the government of Ferdinand.

That Martignac was the real chief of the ministry, and that he wanted not firmness to maintain that position, was shown at the first meeting of the cabinet council. The King presided, and as usual he opened the business of the day. He did so by declaring that M. de Villèle's policy had been his, and that though compelled to part with the man, he was still influenced by his ideas. Martignac instantly observed that no ministry could face the new Chamber with declarations or sentiments like these. There had been a change of men, and a change of measures was the inevitable consequence. Charles the Tenth did not show himself obstinate. He consented even to Châteaubriand becoming minister, but this personage would accept no post save the Foreign Office.

The great difficulty with the new ministry was the Royal speech. It was absolutely necessary to announce to the Chambers some liberal measures, contrary to and implicitly condemnatory of the policy of the late administration. To this Charles the Tenth was most adverse. Still even he consented to a compromise, and agreed to promise the partial freedom of education from exclusively sacerdotal control, and at the same time to redeem Villèle's lukewarmness in the cause of Greece by a hearty approbation of the battle of Navarino. As this had been more regretted than approved of by the British government, its acceptance by the French cabinet was more significant.

The votes for the presidential chair gave some idea of the composition of the new Chamber. The thoroughly liberal opposition had retained its old number of votes. Joined to the Left Centre or Doctrinaires it mustered nearly half the votes of the Chamber. The Right and Right Centre formed the other half. Parties were thus nearly balanced. La Bourdonnaye and Casimir Périer

were equally put forward as candidates for the presidency. The King, at the desire of Martignac, chose Royer Collard. Such homage to the Left Centre was necessary, since in the composition of the new ministry Martignac had altogether left out the Doctrinaires. The debates and votes upon the address were even more insignificant than the presidential election. A paragraph censured the late *deplorable system*, which had paralysed the good intentions of the Crown. The King was furious on learning the natural consequence of the overthrow of Villèle. He proposed to dissolve the Chamber at once. But Martignac, alarmed, hinted that *he* could not sign such an ordonnance, and observed that the word of blame was far better than an impeachment, which the late minister might have incurred.

The Royal ire was at last appeased. But the ministers felt strongly the necessity of measures directly opposed to the policy of Villèle. In obedience to this they completed their cabinet by separating public instruction from ecclesiastical affairs, and appointing Vatimesnil minister of the former. The Bishop of Beauvais, a liberal prelate, replaced Frayssinous as ecclesiastical minister. And a commission was named to examine into the subject of education, and report what change was requisite to free it from the undue control of the clergy.

The first law presented to the Chamber was also a popular one. It was an amplification of what the Peers had lately laboured to establish—a certain freedom of election. When the franchise is low, the violence or influence exercised by government or a party on the mob of electors is often treated as a joke. But all the electors of the Restoration were the better classes, paying the highest rate of direct taxes. Injustice done to them, their exclusion from the lists,* ministerial

* Paul Louis Courier, though a landed proprietor, paying the due amount of tax, could never get his name inscribed upon the electoral lists.

CHAP.
XLV.

threats or vengeance, uttered or exercised, the arbitrary use of power by the authorities—these extremes, from which Villèle and Corbière did not shrink, formed no small portion of their unpopularity. M. Guizot's chief complaint against Villèle indeed is, that he wore out all the springs and resources of government for no greater end than keeping himself in power, and that he thus left government authority so hated and disrespected that he rendered the task impossible to his successor. Even Martignac, in restoring independence of election, although he thereby increased the popularity of his cabinet, threw away, as his adversaries reproached him, much of the salutary influence of whatever party was entrusted with the government.

A new law respecting the press was also a necessary measure, as the censorship could not be maintained. It was accompanied or followed by another which greatly facilitated its working—a law with difficulty wrung from Charles the Tenth, but which the Martignac Cabinet insisted on—the expulsion of the Jesuits not only from public instruction, but from recognised existence in France. The committee appointed to examine this impartially composed by the minister, had reported five against four, that the eight great Jesuit colleges were not illegal. This decision by a majority of one was so outrageously contrary to law and the public opinion, that the government was obliged to come forward to reverse it. The King resisted. The minister told him that his resistance followed by their resignation would infallibly lead to an impeachment and condemnation of M. de Villèle. This staggered Charles the Tenth. He submitted, and a royal ordonnance appeared subjecting the Jesuits' seminary to the control and supervision of the university. This, in other words, was the expulsion of the order. The decree made much noise. It was, however, not really so important as the re-organisation of the system of primary

instruction by the minister Vatimesnil. He established a school committee in every *commune* of nine members, the curé, mayor, and juge de paix, with two assessors nominated by each, forming the council. The governing lay authorities thus outnumbered the ecclesiastical; and as the Martignac ministry meditated a reorganisation of municipalities also, and the introduction into them of more freedom, this reform was really popular and liberal.

The expulsion of the Jesuits rendered the legislation concerning the press much more efficient, since it removed from the breasts of the judges and from the courts of law that resistance and opposition to the government which had induced them to absolve the journalists. The judges, indeed, showed at once, by their sentence on Cauchois Lemaire for putting forward the claims of the Duke of Orleans, that they would not tolerate treason. The new law of the press therefore was one of repression by the tribunals, not one of precaution by the censorship or of ruin to publishers and printers. It required responsible *gérants* of newspapers, and a large *cautionnement*, establishing heavy fines and punishments on conviction. These two were no longer to fall on men of straw, the *gérants* being required to own a considerable portion of the property of the paper, or of the money lodged for security. Such a law, however, though so much more liberal than Peyronnet could have devised, still did not satisfy the Left, whose orators denounced it. They found the sum required to be vested as security (8,000*l.*) infinitely too large, and they also desired the jury to decide in trials of the press. Some of the Royalists supporting the former amendment, it was carried; but the latter was rejected. Indictments for a *tendency* to do this or that were prohibited, and finally the law passed.

A popular act of the Martignac Ministry at this time was the despatch of General Maison to Greece at the

head of an army. Although the naval forces of Turkey and Egypt had been crushed at Navarino, Ibrahim still continued to hold and to ravage the Morea. Although the new Finance Minister, Count Roy, accused his predecessor of a deficit, M. Martignac still made the large demand of 3,000,000*l.* for the Greek expedition; and it was willingly granted. Hyde de Neuville, Châteaubriand's *alter ego*, was Marine Minister; and both pressed the liberation of Greece, as some kind of a set-off to the enslavement of Spain. The French thus acquired the honour of putting the coping-stone to the liberation of Greece, and to the final establishment and independence of the Hellenic Kingdom.

The year and the session of 1828 produced to all appearance a complete triumph for the Martignac Ministry. It seemed to have overcome the obstinacy of the King without deeply offending him. It had expelled the Jesuits, who, driven from the schools, took refuge in Switzerland. It had opposed the Pope to the bishops. It had rendered the elections independent of the government functionaries—had restored the press to a fair degree of freedom—had reorganised the Council of State, so as to place it in harmony with a liberal administration. Count Roy's management of finance was more honest than Villèle's, and as able. Martignac in the Home Department had encountered more opposition from the King than any of his colleagues. There was an ex-prefect of police, a creature of Villèle's and of the Congregation, named Franchet, whom Charles the Tenth consulted in private respecting the merits of each functionary; and fortified by his advice, the King opposed most of Martignac's nominations to the Prefectures and other posts. That minister could bring the rest of the cabinet to his aid in the enforcement of measures, but in the choice of men he was left to himself, and often fought an amicable battle with the monarch. Charles was annoyed at Martignac's bland-

ness: he preferred the rudeness of Count Roy, and was wont to mock the soft and silky oratory of the Home Minister, whom he in jest compared to a favourite *prima donna* of the day. "Have you heard La Pasta?" asked the King once, alluding to an eloquent speech delivered by Martignac. Nor was he alone in this opinion, for Dupont de l'Eure was heard to ejaculate during one of the minister's speeches, "What a syren!" *

The influence of the political syren was in fact more charming than commanding; and even 1828, his great year of success, had but the effect of rendering friends and enemies more impatient. A great portion of the Royalists, angry with Villèle, had hitherto supported him, and did not shrink from joining with the Liberals in their votes. But they soon perceived that Martignac was not going their road, but that on the contrary he was paving the way for the advent of the Left to influence and power by the liberality of his measures. One of the causes indeed of the shipwreck of the Restoration was that a great body of Royalists, and even the most sensible of them, did not know what to aim at or whither they were going. Those men attached to the monarchy deprecated its subservience to and close alliance with the priesthood. They were impatient too of ministerial control, and had found the advantage of a free press and free elections. Why then not have become surely and permanently allied with the Left, which rejoiced in these same gains? Unfortunately a great portion of the Left indulged in revolutionary and Imperial preferences. In their writings and orations they had been wont to oppose the glories of the Empire to the ingloriousness of the Bourbons. Manuel, Lafayette, Constant, and the song-writer Béranger—they who had formerly conspired against the Bourbons—now, though they had ceased to conspire, continued to deride. And this created an abyss between

* Guizot.

them and the thorough Royalists, however moderate and constitutional.

These circumstances allowed the Villèle party to raise its head once more, and prompted the King to look for the resuscitation of his old Minister, not indeed by himself, but associated with the men and the aims of all the Royalists. If Charles the Tenth had meant by this a reconciliation between Villèle and Châteaubriand, he would have been nearer to success. But far otherwise, he looked to a coalition between Villèle on one side, the Court and Sacerdotal party led by Prince Polignac on the other. This neither Villèle nor the lay Royalists would hearken to. And yet this was the aim that Charles pursued, blinded by his predilection for Polignac and impelled by the Clergy. And the blind thus leading the blind, the inevitable result followed.

Martignac was too clear-sighted not to be aware of all this; and he entered upon the year 1829, and made preparation for the parliamentary session, with anything but confidence. If he came to the King, he found him reading Villèle's journal, the *Gazette de France*, ably edited by Genoude, full of the complaints and arguments of the ultra-faction. When the Minister reproached the Monarch, the latter excused himself by saying it was an old friend and an old *habitude*. Where the mild and moderate Martignac ought to have found most support was with the Princesses, but the females of the House of Bourbon were more infuriated than their male relatives. The Duchess d'Angoulême breathed counter-revolution and sacerdotalism. The Duchess of Berry had made a tour in La Vendée, where she had been welcomed by and responded to sentiments and cries which suited the old civil wars rather than times of peace and reconciliation. Noble and loyal as was the Count de la Ferronnays, he resigned in disgust. He saw that nothing could come of so infatuated a royal family. Charles immediately thought of supplying his

place by Prince Polignac, whom he summoned from London, where he was ambassador, for the purpose; but none of the ministers would have aught to do with the Prince, who was consequently obliged for this time to return whence he had come.

It sufficiently depicts the ravelled and contradictory state of French politics and constitutionalism to say, that whilst Charles the Tenth was doing his utmost to thrust Prince Polignac into the Cabinet of Martignac, the latter was negotiating with the Left for the accession of two of its members, Casimir Périer and Sebastiani, for whom he offered to find ministries. The King most likely would have consented to let them in at one door, if Polignac was admitted at the other, and Martignac himself would probably * have assented to a compromise; but other ministers objected strenuously, and both schemes failed.

Martignac therefore opened the session with the announcement that he had prepared a law for the better and more popular organisation of municipal and departmental councils, being the foundation of those local liberties and independence so earnestly demanded. During the debates on the address in answer to the speech in the Upper Chamber, Prince Polignac took the opportunity to make a profession of political faith. He had been calumniated, he said, in being marked out as the peculiar enemy of representative institutions. Far from this being true, the Prince declared himself attached to the Charter, which he considered as the true and secure port for the country after so many tempests. When Charles the Tenth's political *alter ego* thus eulogised the Charter, he included a certain article of it—the 14th, which appeared to allow the King the full use of absolute power whenever he might deem it expedient. This was so well understood, that Polignac's

* Études, par Prince Polignac.

CHAP.
XLV.

confession of faith was merely looked upon as a menace to Martignac, or a kind of proclamation issued by his rival and eventual successor.

After the address, Martignac produced his scheme of municipal councils and administration. These hitherto, according to the system of the Empire, had been conducted on the simple principle of government nomination. The prefect appointed the members of the municipal council, as he did the mayors. Martignac abandoned these powers on the part of the government, and handed them over to the same class which was master of the elections for the Chamber, viz. the highest taxpayers. This, one should think, ought to have satisfied the Royalists, and would have done so two or three years previous. But recent elections had shown that the moneyed class, or that of the highest taxpayers in towns, who at one time returned a Chamber exclusively royalist, had been thrown by Villèle into discontent, liberalism, and opposition. The Royalists no longer trusted the highest taxpayers, because in fact Villèle's government had abused its power, and set the country against it. In 1829 the Royalists therefore rallied back to the standard which they had so lately fought against, that of Villèle, and in the consideration of the new municipal law preferred the system of government nomination to that of election, even by the rich.

It was a great oversight of Martignac not to have consulted and made sure of the support of either Royalists or Liberals for his law; for when produced, it found both opposed to it—the Royalists for the reasons stated; the Liberals, though pleased with the principle of election, dissatisfied with the narrow basis of a small class of rich to be the only electors. A commission being appointed to examine the law, Dupin was chosen reporter, and he drew up a satire rather than an encomium upon it. He proposed the substitution of the word *elector* for that of notable, as it admitted all

paying 300 francs amount of taxes to vote both for municipal and departmental councils. Certain orators of the Left went in the discussion much further than Dupin, and accused the minister of seeking to establish an aristocracy of wealth in both town and country. This might be all very well in England, where land was owned by the landlord and tilled by tenants; but in France, where neither class existed, the law could not make or support them.

The Royalists finding Martignac so hard pressed and denounced by the Left, abstained from debate and looked on. They well knew that a schism between the government and its Liberal supporters would infallibly produce the overthrow of the former, and consequently it observed with delight the attacks of the Left. Certain members of the party, more sensible and more provident of the consequences, deprecated these attacks, and advised their more furious partisans to accept the benefits of the new law without endangering a semi-liberal government by asking too much. On its part the government was in its private communications equally explicit. Martignac told Sebastiani that the King was determined to make no further concessions, and that if the ministry was tripped up by the Liberals, who ought to have supported it, the King would seize the opportunity to recall and reinstate the Ultras in power.* When making this sad and serious warning, Martignac deserved to be listened to. And it was most necessary, or would have been wise, at such a moment to have supported him. But the body of the Left would make no compromise, and it thus unfortunately contributed to the catastrophe that was about to follow.

One of the principal amendments of the Commission,

* Vaulabelle accuses not only Sebastiani, but Guizot, of having prompted the Liberals to resist on this occasion and support the amend-

ment which overruled the ministerial project. M. Guizot, in his Memoirs, does not reply to the charge.

CHAP.
XLV.

which indeed altered the whole nature of the law, was the doing away with the council of district, the intermediate assembly, that the minister insisted on. This was put to the vote on the 8th of April. The ministers were for rejecting the amendment, and accordingly kept their seats, whilst the Left stood up in support of it. It was naturally to be supposed that the Royalists would sit with a ministry against an amendment of which they disapproved. But on this occasion they abstained. And the consequence was that ministers were beaten, and the amendment carried against them by their own friends of the Left.

Martignac and his brother ministers instantly left the Hall of Sitting and repaired to the King's presence. "I told you," said Charles the Tenth, "that you could not depend upon those Liberals. There is no use in going any further to please them." In a very short time the ministers resumed their seats in the Chamber, and the moment the tribune was vacant, Martignac ascended it, and announced "that the King withdrew both municipal and departmental laws."

The Liberals having turned their backs on the Ministry, the Ministry in retaliation turned their backs upon them, and both remained powerless. Martignac was at the mercy of the King; the latter, however, could not sacrifice him at once. It was necessary to tide over the session, and get the budget voted. There was no difficulty in this—at least no serious difficulty. Opposition limited their efforts to contesting with the Justice Minister, Peyronnet, a sum which he had expended upon his drawing-room. There were some slight and temporary changes in the administration. The real change, the result of the abandonment of Martignac by the Liberals, was deferred till after the prorogation of the Chamber, which took place in the last days of July. We have, thus, still a year to recount of the reign of Charles the Tenth.

If the Liberals of the Left had been imprudent in treating Martignac and his measures so harshly as to afford the King a pretext for dismissing him, the sensible Royalists and their chief, M. de Villèle, were equally imprudent when, manœuvring in the Chamber, afterwards in concert with the Left, they too precipitated the overthrow of the Minister. They hoped no doubt that Villèle would return to power in conjunction with the ultra-Royalists, without overcoming or rallying the Châteaubriand party. They were mistaken. The King's political hopes and affections were placed on Polignac, whom Villèle could not abide, and with whom even he refused to embark in the same boat. M. Guizot, however, thinks Villèle to have been impossible, and no doubt he was so with the existing Chamber. But his presence and his counsel, if listened to, would have been most salutary to the King. Polignac, who had neither brains nor ideas, scorned to adopt or consult those of others. Villèle remained all through 1829 in his country-seat at Toulouse.

The King gave indications of what was passing in his mind. The Chamber, during the discussion of the war budget, had harshly treated the minister, M. de Caux. The Left were in extreme ill humour since the withdrawal of the law, and showed it. De Caux, writhing under their severity, ejaculated in the King's presence that the Chamber was abominable.* The King instantly seized him, and drew him to a window to observe that such a state of things could not last. "Am I sure of the army?" "For what, Sire?" asked the astounded De Caux. "Oh, without conditions." "Anything that your Majesty might require in the name of the Charter, and in accordance with it, the army would zealously execute," observed the wary minister; "anything against it, *no*. There is not one officer in forty who is a gentleman born, and not a thousand of them with six

* Capefigue.

CHAP.
XLV.

hundred francs a year revenue of his own. You must not try to establish the *ancien régime* with an army like that." "But no one wants to violate the Charter," exclaimed the King: "what has the army to do with the Charter?"*

The Martignac Ministry still held office, as well as councils, at the Tuileries, whilst Charles the Tenth was receiving in his closet, whither they were conducted secretly, the chiefs of the ultra-Royalist party. Polignac also stole back from London, and only left a card, after he had been in Paris some days, on the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The old Villelist president of the Chamber, Ravez, assured the King that a royalist majority existed in the Chamber, if it could be kept together. And probably it might have been kept together, if some one who stood between Villèle and Polignac were declared minister. But this seemed merely a repetition of the Martignac experiment, all but a change of names. The King cut the matter short by nominating on the 8th of August a Polignac Cabinet.

It must be confessed that both the King and Polignac made efforts to render the new cabinet not altogether *ultra*. The former besought Count Roy to remain Minister of Finance, and offered him a dukedom in recompense. Roy refused to remain without Martignac. Polignac would have retained the latter, were it possible. He might have refused to remain, but he was not asked, as La Bourdonnaye objected to him. This furious partisan—*le plus mauvais coucheur qui fut oncques*,† although Guizot depicts him as more furious in words than in acts, took the Home Office, which had the same effect on the public as if Robespierre had been resuscitated with royalist proclivities. Prince Polignac himself was Foreign Minister. Bourmont had the War Department. This general officer had deserted the army in full campaign

* Capefigue.

† Châteaubriand.

just before the battle of Waterloo, and gave testimony against Ney of a most ungenerous kind. He was about the most unpopular man in all France for the post. Courvoisier, Chabrol, De Rigny, were declared Ministers of Justice, Finance, and Marine. The latter declined, and was replaced by Baron d'Haussez. Monbel, the only friend of Villele in the Cabinet, took Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Instruction again combined.

The very name of Polignac as minister was a declaration of war on the part of the government against the nation. This was responded to at once by associations, commenced in Brittany, for the refusal of taxes if any breach of the constitution took place. Lafayette, who happened to be on a tour through Auvergne and Dauphiné, was welcomed and feasted as if the fears and hopes of 1789 had fully revived. Ministers retaliated by prosecuting the journals which published the speeches and relations of what passed. But the judges, who had resumed their severity against the press during the moderate ministry of Martignac, abandoned it at once in the presence of Polignac, and acquitted journals and persons of the sedition laid to their charge. The most remarkable subject of their prosecution was an article published by the *Journal des Débats*.

“Behold,” said the writer, “the bond of love and confidence between prince and people now broken. Behold once more the court with its old rancour, the *émigrés* with their prejudices, the priests with their hatred of freedom, flinging themselves between France and its King. What the country has gained in forty years of struggle and misfortune, it is now to be deprived of. Everything that it most abhors is forced upon it. The glory of the dynasty was its moderation in the exercising of authority. But moderation is henceforth impossible. The present ministers could not observe it, how much soever they desired it. They may murmur the words of Charter and Liberty, but it can only be

CHAP.
XLV.

with the accents of fear or of hypocrisy. Yet what can they do? Recur to bayonets? But even bayonets have become intelligent. Will they tear asunder the Charter? Let them beware. All the efforts of despotism cannot prevail against it. The people pay 20,000,000fr. to the law. They would not pay 1fr. to the ordonnances of ministers. If they try to raise taxes illegally, a Hampden will be found to resist them. A Hampden? Are we reduced to invoke a name synonymous with civil war? Unhappy France, unhappy monarch!"

The proprietor of the journal, M. Bertin, pleaded his own cause. He had been to Ghent, and had suffered for his spirited Royalism. The Royal Court pronounced in his favour.

In consequence of these acquittals, the judges in their robes were but ill received at the Tuileries when they went to present their homage on the first day of the new year. The King scolded them. The Duchess d'Angoulême in reply to their address merely said, *Passez*—"Move on." "Shall I inscribe her Royal Highness's gracious reply upon our register?" asked the President Seguier.

Amidst these skirmishes, the ministry lost the alliance of M. de la Bourdonnaye. He had from the first declined either to be Prime Minister himself or to cede that place to Prince Polignac. But to a government manifestly of reaction a head was necessary to declare the new spirit of the administration, and serve as a rallying point to the zealots. La Bourdonnaye would not hear of it. "The game we were playing," he said afterwards, "was for no less than our heads; and in such a game, I insisted on holding my own cards." Therefore, when Polignac was declared Prime Minister, La Bourdonnaye resigned.

Guernon de Ranville succeeded to the place of minister in lieu of La Bourdonnaye. He was a weak, though a clearsighted man, who plainly foretold to

Polignac the consequences of his provoking the middle classes by a *coup d'état*, and yet who, when summoned afterwards to sign the ordonnances, did so. Whilst the King thus made up his ministry of the refuse of politicians, the electors, more provident, having two or three members of the Chamber to choose, returned Guizot and Berryer, which showed at least that if the King knew not how to discern or employ talents, the country did.

On March 2, 1830, the King opened the Chambers. He announced an expedition to Algiers, the conquest of which, by Bourmont, was looked to as a crown of glory for the new government. The Chamber listened without interest or approbation. The Monarch concluded his speech with a casual menace. "If culpable manœuvres," said he, "should raise obstacles in the way of my government, which I cannot and will not foresee, I shall find the force to overcome them, in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French people, and in the affection they have always shown to the King." "The King's attitude," observes M. Guizot, "betrayed agitation and embarrassment. He read his speech with precipitation, and the last passage, which contained the menace, was accentuated by him with more affectation than energy. As to the Chamber, it is difficult to say whether the prevailing sentiment was that of coldness or of sadness."

"A fortnight later," continues M. Guizot, "the Prince de Polignac attended the committee of the address, much out of his place, amidst a world of which he knew little, and where he was little esteemed. Some one having made him a reproach, he replied awkwardly, in hurried and confused words, anxious to sit down again and be silent. My eyes met his on one occasion, and I was struck by their expression of astonished consciousness. Evidently, whilst meditating their *coup d'état*, neither the Prince nor the King were at their ease. In their minds, as in their physiognomy, was a mixture of resolution and

weakness, of confidence and of trouble, which attested at once blindness of intellect and presentiment of misfortune.*

If Charles and Polignac had allowed themselves to be persuaded by Ravez and other courtiers that a Royalist majority or their power could easily be resuscitated, they found themselves grievously mistaken. The choice of candidates for the Presidency sufficiently showed this. The address declared it. That document proclaimed the existence of "great disquietude." The country, it declared, was in presence of an administration which was actuated by a distrust of its sentiments and its reason. The people considered such an administration as inimical to it, and moreover as a menace to its liberties. It was impossible for the King to participate in the distrustful sentiments of such a ministry. He must know that France did not desire anarchy, no more than it would suffer despotism. The address ended by plainly saying that the King would at once put an end to this state of things by dismissing his ministry.

M. Guizot styles this language of the address as modest in its pride, and tender in its frankness. Modesty and tenderness are not its attributes. A more decided slap in the face, deserved or not, was never given by parliament to monarch. Charles certainly deserved the rebuff. But as certainly it was calculated to irritate, not reclaim him. Unfortunately for Charles the Tenth, the ministers whom he had chosen were totally without oratorical powers, and unable, although three or four of them spoke, to make anything like a parliamentary defence. They had a fair ground to stand upon in alleging that the administration had committed no act, and that it was condemned upon suppositions which would be found to be calumnies. But ministers were unable to say even this. Polignac himself was a helpless mute. Yet most moderate men, Martignac

* Guizot's Mémoires.

amongst them, tried to soften the harshness of the address by an amendment. The Chamber rejected this, and voted it, as it stood, finally, on March 15, by 221 votes against 181.

Charles consented to receive the injurious address, which was read to him, not without emotion, by Royer Collard. To the demand of changing his politics and his ministers, the King replied that his resolves were immutable; and summoning his ministers, he informed them of his intention to dissolve the Chamber. As Chabrol and Courvoisier protested against such a course, the Chamber was merely prorogued, and the question of dissolution adjourned. In this, and in his subsequent acts, it is evident that Charles was his own minister, the prime adviser and originator of the policy to defy the parliament and the country. If he chose and held by Polignac, it was that the latter obeyed the royal impulse, instead of giving it. Prince Polignac was a dreamer, only half awake and half alive. He looked upon the counter-revolution, upon the path of which he was entering, as something quite accordant with the Charter, and which Providence could not but sanction as a devout proceeding. But whatever the King advised, Polignac was prepared implicitly to follow. This is quite evident in Prince Polignac's *Études*, and in the conversation he had with Lamartine, when he endeavoured to persuade that young diplomatist to accept the post of Foreign Minister. But, although so insensible to political danger, Polignac was unfortunately very sensible to personal rivalry. He disliked and dreaded Villèle. That statesman came to town with the hope of directing Royalty in a safer path than it seemed disposed to follow. Polignac displayed strong aversion to him. Yet when it appeared that as soon as the decision was taken to dissolve the Chamber, Chabrol, Courvoisier, and perhaps Guernon de Ranville, would resign, the thoughts of several ministers turned to Villèle.

CHAP.
XLV.

He was for a dissolution and for turning it to the best account, so that his entrance into the ministry with Peyronnet was mooted. But Peyronnet repudiated Villèle as decidedly as Polignac. And that statesman, who saw the monarchy on the brink of the precipice to which he had contributed to steer it, withdrew in disappointment and despair. Chabrol and Courvoisier resigned, Guernon de Ranville was induced to remain. Peyronnet was appointed to the Home Department. Chantelauze, a friend of the Duc d'Angoulême, with the Baron Cappelle, afterwards joined the Cabinet.

In April M. de Bourmont embarked upon his expedition against Algeria, begging of his colleagues to await his return at least ere they provoked civil war. The Dey had given frequent cause of umbrage to France, of which since its defeat in 1814 and 1815 Orientals and Barbaresques made too little count. The French government wished to protect the Papal flag from the Algerian corsairs, and the latter did not understand the grounds of this. The French Consul had at last an altercation with the Dey, who struck him with his fan. It was a fair *casus belli*. When Ambassador in London, Prince Polignac had represented the necessity of taking revenge, but accompanied it by the assurance that he would not make conquests or seek territorial advantages. Summoned to renew this promise as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Prince Polignac hesitated and was evasive in his replies, whilst his Marine Minister, D'Haussez, was insolent. Prince Polignac had at first announced the project of employing the Pasha of Egypt to reduce the Dey; but many objections were made to the plan, and Bourmont's idea of winning glory at Algiers in order to reconcile the French to absolute government was caught at and adopted. It was no difficult achievement with an army of 40,000 men and a formidable fleet. Landing at some short distance from Algiers, the French were attacked

by the Dey's army, not inconsiderable, but of course no match for their opponents. The Algerians were defeated. Algiers was then invested. The fort of the Emperor, on the apex or summit of the town, was battered, and was about to be the object of an assault, when the Dey's officers blew it up. This but the more effectually opened the town to the French, who found ample treasure in the Dey's coffers. That potentate was allowed to retire with his family, and Algiers became French. This was achieved early in July.

Meantime the Royal Ordonnance dissolving the Chambers appeared. Never did general election under worse auspices for the Crown take place. And yet the electors formed the wealth and education of the kingdom. Had the Monarch shown either moderation or sense, he could not but have had a majority amongst such a class. But the King in a proclamation pronounced the late address of the Chamber repudiating Polignac as a personal insult to himself, which he was determined not to overlook. At the same time the ministerial press and some functionaries spoke plainer. They pleaded that the King had by the 14th article of the Charter a full right to make use of extraordinary measures to save the State, even by decreeing a change in the electoral law. Others pointed to a conflict as the likeliest result of their policy, and the Crown was said to be prepared for this trial of force, and assured of victory. This language, instead of intimidating the electors, irritated and provoked them. The opposition members were everywhere returned, the ministerialists losing some fifty. The Liberal majority of 221 became 270. To this had abutted the boasts and efforts of De Peyronnet.

To meet such a Chamber with his present ministers and with the only language that they could use was merely to provoke an address stronger in censure than that of the 221. It was sure, however, to be respectful

to the Monarch, who had but to abandon his ministers in order to be reconciled to his parliament. There was nothing humiliating in this, if Charles would have considered himself a constitutional King. If any one would endeavour to represent to himself what Charles the Tenth really aimed at, and what were the counter-designs of the parliamentary majority, no very great chasm would be found between them. The King had abandoned the Jesuits. He still wished to give the clergy influence, and desired to see the old historical noblesse resume its splendour and its station. There was nothing very despotic in this, nor did Charles the Tenth look to make himself a despot. He was much more afraid of what the Liberals meditated towards him than bent upon any project of his own. Unfortunately he had the Revolution ever before his eyes. He looked upon the Chamber as a Convention, and its orators as so many Vergniauds and Robespierres, who, if they were not crushed, would abolish the monarchy and send its present occupant to the scaffold. "I had rather mount on horseback and fight than mount the scaffold there [pointing to the Place Louis Quinze] as my brother did." All this was mere phantasmagoria—the ravings of a mind steeped in the past, and unable to extricate itself therefrom so as to take an active and just view of the present. His family was worse than himself; his niece and daughter-in-law imbued with the same silly sentiments, that the Liberal politicians were Mirabeau and Barrère, Danton and Robespierre. When the King appointed Martignac, the Duchesse d'Angoulême exclaimed that he had descended the first step of his throne. Those unfortunate Bourbons were in fact stricken with insanity, and petrified into obtuseness by the spectre of the past.

All this time what did the Liberals, even the extreme ones, desire? We can now judge from the letters of Lafayette written at the time. The principle of election in

municipalities, the restoration of the National Guard, the press moderately free, a liberal policy towards foreign nations. In fact they wanted nothing that Charles the Tenth in his senses might not have granted, and which he would in reality have found nowise inimical to the fair influence of the clergy and the gradual restoration of the aristocracy, provided neither flung themselves athwart the current and onward sentiments of the age.

Unfortunately all appreciation of measures, or even of tendencies, had been superseded, ever since the fall of Villèle, by the rivalry of persons. Of this indeed Villèle himself set the example. The King followed it by placing his own royal person in the foremost rank of party, and considering the enemies of his ministers as his own. By giving up Polignac and appointing a Périer and Sebastiani ministry, Charles would have yielded nothing save empty ideas of pride. Not so Polignac and Peyronnet: if they were sent adrift, they would have floated down the current of oblivion, and become the nothings they deserved to be. Against this they struggled, and to avoid this they imperilled and lost the monarchy. *They* would not yield. Prince Polignac proposed to go back fifty years and resuscitate the policy of Calonne. He would convoke an Assembly of Notables. But Chantelauze, the lawyer of the dynasty, was for making use of the 14th article of the Charter, and by virtue of it convoke a new Chamber, to be chosen by a new system of election, and thus get the semblance of parliamentary sanction by a *coup d'état*. Such was the plan discussed and decided by the Government, and such were the measures foreseen and dreaded by the party or conglomeration of parties in opposition. All these met and were affiliated together in the society *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*. And the frequent question was, what they should do if ordonnances destructive of the Constitution were promulgated. There was but one view as to what was to be done—this was to

resist paying taxes, and enter on a course of passive resistance. All were prepared to play the Hampden, nobody the Cromwell. The ministers chuckled on learning that this was the resolve of their enemies. They knew very well they could put down the Hampdens, provided the population of the Paris Faubourgs would but remain quiet. The Prefect of Police, Mangin, assured the King and the government that they would. "*Paris will not stir*," was his vehement and fatuous assurance. One person questioned the justice of this promise. M. de Vitrolles, once Charles the Tenth's favourite, but no longer so, intruded into the palace to warn the King that there existed a silent but dangerous agitation amongst the masses of the capital, and that, if any violent measure burst upon the popular mind, there would be a formidable insurrection. Peyronnet, relying upon the Prefect of Police and on his own assurance, laughed at the idea. The Duke de Mortemart, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, came to Paris expressly to warn the King not to infringe the Charter. The Czar had been informed of such intents by Pozzo di Borgo, and sent Mortemart to warn the French King that he must not look to the Allies for support if his own rash acts should hurl him from the throne. The warning of Nicholas was no more listened to than that of Vitrolles.

On the 11th of July Charles, with his son and the two Princesses, went in state to Notre Dame to attend a *Te Deum* for De Bourmont's conquest of Algiers. At almost any other moment the population would have greeted the Monarch with enthusiasm and sympathised with his feelings of exultation. Now it was but too evident that any victory of the Crown would be turned against the people. And the royal family in their solitary glass coach were the only persons who displayed any signs of joy or satisfaction.* The Archbishop, Quelen, however, must be excepted. He prognosticated

* The writer witnessed the procession.

that his Majesty would soon have to celebrate another Te Deum for a still more splendid victory—meaning evidently one over his people. The Archbishop was no prophet.

Three or four Ordonnances were drawn up by Chantelauze, and communicated to the ministers assembled on the 24th. They were as follows:—

First Ordonnance.—The liberty of the press is suspended. No journal to appear, and no book or pamphlet above or below twenty sheets to be published, without special authorisation.

Second Ordonnance.—The Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

Third Ordonnance.—The future Chamber to be composed solely of Deputies of Departments.

Electors must pay 300 francs land-tax: no other will be counted. By this Ordonnance the Chamber was to be composed of what in England are called county members. They were chosen in France by the highest tax-payers. The final Ordonnance fixed the elections for the coming September.

Such were the Ordonnances proposed on the 24th, and laid on the Council Table at St. Cloud on the 25th of July (Sunday), 1830, for decision. Charles himself presided, and his son, the Duc d'Angoulême, was present. Read over, they were assented to in silence by the ministers. The King was the first to sign them. He hesitated for a moment, and then declaring that nothing was left for him but to sign, did so. His example was followed by all present. And they were then brought to the proprietor of the *Moniteur* for publication on the following morning. That personage, M. Sauvo, could not believe his eyes. He had lived through many revolutions, and he now rushed to the Chancellor's to be assured of the authenticity of the documents placed in his hands. They were published on the morning of the 26th.

The persons first struck at by these Ordonnances were the members of the press, as well as all who lived by publishing and printing. The offices of the journals became in consequence the first *foci* of the agitation. Editors and writers met there, whilst the printers with no work before them thronged in the Palais Royal and other places of public resort to mount chairs and read the Ordonnances to the people who gathered round. This took place, as if instinctively, before the Café Foy, on the old ground where Camille Desmoulins had harangued his audience. The printers were not long left alone; for the managers of other trades and manufacturing establishments dismissed their workmen, or gave them the holiday which they hastened to spend in the *forums* of the day, the *places publiques*.

Whilst the working classes were at once afoot, there was, indeed, little activity shown by the higher, except by the class of journalists. There were certainly few deputies in Paris. In the month of July, of a very hot summer too, wealthy persons generally quit the capital. Some of the journalists came to Dupin to ask him to sign a protestation. This he declined, being no longer, he said, a deputy then.* But as a lawyer he informed the journalists that they had a right to resist—nay, would deserve to lose their journal if they did not do so. Other legists were found more courageous. M. Debelleyme, Judge in *Première Instance*, and M. Ganneron, Judge of the *Tribunal de Commerce*, declared from their seats of judgment the Ordonnances illegal, and not to be obeyed. Bertin de Vaux, Sebastiani, Casimir Périer were in town, but could not decide on any immediate action. Laborde, one of the deputies for Paris, finding no sufficient encouragement amongst his few colleagues, betook himself to the office of the *National*, where he found editors and journalists in *conciliabule*. They had

* Memoirs of Dupin.

already resolved to draw up a protest. M. Thiers, editor of the *National*, took the pen to do this.

They declared "the legal system of government to have been put an end to, and that of brute force substituted. The press was under the protection of the Charter: its rights had been violated. They, the printers and writers, determined to disobey Ordonnances of the kind, and published their journal in despite of them. The Crown had also infringed the Charter by dissolving the Chamber of Deputies ere it had met or been constituted. It was for Deputies to see how they would act. Pressmen would at least stand up for the press." Forty-one signatures were affixed to this bold protest, the first step to the Revolution of July. The principal names were those of Thiers, Mignet, and Carrel, of the *National*; Cauchois Lemaire and Dumoulin, of the *Constitutionnel*; Chatelain, of the *Courrier Français*; Remusat, of the *Globe*; Baude, Haussman, Dussard, Coste, of the *Temps*. The Deputies, who met in the same evening to the number of 14 or 15, resolved also to sign a protest; and several drafts of such a document were drawn up, but finally left for the morrow to be decided on. The office of the *National* continued to be crowded by the most zealous; but even there, M. de Schonen, who was for open resistance, was silenced by Thiers asking "where were the means," as the people showed no signs of stirring.

Nothing therefore took place on the day of the issue of the Ordonnances to alarm the Monarch or the ministers. Polignac's carriage was pelted, indeed, but no more. Still Marmont, who commanded the troops, was in anxiety at having to repress any popular tumult. He complained aloud to his friends of such a duty being forced upon him. He attended a meeting of the Institute, and spoke on the subject to his friend Arago. On Tuesday he was ordered by the King to take such military precautions as were necessary. These very

precautions brought on a collision and provoked a struggle. On the morning of the 27th the police proceeded to breaking the presses of the *Temps* and *National* by order of the Prefect, and orders were issued to arrest the 41 gentlemen of the press who had signed the courageous protest. The police were unable to lay their hands upon any. But the presses of the *Temps* and *National*, which had printed the protest, were broken after a long and stubborn opposition offered by M. Baude. A crowd gathered in the Rue de Richelieu, before the office of the *Temps*, when the police were engaged breaking the presses; but there was no resistance. The people then hurried to the Palais Royal, and being expelled from the garden, thronged in the streets and passages around. Yet, had no soldiers appeared, it is probable that the mob, not knowing what to be at, would have separated on the Tuesday as on the Monday. But Marmont had brought the Swiss regiments to the Place Louis Quinze, and filled the Carrousel with troops, which in the evening were ordered to clear the environs of the Palais Royal. The Lancers charged up the Rue de Richelieu, the mob retreating to a heap formed by the ruins of a house near the Théâtre Français, and pelted the Lancers with bricks.* The infantry sent to clear the Place du Palais Royal were pelted too, and at last lost patience and fired. Some of the crowd were killed; and their deaths became the signal for insurrection. The bodies were placed on biers, and transported into different quarters, words and tears of rage being vociferated and shed over them. Every vehicle caught in the streets around the Palais Royal was thrown down—paving stones rooted up and heaped round them so as to form a barricade. These obstructions, when raised in the face of the soldiers, were soon destroyed. But the constructors, thus defeated, withdrew to more

* The writer was on the spot.

distant parts of the town, where they could build barricades and strengthen them at leisure. The chief business of the evening was, however, the search for arms and procuring of ammunition. The shops which sold them were broken open and soon emptied. Several dépôts of powder were obtained possession of, and the people immediately began to make cartridges. The arms of the National Guard were all forthcoming, whether in the hands of the owners or of others.

The night of the 27th passed in comparative quiet, the preparations being carried on for the greater part indoors. The darkness, indeed, consequent upon the universal smashing of the lamps prevented circulation, and, save the burning of a wooden guardhouse near the Bourse, no act of violence took place that night. But the agitation was far from allayed. From the people it had gained the shopkeeping classes, and a proclamation to the National Guard to assemble having been placarded, the civic uniform made its appearance everywhere on the morrow. The young men of even the higher classes began to take part in the enthusiasm, and crowds of them might be seen with fowling-pieces on the Boulevards, where the fallen trees protected them from charges of horse. The people, however, as day broke, re-manned the barricades, or gathered in the central squares. The first act of the morning of the 28th was an attack upon the Hôtel de Ville by the people, who easily overcame the slender guard that held it. The object was not to instal any insurgent committee or municipality, but simply to replace the white flag on the summit by the tricolor. Similar was the object at Notre Dame, where moreover the great bell or *bourdon*, better known as the *tocsin*, was set in motion, informing all Paris that the insurrection was flagrant and victorious in its centre.

Marmont awoke at the sound to the gravity of the insurrection; and reports soon came to explain the

ominous sounds, telling that the suburbs, left as well as right of the Seine, were pouring down combatants, with the pupils of the Polytechnic School acting as officers and leading them. The Marshal's first impulse was to forward to St. Cloud an advice of pacification, in other words, a submission on the part of the Crown. This recommendation found King and Ministers deaf or obstinate. It was answered by orders to act with energy, and put down the tumult by force. Paris was declared in a state of siege. Marmont prepared to obey the command, and directed three corps to advance into the insurgent portion of the city. One was to follow the quays and take possession of the Hôtel de Ville, another to the left of it was to occupy the Marché des Innocents, whilst a third was to follow and clear the Boulevards from the Madeleine to the Bastille. The divisions having fulfilled their first tasks, were to open communications with each other, clearing the Rue St. Denis and the principal streets between the Hôtel de Ville, the Marché, and the Boulevards. Other corps, smaller in number, were charged with the less important mission of patrolling and keeping quiet the western quarters of the city.

The first division, under General Talon, achieved the task of taking possession of the Hôtel de Ville and its Place. This was not done without a fierce struggle and some loss. The mob stood firm before the musketry, but a discharge of grape infallibly dispersed the groups, and left a large portion of them dead.

The second division, which proceeded by the Rue St. Honoré, succeeded in occupying the great market *des Innocens*, not without having had several barricades to overcome, whilst a heavy fire from all the windows that look on the market rendered the position perilous. The third division had also some encounters, especially at the Porte St. Martin; but it too succeeded in reaching the Bastille, and even pushed a detachment to the gate

of St. Antoine. But the three divisions, however successful so far, were unable to communicate with each other. The Rue St. Antoine was impassable from barricades and armed crowds. The soldiers on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, after a vain combat, seemed more inclined to come to an armistice with the people than attack them. Their commander therefore made no attempt to clear the neighbouring streets, or open communications. The division occupying the market were obliged to attempt this, galled as it was by the fire of musketry. Colonel Plainselves led a battalion to traverse the long and narrow Rue St. Denis to the Boulevard. It was more than a battalion could effect, there being a barricade at every hundred paces, high as the second story, and insurgent muskets at every window. Nevertheless the battalion succeeded after much delay in emerging from the street upon the Boulevard, but not till it had left the greater part of its soldiers wounded as well as the Colonel. To have effected the passage was moreover idle, for the barricades rose again, and the street filled with the insurgents behind the column as it passed.

Whilst the several divisions of the army were engaged in this perilous task, the Deputies, to the number of thirty, met at M. Audry de Puyraveau's, to consider the question of a protest. That gentleman kept a kind of *roulage*, and whilst the Deputies discussed the object of their meeting in a saloon on the ground floor, the workmen in the court joined in and made it a very democratic meeting. Laffitte and Lafayette, just come to town, soon attended. They would hear of no lame protest. What had taken place, they said, was a revolution, and what was wanting was a Provisional Government to be at the head of it.* Alarmed at such an extreme measure, the more moderate proposed a deputation to

* Lafayette's Memoirs.

CHAP.
XLV.

Marmont to suspend hostilities. This was agreed to. That general had already learned the partial success of his divisions in reaching their positions, but at the same time the difficulty of maintaining them. Polignac and the ministers were in the next apartment; but whilst they were resolving to seize the Deputies and try them by a council of war, Marmont was inditing a letter to the King, imploring him to yield in time. Orders had already been issued for arresting the Liberal Deputies, when their presence was announced. Marmont recalled the issue of arrests, but when the Deputies urged a cessation of hostilities, confessed his inability to do more than inform the King. He had deserted a great cause once, and could not repeat such an act. When the deputation as well as his friend Arago urged him, he said they had better see Polignac. The latter, however, declined the interview. And whilst Marmont, at the very time when his troops were meditating a retreat from before the people, warned the King of the danger which impended, Polignac sent simultaneous despatches insisting on the necessity of holding out, and making no concessions. At this time the minister was warned of the important fact that several regiments refused to fire upon the insurgents. "Fire upon them then!" was the Prince's fatuous reply. Somewhat shaken by the Marshal's account, Charles the Tenth at St. Cloud asked Vitrolles, who came to insist on the necessity of a change of measures and of the ministry, "Would it not be better for me to be at the Tuileries?" "Certainly," replied Vitrolles, "but for the council of war, which has been installed there to pass sentence upon the Deputies and others arrested in flagrant revolt. If there be executions, the name of Charles the Tenth will recall the acts of his predecessor Charles the Ninth." The allusion to the St. Bartholomew massacre confirmed the King in his purpose to stay away from his palace in the capital; and he thus remained ignorant all that fatal afternoon

of the events which were destroying the very foundations of his throne.

The efforts of Marmont were in fact no longer to reduce the centre of Paris north of the Seine, held by the insurgents, but to extricate his troops from amongst them. This was effected by two of the divisions withdrawing from the strife and retreating to the Champs Élysées by making the circuit of the exterior Boulevards. Those in the centre of the town, at the Market and the Hôtel de Ville, were only able to effect a similar retreat after nightfall. The troops were in fact defeated on every side, and Marmont merely held the Louvre and Tuileries, with the issues from thence towards St. Cloud. The only answer from the King to Marmont's entreaties, even at a late hour, was to hold the Place Louis Quinze, and employ the troops *en masse* against the people. The soldiers, however, by this time formed an insignificant mass in presence of that of the whole population of the capital.

The Deputies met in the afternoon and the evening of the 28th. All the efforts of Lafayette and one or two others could not induce them to step out of the path of legality. They said nothing was possible but a reconciliation with Charles the Tenth. Still a protest, much stronger than the former one, was proposed by M. Guizot. Even then there was reluctance to sign, and the proprietor of the *Temps* refused to print it unless it was signed. A list of those present was at length affixed. But the time for such documents was passed. The King himself remained more passive than even the Deputies. He withdrew to bed after his game of whist at St. Cloud; and etiquette forbade his being awakened. The Ministers remained in the Tuileries trusting in Marmont, who assured them that, however beaten out of Paris, his troops could hold for a long time the Louvre, Carrousel, and Tuileries.

The Parisians invested this Quadrilateral with more

and more energy, more and more force. The barricades opposite the Louvre and entrance to the Carrousel rose high, and were manned by a people almost inebriated with powder, enthusiasm, and victory. The soldiers within the palace walls and court were without bread, and were indignant that no prince made his appearance or took his stand in the palace of his forefathers for direction or defence. The first act of Marmont on the morning of Thursday the 29th was to order a suspension of arms—such as the Deputies had vainly demanded of him the day before—and to try to get it accepted by the insurgents. This he found impossible: the offer was met by threats and volleys. The Marshal then sought to convoke the municipal and judicial authorities of the capital, to make and enforce this proposal, when he was relieved by the appearance at the Palace of M. de Semonville, Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, accompanied by M. d'Argout.

This was not indeed the personage calculated to persuade the people, but he might have influence with the Crown. They insisted on seeing the Ministers; and when Polignac appeared, they pressed him at once to save the monarchy by withdrawing the Ordonnances and abdicating power. Polignac and his colleagues replied that this was not their affair, but the King's, who was absent at St. Cloud. D'Argout then besought Marmont to arrest the Ministers, which, if announced, would satisfy the insurgents and stop the effusion of blood. This would have been but another form of that act of treason which Marmont shrunk from. Peyronnet soon after entered with a reproach to Semonville not to have already set off for St. Cloud. This turned Marmont's purpose, and he urged the Peers to hasten to the King. They set out, and were warned by Peyronnet to make speed; for if not, Prince Polignac would outstrip them and mar their errand.

They were not long upon their journey when events

occurred to show how ill-advised had been the Monarch, and how fatal the hour's delay was to the King and his dynasty. The first event was the defection of two regiments quartered in the Place Vendôme. The 15th regiment on the preceding evening, whilst stationed on the quay opposite the Hôtel de Ville, had refused to fire upon the people, and many of its men even gave away their cartouches. The example was followed on Thursday by two regiments on the Place Vendôme, the soldiers of which, when ordered to remove barricades, merely went up to reconnoitre and then turned on their heel.* Some of the officers sent to General Gérard to take the command. He could not come; but others did, who brought the officers of the regiment opposite to the Hôtel Laffitte. The Tuileries Gardens in Marmont's rear were thus left unprotected; and the Marshal, to provide their defence, was obliged to recall one of the Swiss regiments which then guarded the Louvre. The commander thought it best to send away that regiment, which had all the morning resisted the assailants from the colonnade, and to replace it by the other which occupied the great court. Orders to this effect being given, the Swiss soldiers manning the colonnade withdrew with alacrity, whilst those who were to replace them proceeded to do so with no alacrity whatever—so much so that the colonnade for an interval remained undefended. The people behind the barricade opposite were not slow to perceive the suspended fire. The boldest advanced to the gate of the Louvre, near which a wooden trough for shooting rubbish was left standing, and afforded a communication with the colonnade above. Some of the mob soon climbed it, rushed through the apartments of the Louvre, and showed their shaggy heads and menacing guns through the windows. The Swiss soldiers still in the court perceived this, and

* Me ipso teste.

CHAP.
XLV.

cried out that the palace was taken; in a trice a panic seized them, and all, who could, fled through the portal into the Carrousel. The mob, still more alert, had already broken in, and little mercy was shown the unfortunate Swiss who remained behind. In a few minutes their naked bodies covered the court, whilst red fragments of their uniforms adorned the breasts, as broken helms the heads, of the victors.

When the armed people had penetrated into the Louvre by the eastern colonnade, there was no obstacle to their traversing its halls, to reach the great gallery of pictures. Its windows overlook the Carrousel, where Marmont was endeavouring to infuse some order into the retreat, for resistance had become impossible. The popular guns and heads from the Louvre Gallery precipitated this operation; and the troops as speedily evacuated the Tuileries as the Louvre, marching through the garden to the Champs Élysées. The palace was on the instant assailed and entered from all sides. A youth of the Polytechnic School, struck by a ball, was placed upon the throne to die. There was at first some disorder and some plunder. Valuable pictures were destroyed. But guards soon sprang up to punish robbers with instant death, and to protect what was valuable in the palace.

The troops did not pause till they reached the Bois de Boulogne, where they were no longer molested. As to Marmont, he proceeded to St. Cloud, and entered the King's closet covered with the dust and disorder of the contest. He could no longer, he exclaimed, defend Paris. The Swiss regiments charged with the defence of the Louvre had abandoned it: he had in consequence been obliged to retreat beyond the barriers. The King said little, save that he had transferred the command of the troops to the Duc d'Angoulême.

Whilst the struggle still continued, and Marmont held the Louvre, as well as the Carrousel, in the morning of

the 29th the Deputies assembled at the house of M. Laffitte, more removed than others from the scene of strife. One of them undertook a mission of his own. This was Audry de Puyraveau, who, seeing the numbers in the uniform of National Guards manning the barricades and mingling in the fight, felt the expediency of their having a chief. In the name of many of them he besought Lafayette to take the command. The latter would not do so except when empowered by his colleagues. He was not able to make the proposal to them at Laffitte's until mid-day. The idea was of course accepted and applauded. Lafayette's previous recommendation to form a Provisional Government had been considered premature. M. Guizot instead of it proposed naming certain members, who, under the title of Municipal Commissioners, should undertake the government of the capital. Messrs. Laffitte, Périer, Lobau, Schonen, and Audry de Puyraveau were named, Marshal Gérard taking the command of the troops.

Whilst Lafayette installed himself at the Hôtel de Ville, the Parisians gave themselves up to a general burst of joy. On this last day the insurrection had gained the left bank of the Seine, and the military posts were attacked and carried. The barrack of the Rue de Babylone offered a stubborn resistance, and was won by much daring and effusion of blood. It was no sooner achieved than the victors formed a procession to proclaim their triumph and bring their trophies to the Hôtel de Ville. Dragoon horses captured served the improvised leaders of the late assault. A cannon dragged in triumph was bestridden by women who had joined in the fray. The combatants, inebriated by powder and fight, strode and shouted like bacchanals. Amidst these manifestations of triumph, the procession traversed Paris, and visited the suburbs, one after the other, installing new mayors and authorities. Whilst some indulged in this parade of power, others, more usefully employed,

removed the dead to courts and covered places, where they lay in heaps, begrimed and beclotted, the human form scarcely recognisable from dust and gore. On the following day pits were opened to receive many of those who had fallen, whilst the rest were conveyed and packed in boats to be floated down the Seine to the Champ de Mars.

The exultant joy of the people was indescribable. It was too full for them even to think of the future. On one thing alone they were determined—to be rid of the Bourbons. What or who was to be put in their place, the people had as yet scarcely asked themselves the question. And as to authority, any one might have it who assumed it. A half insane officer named Dubourg bought a general's uniform in an old clothes shop, and went to the Hôtel de Ville, of which he took possession by the sole right of his garment. His fancy was to hoist the black flag. M. Baude, of the *Temps*, came also to the Hôtel de Ville, and assumed authority by right of his energy and loud voice. But Baude gave way to the municipal commission named by the Deputies, whilst General Dubourg bowed before the superior authority of Lafayette.

Tidings of these thick coming events soon reached the unfortunate King at St. Cloud. Polignac had arrived there at the same time with Messrs. Semonville and D'Argout. The latter, instantly received, told his tale, but found Charles at first inflexible. The Louvre had not then been taken. But when the certitude of defeat was made apparent by the presence of Marmont, Charles the Tenth called a council of his ministers to decide the question, which had been already decided elsewhere, of yielding or not yielding. The ministers were still for holding out, for retreating to the provinces, and in fact commencing civil war. The Duc d'Angoulême inclined to the same opinion, incapable as he was of acting upon it. But the old King, who had

now full proof of the incapacity of his ministers as well as of his son, declared he would recall the Ordonnances, and appoint the Duc de Mortemart Prime Minister, with the power of nominating liberal colleagues.

Messrs. de Semonville, D'Argout, and Vitrolles were commissioned to go to Paris and make these concessions known. They were given no credentials, no documents. The King was too agitated to sign them at once. They set off nevertheless full of zeal, and managed late in the evening to reach the Hôtel de Ville. The Municipal Council and Lafayette received them immediately. Semonville announced the recall of the Ordonnances and the new ministry. Feeling themselves incompetent to reply, the Commission, or rather Casimir Périer, asked for the Royal signature and decrees confirming these changes. Vitrolles said they had come away in too great a hurry, not being aware that there existed a Provisional Government. The Commission declared its incompetence, and referred the three negotiators to the Deputies assembled at Laffitte's. D'Argout instantly repaired thither. Semonville was too wearied: Vitrolles, aware that his known ultra-Royalism would form an obstacle. D'Argout found M. Laffitte himself by no means willing to listen to the accommodation he proposed. Many of those present, however, would have jumped at it, notwithstanding the cries of the crowd in the courts of the mansion denouncing any pact with the Bourbons. But D'Argout had brought no Ordonnances, no credentials; and it was resolved to await M. de Mortemart, who was expected as the bearer of these.

That personage had remained at St. Cloud, expecting as well as the King the tidings of how M. de Semonville had speeded. Charles sat down to a rubber of whist, and then went to bed. In the night D'Argout and Vitrolles returned. Had they had full powers and clear credentials, they might have done something. M. de Mortemart was to be instantly despatched with these.

But Charles the Tenth was asleep, and etiquette forbade his being awakened. Vitrolles insisted, but was met by the Monarch with reproaches for coming to intercede for his rebellious subjects. "Will your Majesty then go to La Vendée, and recommence civil war?" Charles liked this less than signing the counter-Ordonnances; and he did sign them, as well as that appointing the Duc de Mortemart Prime Minister. It was understood that Casimir Périer and Gérard were to be his colleagues. The Duke set off in the middle of the night; but the Duc d'Angoulême would sign no pass for him, so he was obliged to skulk along the roads south of the Seine, and get into Paris by a breach in the wall.

It was then the morning of the 31st, and by that time another combination had made progress, which left no chance or opening for the emissary of Charles the Tenth. The idea of transferring the crown from the elder branch of the Bourbons, as soon as it was evident that they were one and all inimical to the Charter and to Constitutional government, and placing it on the head of the Duke of Orleans, was too obvious not to have been mooted by all who employed their minds upon politics. The Prince had been often sounded, nay tempted, but had declined to give any encouragement to those who sought to raise him to the throne. A short time previous to the Ordonnances, at a fête given by the Duke to the King of Naples—a fête which the people had hailed by making a fire of the chairs in the gardens of the Palais Royal—M. Salvandy observed to the Duke that the fête was quite Neapolitan, taking place on the crater of a volcano. "It may indeed be so," rejoined the Duke, "but eruption or earthquake will at least leave me here. I shall not budge from this palace." This was to say that if Charles the Tenth managed to get himself and his family expelled from France, he, the Duke of Orleans, would neither join nor accompany him.

That the Duke did not expect the Ordonnances is

evident from his letter of the 25th to his Aide-de-camp Rumigny.* Laffitte sent to warn him on the 29th to beware of St. Cloud. The Duke did so by sleeping, not in the palace of Neuilly, but in a kiosk of the Parc. On the morning of the 30th, equally alarmed at what either Charles the Tenth or the Parisians might attempt, he hurried off to Raincy. On the previous evening Messrs. Thiers and Mignet, neither of them in the confidence of the Duke, published and placarded a Proclamation, printed in the bureau of the *National*, stating that the Duke of Orleans was preferable at the head of a government to either Charles the Tenth or a republic. It was issued with the cognizance of M. Laffitte.

When the Deputies met at the Hôtel of the latter, at mid-day of the 30th, they came struck with the effect of this proclamation. Some certainly of the successful insurgents were opposed to it, but the greater number were acquiescent. An attempt had been made in the morning to get Laffitte to espouse the succession of the Duc de Bordeaux, with the Duke of Orleans for Regent. He had rejected it as impossible, and was confirmed in his opinion by Béranger and his other intimate friends. When therefore at the midday meeting, and after the capture of the Louvre was announced, M. Delessert† proposed to confer the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kingdom on the Duke, the idea seemed to almost all the only solution.

M. Dupin hastened off to Neuilly to inform the inmates of that palace of the intentions of the Deputies. The Duke himself had returned to Raincy, but M. Dupin was received by the Duchess and Madame Adelaide, the first of whom was shocked at the idea of her husband superseding the authority of Charles the Tenth,

* Published by Nouvion in the Appendix to his *Histoire de Louis-Philippe*.

† M. Dupin, in his *Memoirs*, says positively it was Delessert who first made the proposal.

whilst Madame Adelaide, the Duke's sister, was by no means so firm or so outspoken in that opinion.

In the mean time the placards putting forward the Duke of Orleans had disgusted and aroused the rising Republican party. They lost no time in issuing counter placards to the cry of "No Bourbons!"—"Lafayette Provisional President." That personage at the Hôtel de Ville was assailed with importunities. A republic meant himself for its President. This caused him to hesitate. Would such a proposal be accepted by the country? It certainly would not be accepted by the majority of his colleagues; and his first step must be war with them. He therefore rejected the idea, and strove to pacify the young republicans by promising they should have every thing short of a republic. Word was brought that the Duke de Chartres had been arrested at Montrouge. Whilst some of the republicans took steps for his further detention or for slaying him, Lafayette ordered his liberation.

This movement of the republicans greatly accelerated the appointment of the Duke of Orleans; for the Deputies were made to feel that the alternative was between him and a Republic. Such was the conviction with which both the Municipal Commission and Laffitte received D'Argout on the evening of the 30th; and a perfect knowledge that this was the general sentiment kept the Duc de Mortemart inactive and paralysed during the forenoon of the 31st. He merely sent M. de Sussy to signify that he had counter-Ordonnances, and that he had also his own nomination as minister.

The Deputies met at Laffitte's first, and then adjourned to their own Chamber on the 31st. The majority were already prepared to confer the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom upon the Duke of Orleans. But they had not his assent. M. Thiers, accompanied by M. Scheffer, set out for Neuilly on the morning of the 31st to procure it. He merely saw the Princesses,

as Dupin had done. But as Thiers was more positive in his offer, and more urgent in his argument, the Duchess of Orleans was more passionate in her refusal, and Madame Adelaide, on the contrary, more firm in her declaration that the offer of the Chamber was not to be refused by the Duke.* “Would she come to Paris, and accept in his name, if the Duke still remained absent?” To this Madame Adelaide consented; and this semi-acceptance M. Thiers brought to the Deputies assembled in their hall.

The Duc de Mortemart had, in the mean time, taken no step save sending word of his counter-Ordonnances to the Hôtel de Ville. He remained at the Luxembourg, the Palace of the Peers. The Upper Chamber, when there assembled, seemed little inclined to support the envoy of Charles the Tenth. Châteaubriand himself made no motion, and proposed no resolution. He merely stammered out “Save the liberty of the press.” There was something else to be saved and thought of at the moment. “What is to become of Legitimacy?” asked some one of the Viscount. “Oh! give me freedom of the press for two months, and I will soon raise up the fallen throne with my pen,” said Châteaubriand. His goose-quill was of as little avail as his counsel.

The Deputies who assembled in the Palais Bourbon at the same time were more determined. They felt the necessity of a government, and some were for endowing the Municipal Commission with it, in the absence of any message or envoy from either Charles the Tenth or the Duke of Orleans. At last M. Thiers came with a kind of assurance from the sister of the latter. M. de Mortemart sent the counter-Ordonnances about the same time. But the Duke’s appointment seemed likely to prevail, when the Royalist Hyde de Neuville, in order to defeat it, proposed a conference with the Peers, and the

* Madame Adelaide had been encouraged to act thus by a message from Prince Talleyrand.—Sir H. Bulwer’s Talleyrand.

nomination of a commission to that effect. This was instantly adopted. And the members had scarcely gone upon the errand when Odilon Barrot came from Lafayette with a protest against any precipitation in naming a new government or sovereign without preliminary guarantees of the chief public liberties. This menacing dictation from the Hôtel de Ville precipitated the movement within the Chamber in favour of the Duke of Orleans; and a message was sent to recall the commission from the Chamber of Peers. There the question of the moment had also been seriously discussed; and whilst the friends of Charles the Tenth urged that the Duc de Mortemart was there with the recall of the Ordonnances, and a new ministry appointed, assurances were brought that the Royal troops showed signs of hostility at St. Cloud, and that the ex-ministers were still there around Charles. This completely upset all Mortemart's hopes, and he himself rallied to the idea which the commission from the Deputies, proposed of naming the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General. They returned accordingly to the Lower Chamber with the consent of the Peers. The consequence was an almost unanimous vote of the Deputies* that the post of Lieutenant-General should be conferred upon the Duke of Orleans.

A messenger from Neuilly, with an account of M. Thiers' mission and offer, had been despatched to the Duke at Raincy. Laffitte, at a late hour, sent another with the vote of the Chamber. The Duke came instantly to Neuilly, and informed Laffitte that he had arrived, and would be at the Palais Royal in the morning. Laffitte's answer was to come thither immediately, as events were pressing. The Duke accordingly hastened on foot to the Palais Royal, which he reached at 11 o'clock at night. The first person he sent for was the Duke de Mortemart, to whom he stated the un-

* M. Villemain and two others were the only dissentients.

certainty of his position, and how circumstances more than his own will forced him to it. Mortemart advised him to accept the Lieutenant-Generalship temporarily. The Duke still thought this possible, and he wrote a letter, no doubt to this effect, to Charles the Tenth, confiding it to M. de Mortemart. The events of the following day rendered the letter idle: instead of being delivered to the King, it was returned to the Duke; so that its contents, however reproduced and conjectured, remain really unknown.*

At 6 o'clock on the following morning the Duke of Orleans sent for M. Dupin, and declared his readiness to accept the Lieutenant-Generalship, and thus preserve the kingdom from anarchy. Dupin drew up a proclamation of the Duke to the Parisians, stating his acceptance, as also that he had adopted the glorious tricolor, and that the Chamber would devise the proper means for ensuring the reign of the laws and the rights of the people. "The Charter shall henceforth be a truth." To the Deputation of the Chamber, which came at 8 o'clock, the Duke showed some decorous reluctance. A repetition to the Duke, through Sebastiani, of Talleyrand's previous advice to Madame Adelaide had great influence on the final decision. This the Duke of Orleans signified by acceptance.

The Chamber of Deputies met without loss of time, and ordered a Declaration, drawn up by M. Guizot, to be issued. The following guarantees, it said, would be required:—Re-establishment of the National Guard, with the right to elect its officers; the participation of citizens in the municipal and departmental administration; the jury for the press; the responsibility of ministers; officers secured in their grades. It concluded as did the Duke's proclamation with the words "The Charter shall henceforth be a truth."

After this the Deputies returned to the Palais Royal

* See Appendix to *Nouvion*.

CHAP.
XLV.

in order to accompany the Lieutenant-General in his proposed visit to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was to raise the popular banner after the Parliamentary one. The Duke proceeded on horseback; Laffitte was carried in a chair, on account of a sprain. The other Deputies, on foot, formed a guard on each side of the Duke, keeping off, with some difficulty, the populace, who displayed "neither violence nor respect."* A band of men and boys accompanied them singing the Marseillaise, and treating the procession to no very reverent remarks. There were many who awaited on the Place and the steps of the Hôtel de Ville with far more impatience, which their looks betrayed. The Duke with good countenance and good fortune passed these, and once within the municipal palace was received with acclamations by Lafayette and the crowd. He solemnly re-accepted the high offer made him, and the Prince and Lafayette then came forth on the balcony, where feelings of welcome and content overcame those of discontent and resentment, and the multitude hailed the new Sovereign with something like enthusiasm.

The act was no sooner consummated than his young and ardent friends surrounded Lafayette to reproach him with having awarded the popular crown without one popular guarantee. "Put your demands on paper," replied the General, "and I will bring them at once to the Palais Royal. I will answer for their acceptance." Lafayette went in the evening with his long list of republican demands in writing. He accosted the Lieutenant-General personally with the expression—"You know that I am a republican." "Why, so am I," rejoined the Duke. "But do you think American institutions applicable here?" "No," said Lafayette; "all we want is a popular throne surrounded by republican institutions." "Such are precisely my wishes," said the Duke, "but these institutions must be the work of the Chamber, not of me."

* Guizot's Memoirs.

Whilst the Duke of Orleans was thus cautiously taking possession of the steps of the throne, rashness and panic alternately prevailed in the family of Charles the Tenth. On the evening of Friday, the 30th, Marmont, in order to stop, if possible, the desertion of the troops, drew up a proclamation announcing to them that the Ordonnances were withdrawn, and that all required of them was to defend the Royal Family till an accommodation took place. He was not able to find the Duke d'Angoulême when he came to show it him, but deeming it urgent he had it read to the sergeants. Somewhat later the Duke took it into his head to lead an attack upon the Parisians, and drew up a spirited proclamation in consequence. General Talon, to whom it was communicated, then mentioned the previous proclamation of Marmont. Furious, and with the idea that he was betrayed by Marmont, the Prince flew into a passion with him, seized the Marshal's sword, and endeavouring to break it, cut his fingers. He then ordered the guard to arrest the Marshal. This scene of stupidity, passion, and error Charles the Tenth tried to atone for by every kind of obsequiousness to the Marshal. Marmont met the Duke d'Angoulême, and mutual apologies passed; but the old soldier refused the Prince's proffered hand.

The Duke of Angoulême persisted in his idea that resistance was still possible, and in the night his order was read to the regiments on and before the bridge of St. Cloud. He soon saw, however, from the countenances of the officers, that the order to renew the fight would not be obeyed. Instead of preparing for combat, the soldiers quartered in Boulogne eagerly gave up their arms. The Royal family in consequence found it prudent to retreat in the night of the 30th from St. Cloud to the Trianon, and, for the same reason, on the following day from the Trianon to Rambouillet. They were joined there by the Duchess d'Angoulême, who had not without difficulty found her way back from Vichy.

CHAP.
XLV.

The Duc d'Angoulême had sent orders to whatever regiments such missives could reach to direct their march to Rambouillet. Those who came, however, soon learned the true state of things, and the greater part disbanded. A Royal proclamation begged them to remain united, as the King had come to an understanding with the Government established in Paris. At the same time Charles addressed a letter to the Duke of Orleans, appointing him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. This was dated "Rambouillet, August 1." Read by the friends of the Duke assembled in the Palais Royal, M. Dupin undertook to answer it by saying that the Duke had become Lieutenant-General by the vote of the Chamber. The Duke took the letter, withdrew, and, substituting for it a more moderate one, but much to the same purpose, forwarded it.

On the receipt of this reply the unfortunate King resumed his thoughts of resistance, which Marmont rejected as too late. The Marshal advised the abdication of the King and his son in favour of the young Duke of Bordeaux. Charles the Tenth and the Duke d'Angoulême drew up this act, and signed it; on which Marmont once more took the command of the troops, the abdication being forwarded to Paris. Soon after this important document had been despatched, commissioners arrived from Paris, offering personal security to the King, and empowered to negotiate his retreat. Charles could not receive them. He awaited an answer to his act of abdication. It came in the double shape of a new batch of commissioners and an army of volunteers from Paris, raised and despatched by Lafayette under the orders of General Pajol. Their vanguard, under Colonel Poques, arriving first, proceeded to force their way in despite of the Royal guard, which rallied on a few shots being fired, and Colonel Poques received a ball in his ankle. He was brought to the Château and well treated by the orders of

Charles. In the evening of the 3rd the second batch of commissioners penetrated to the King. He asked what they wanted. "They came to prevent a collision between the King's troops and the people, who, to the number of 60,000, had advanced to Rambouillet." The King said he was ready and willing to depart if the rights of his grandson were acknowledged. "Whatever these rights are," said Odilon Barrot, "they would be marred, not aided, by the spilling of more blood." The King after some time asked Marshal Marmont if it were true that 60,000 Parisians were coming to attack him. Though not one-third of that number had reached Rambouillet yet the Marshal might calculate that fully as many as would complete the number were on the march. Marshal Maison replied he had no doubt there were that number. The King then said he would withdraw. Marmont, pointing out the difficulty of defending Rambouillet with troops that could not be relied on, confirmed this resolution, and Charles the Tenth gave orders to retreat to Maintenon. There, on the 4th, Charles dismissed his guards: the body-guard and gendarmes were alone retained to serve as an escort to Cherbourg, where he proposed to embark. It was arranged that the ex-King should find a considerable sum at that port to take with him on his embarkation.

Meantime the two Chambers were opened on the 3rd by the Lieutenant-General, who did little more than announce and hand to them the abdication of Charles the Tenth and the Duke d'Angoulême. Their abdication was certainly conditional upon the recognition of the Duke of Bordeaux. But not a word was said of the condition. So that the declared vacancy of the throne as the voluntary act of the late Monarch was a somewhat undignified trick.

Whilst Charles the Tenth and his family were proceeding slowly and by short journeys to Cherbourg, the

CHAP.
XLV.

Deputies were busied with the necessary alterations to be made in the Charter previous to its acceptance by the new King. M. Bérard took the lead in proposing corrections. A commission was appointed to report upon them. This being completed, the sitting of the Chamber took place on the 7th, to consider the amendments to the Constitution. The preamble of the *octroyed* Charter was of course and manifestly set aside. So was the article establishing a State religion. The former article 14, giving the King apparent power to issue ordonnances, was remodelled. The initiative of laws, hitherto confined to the King, was given also to the Chamber. Peers were to be chosen from a list of Notables—whether they were to be hereditary or not was a reserved question. Lafayette spoke against it, and an *émeute* was got up at the gates of the Chamber to enforce the abolition of hereditary rights. But it was dissuaded from proceeding to violence. All the peers created in the previous reign were unseated. A proposal to renew the judges was set aside. None in fact but the changes then most imperatively called for were made in the Chamber.

When these were voted, the Chamber hastened to declare that the throne being vacant required to be filled. On the condition of his accepting the amended Charter, the Chambers called to the throne Louis-Philippe as King of the French: 219 yeas to 33 noes voted the transference of the crown. Two days after, on the 9th, Louis-Philippe proceeded to the Chamber, took the oath required, and was solemnly proclaimed.

Charles the Tenth and his family passed that day at Argentan, from whence they took another week to reach Cherbourg. The King was resigned, the Princesses were overwhelmed with their disaster, the Duchess of Berry especially refusing to consider it as final. Even of those remote districts, the inhabitants of towns enrolled as national guards, hailed as salutary the revolution which

had taken place. And the peasants themselves acquiesced, although ready to pay every outward respect to the last members of the fallen dynasty as they passed into exile. The sight of Cherbourg on the morning of the 16th, with the fleet in its bay that was to bear them off from France, deeply affected the royal party. It was arranged that there should be no delay in their embarkation. The carriages traversed the town to the port, princes and princesses went on board, the little Duke of Bordeaux most reluctantly. Charles made a pathetic adieu to his guards, a courteous one to the commissioners who had accompanied him, Marshal Maison, and Odilon Barrot; and whilst he fell on his knees in the cabin, the vessel that bore away the last relics of the Restoration cleared the harbour, and made for the coast of England.

CHAPTER XLVI.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE: FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE BREACH
ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

1830—1840.

CHAP.
XLVI.

INTERESTING as the current events of French history must be to the English reader, it is not always that they come home to us as examples or experiments to be studied. There is such diversity in the position and character of the two nations. The Republic and the Empire are anomalous epochs; and even the Restoration, which approaches us as an essay at Constitutional government, set to the task under conditions and with ideas which excite our wonder rather than our sympathy. With the reign of Louis-Philippe it stands otherwise. That was a genuine effort of the nation first to constitute and then govern itself under a monarch of parliamentary choice, and within the sphere of liberty supposed to be suited to that attempt. The parties which then arose, the questions which were debated, and the aims and principles which they avowed, resemble those discernible amongst ourselves. We are thus infinitely more interested in the struggle and moved by its unhappy termination than we could be by the war of divine and popular Right under Louis the Eighteenth and Charles the Tenth.

It must be confessed, however, that the commencement of the July Revolution seemed unlikely and ill-fitted to produce that struggle and balance between

moderate and constitutional parties which characterise English politics. Charles's ministers had displayed the banner of Divine Right, and the people, in marching to combat it, knew of scarcely any other than the red flag of the Republic. The Deputies who met during the Three Days by no means came forward to head the movement or the strife. Some of them, like Dupin, showed pusillanimity, or like Périer and Sebastiani, over-caution. Laborde, Audry de Puyraveau, and Lafayette sought to be up to the popular mark; but on the whole the Deputies lagged even behind the journalists. It was therefore not without exciting considerable obloquy that they undertook the settlement of the throne, and with it their own predominance.

By their aid, and through the popular indifference, the Lieutenant-General was able to set aside the pretensions alike of Legitimists and Republicans. The attempt of the former, indeed, to survive the barricades was more theatrical than real. Châteaubriand stood forth for the rights of Charles's grandson. Summoned to the Palais Royal, and cajoled by the Princesses with the hopes of favour and high place, the poet-politician insisted that the Lieutenant-General should merely keep the throne warm for Henry the Fifth. When the difficulty of accomplishing this, against both popular and parliamentary opinion, was urged, Châteaubriand proposed that Louis-Philippe should practise deceit, gain time, organise the National Guard, and force Henry the Fifth down the throats not only of the people, but of every politician who had founded or was founding the new throne. The tissue of absurdity and treachery which constituted this proposal is told and exposed by Châteaubriand himself as the essence of rectitude and heroism!* M. Guizot has done justice to the motives which swayed the King and his councillors. "Personal fidelity," he says, "was the

* *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe.*

great political as well as social principle of the old *régime*. When it was broken up, the state, the country itself, became substituted for the monarch, and patriotism succeeded to loyalty."

The principle of popular rights was at the time more menacing than the antagonistic one which Royalists called Divine. Had their national and true interests been fully understood by the chiefs of that popular party which triumphed in the Revolution, they might have been largely and materially advanced then; but these interests, unfortunately for them, were comprised at the time in the word Republic, which recalled to the educated classes proscription and the scaffold, to the commercial classes a suspension of all industry and livelihood. Lafayette himself owned that to proclaim a republic would have gone against the general wish, and produced a civil as well as a foreign war.* He limited his desire therefore to surrounding the throne with republican institutions. No one, however, at the time seemed to have any clear idea of what these meant. M. Thiers managed to bring the more eminent of the young republicans—Cavaignac, Guinard, and Bastide—to the Palais Royal. The Lieutenant-General listened to their observations. They objected to the Treaties of 1815, to the hereditary rights of the Peerage, and to the crown being conferred except by the primary assemblies of the people.† The first of these demands was European war; the last was anarchy. When Louis-Philippe shook his head at such crude suggestions, the young republicans withdrew, exclaiming that the new monarch was after all but a 221—one, in fact, of the parliamentary majority which overthrew Charles the Tenth. Nothing could be more true: Louis-Philippe was just that and no more, and it was in that character that the Chamber of Deputies elected him to the throne. A monarchy at once

* His Letters.

† Sarrans, Louis Blanc.

democratic and constitutional will, we fear, never be realised to endure. A very liberal monarchy is intelligible; and had Lafayette and his friends, instead of raising or reconstructing a throne with a republic flung in menacing position before it, insisted from the very first upon a broad popular franchise, such as that which Lafayette some months later abetted—viz. that every one paying 100 francs taxes should have a vote—more would have been achieved for liberal and popular progress than by the ambiguous phrase of “half monarchy, half republic.”

Immediately after his enthronement, on the 9th of August, Louis-Philippe, as he was proclaimed,* formed his ministry. The Provisional Municipality at the Hôtel de Ville had already made appointments of almost the same names in the same places. There was no President of the Council. The Foreign Office, at first given to Bignon, was transferred to Molé, as less Imperialist and offensive to Foreign Powers. Baron Louis took the Finances, Gérard the War Office, the Duc de Broglie Public Instruction, Guizot the Interior, and Dupont de l'Eure was Justice Minister. Laffitte, Périer, Bignon, and Dupin were ministers of state without portfolios.

The first consideration with the Government was to quiet and employ the people. The Revolution had naturally interrupted trade and manufactures. In order to restore activity to them, 200,000*l.* were voted for public works. The younger combatants of July were enrolled in a *Garde Nationale Mobile*. Until Charles the Tenth quitted the soil of France, there existed fears of a Royalist rising or resistance. Even as this died away, people looked to foreign war as the inevitable result of the Revolution. The visit of the English Ambassador to the Palais Royal was indeed hailed by the people as a surety that at least one nation accepted the recent decision.

* The retrogrades wanted to proclaim him as Philip the Seventh. The

Débats of the 10th announced “*Philippe I^{er} est proclamé.*”

Still great uneasiness prevailed. The anarchy of the streets had extended to the army. A regiment at St. Cloud repudiated its officers. Marshal Gérard changed almost all the colonels, and the Home Minister had to do the same by the prefects. The Ministry was not a fortnight in existence when towards the end of August two circumstances came to task their utmost wisdom and energy. One was the capture of the ex-ministers, and their trial; the other the insurrection by which the people of Brussels expelled the soldiers and the House of Orange.

The few days which had elapsed between the creation of the new Government and the capture of Prince Polignac had sufficed to collect and animate the republicans. They had lost their opportunity. The Monarch was established, and the young spirits who had been so prominent in the movement were completely set aside. The trial of the ministers offered a good opportunity for re-seizing the lead. The people were immensely excited by it, whilst the King and the greater number of Deputies who flocked around him were seized with an exaggerated dread of death punishment being inflicted upon Charles's rash advisers. A Court of Peers had condemned Ney, and why not Polignac? To preclude any such catastrophe, M. de Tracy brought forward a law for abolishing the penalty of death. The Chamber took it up and presented an address in the same sense to the monarch, who was zealous in approval. The people saw in this act of humanity nothing but a trick to save Polignac, and they got up counter-demonstrations. They thronged the Palais Royal—cried aloud "*Death to the ministers!*" They collected a multitude and went to Vincennes to seize and immolate the captives. General Daumenil, who commanded the fortress, with little difficulty persuaded the mob to depart. They could make no impression upon his walls or his determination. So the people returned to Paris, where they behaved still more tumultuously.

Whilst the mob were thus renewing the agitation of the streets, the popular orators were venting their complaints in clubs which met in the evening, and collected excited crowds within and without their halls. The trading folk of the National Guard complained that these conciliabules caused alarm, and interrupted their business. They were denounced in the Chamber by a deputy, who demanded a law to repress them. M. Guizot, the Home Minister, replied that a certain article of the penal code, which forbade more than a few persons to assemble, was quite sufficient; and acting upon it the National Guard closed the club of the Rue Montmartre and others on the same evening.* The Justice Minister, Dupont de l'Eure, did not approve of so serious a proceeding, and still less liked the article of the penal code, which, if applied, would put an end to all right of meeting or assemblies. It gave rise to differences in the Cabinet, but at first led to no rupture, Louis-Philippe being full of condescension for the more liberal ministers of his administration, and by no means as yet taking part against them.

Moreover, at the end of September King and ministers joined, one and all, in an act sufficiently bold to satisfy even Lafayette. Prussian troops had collected on the frontier of Belgium. Count Molé took the opportunity of informing the Prussian envoy that if their troops passed the frontier, the French Government would at once order an army to enter Belgium and assume its defence. At the same time the street riots became more menacing; and although Lafayette took up his quarters in the Luxembourg to defend the Peers and the prisoners whom they were about to try, fears were entertained that the mob and the republican leaders would have recourse to some act of violence. The

* The author was present at the disruption of the club, in company with Mr., afterwards Sir William Follett, who was delighted at the

suppression. The act struck me as one that would merely render clubs secret and more dangerous.

CHAP.
XLVI.

moderately liberal members of the Cabinet, with whom M. Barrot, the Prefect of the Seine, fully agreed, were for practising patience, and using dissuasive rather than any harsh measures with the people. Messrs. Guizot, Périer, and their friends were for energetic repression. Whilst these contrary opinions divided the Cabinet, a proclamation from the Prefect, M. Barrot, appeared immediately after some act of popular disturbance, in which the proposal of M. de Tracy for abolishing the punishment of death was styled *inopportune*. This was a grievous offence to the Court, and it was proposed to dismiss M. Barrot. But Dupont de l'Eure would have at once resigned, and the more popular portion of the Cabinet would have been seen to quit it precisely at the moment of the highest popular excitement. In such circumstances the more Conservative of the Cabinet thought it more advisable for them to retire; and the King agreed with them, as certainly Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure were better able to tide through the agitated period of the Ministers' trial, and would better succeed in saving their lives than Messrs. Périer and Guizot could have done.

In the middle of November Marshal Gérard resigned, pleading ill health. He was replaced at the War Office by Soult. Guizot, De Broglie, and Molé withdrew from their respective offices, and Périer from the Cabinet. Marshal Maison for a time, Sebastiani later, took the Foreign Office, and Montalivet the Home Department. Both were men under the personal influence of the King, who thus wielded the two chief offices of the State. M. Laffitte remained President of the Council, Dupont retaining the seals of Justice.

Notwithstanding the abrupt retreat of Périer and the Doctrinaires, as the friends of M. Guizot were called, the differences which divided them from Molé and Laffitte were evidently more personal than political—differences of character and tendency, rather than of principle. There ensued a debate in the Chamber on

the ministerial changes, in which Odilon Barrot summed up his objections to the ministers who had withdrawn, in the reproach that they merely sought to continue the government of the Restoration. As for himself, Barrot declared his first idea was to base the government upon the middle classes, and be guided by their feelings and their interests. This was far from republicanism. The new ministry too seemed, he said, to have got rid of its Conservative members merely to show itself more Conservative than before.

Foreign questions were really the most important. To the Belgian insurrection came to be added the attempts of the Spanish refugees; and still more important, the insurrection which broke out at Warsaw towards the close of September. All these events, as well as the troubles which convulsed Italy later, had the effect of flinging the new King of the French into an attitude which he dreaded and deplored, that of hostility to the allied courts of Europe, and to the arrangements which they had made in 1815. It was not pusillanimity, but the commonest degree of wisdom and prudence, which prompted him to deprecate and avoid the revived combination and enmity of the potentates of Europe. The failure of their arrangements was due indeed not to him, but to themselves; and much as the plenipotentiaries of the Congress have been abused, this failure was owing in some measure to their liberalism. They imagined or took for granted from England that a constitution was a grand panacea for all political evils springing from popular discontent. They soon found that the wrong and injustice of centuries cannot be removed in a day, even by grants of freedom, and that constitutional forms often aggravate rather than appease political discord and international hate. Alexander imagined that a constitution would reconcile Poland to dependence upon a nation which, though inferior to it in civilisation,

had contrived to effect its conquest. A charter, it was thought, would reconcile revolutionised France to the unchanged Bourbons. Holland had for ages considered and treated Belgium as a country not to be classed with, but sacrificed to it. It might oftentimes have absorbed Belgium and the Belgians, and added both to the Dutch empire; but the narrow traders of Amsterdam would not allow Antwerp to be a port, and would never consider the Flemings but as aliens and helots. To bind the two together in a constitutional monarchy was thus to bind two enemies together by a silken band. Holland was still to be the dominant country, as its King was to be sovereign. Yet Belgium surpassed its old rival in population, whilst it was not inferior to it in the elements and traditions of freedom. To render strife inevitable, the countries were of different religions. William of Holland is scarcely to be blamed for not succeeding in what was impossible. The two extremes of the Church and the Liberal party united first to oppose, and then expel the Dutch, whilst the King made but tardy and ill-judged efforts at conciliation.* At the news of the July Revolution in Paris, Holland and Belgium flew asunder. That it was not the mere rabble who began the insurrection in Brussels is manifest from the fact of the movement having been commenced by a number of youths issuing from a theatre, excited by the songs of Masaniello. The *émeute* took place on the 25th, and the example was followed in all the Flemish towns, which imitated Brussels, as Brussels imitated Paris. The mob threw up barricades, too formidable for the soldiers to force. The National or Burgher guard then appeared to enforce and regularise the demands of the people. They might have consented to a compromise. These would not. Angered by the hostile spirit shown to them,

* Nothomb, *Essai historique*.

the Dutch, led by Prince Frederick, attacked Brussels in September, but were repulsed from the barricades; and as the Prince retreated, all hopes of the House of Orange reigning over Belgium departed with him.

It was impossible for Louis-Philippe or the most moderate of French statesmen to take up a neutral position with regard to Belgium. They might not interfere, indeed, especially as the current of events themselves sufficed to undo all that allied Europe had done in 1815 to make Belgium a bulwark against France. But if any other power had interfered against Belgium, France threatened to interfere likewise for the people of that country. Prussia was the only power that threatened to intervene for Holland; and to it, or its envoy, Count Molé's warning was emphatically addressed. Without England, Prussia could not move; and England was paralysed—its Tory government struck with hesitation and defeat.

The French King had already taken an important step, to which the popular portion of the Cabinet had reluctantly consented. He had appointed Prince Talleyrand to be his ambassador in London, with directions to win the alliance and secure the co-operation of England. The Duke of Wellington had the sense to see, and the courage to maintain, that what popular insurrection had done in Brussels could not be undone, and that his own party had made a mistake in seeking to join such incompatibles as Holland and Belgium. He fell in with the idea of Talleyrand, supported the separation of the two countries, and merely insisted that France should not seek to profit by it or make Belgium a dependency.* To this Louis-Philippe acceded, and the Whig ministry which succeeded Wellington adhered. Laffitte was induced to sanction this policy, although his friends, and especially Lafayette, were for

* D'Haussonville, *Hist. de la Politique extérieure*.

CHAP.
XLVI.

breaking with England, and defying Europe by either throwing Belgium into a republic or accepting its crown for Louis-Philippe's son, the Duke de Nemours.

The Spanish question was far more simple, as no power could take the part of Ferdinand, who was as fanatic and blind, but far more cruel than his brother Bourbon of Paris. Moreover, Ferdinand affected not to recognise the new King of the French. The minister of the latter accordingly let loose the Spanish refugees, and supplied them with money to pass the Pyrenees. When they failed, however, and when Ferdinand hastened to make amends by recognising Louis-Philippe, encouragement was withdrawn for a time from the Spanish patriots.*

The failure of revolutionary attempts in Spain was more than compensated by the insurrection which broke forth in Warsaw in November, and which terminated, as street revolutions then always did, by the expulsion of the troops, and of the Viceroy, Constantine. The right arm of the Holy Alliance being thus paralysed, the *Movement* party in France felt that the Government had ample opportunity for pushing its principles of non-intervention to the utmost by abetting the aims of the *Movement* party in Belgium, and even going so far as to forbid the Russians sending their troops into Poland.

But whilst giving vent to these extreme opinions with regard to foreign policy, Lafayette and his friends exerted themselves courageously, and at the risk of losing popularity, to defend the Chamber of Peers, and give to it full independence and security in trying and passing whatever judgment seemed good to them upon the ex-ministers. Lafayette set up his head-quarters at the Luxembourg, and the National Guard were kept in arms and in force to suppress any attempt at disturbance.

* Guizot's Memoirs, Louis Blanc.

It was under the influence of the exciting news from Poland and from Belgium that the ex-ministers were brought in the early part of December from Vincennes. The people, already agitated by the thick-coming tidings of successful insurrections all around it, and who had suffered material privations as well as moral repression as the sole result of their own victory in July, were of a temper that induced them to take advantage of any opportunity for sedition and tumult. Their instigators, the more rash and advanced of the Republicans, were anxious to profit by such a moment, and make the ex-ministers' trial the means of treating Louis-Philippe in December as Charles the Tenth had been treated in July.

To such seditious extremities none were more averse than Lafayette, Barrot, and Arago, although the Conservatives had the ingratitude and injustice subsequently to accuse them of being privy to it. Far from listening to the suggestions of younger and bolder speakers, that the present moment should be taken advantage of to wring from the King and Chamber concessions which ought to have been obtained at the first moment of revolution, Lafayette and his immediate friends remained firm in the purpose of not confounding the judicial with the political question.

The portion of the trial that told most against the accused ministers consisted of the testimony given. Arago and others but too forcibly bore witness to the fatuity of Polignac. Peyronnet excused himself, and spoke deprecatingly, not arrogantly. They were most ably defended. Martignac was truly eloquent in behalf of Polignac. Sauzet was equally so in his remarkable defence of Chantelauze, in which he pleaded the principle of fatalism. According to this advocate, the elder Bourbons were doomed from the first day of their accession. They were brought in by the foreign invader, compelled to do his bidding and enter on a policy

CHAP.
XLVI.
—

of resistance to the nation, which could only end as it did. This ingenious apology of the legal sophist might be taken as a warning by the dynasty of July, whose fate it foreshadowed. It gave the Peers what they wanted—a pretext for indulgence, however mistaken the advocate was in his facts and his philosophy. When the pleading was over, and merely the sentence left to the consideration of the Peers, the ex-ministers were placed in a carriage, and with the Minister of the Interior, Montalivet, riding boldly by its side, they were carried off at once, ere the people could be aware, to their old quarters in the Donjon of Vincennes. On the same evening the Court of Peers condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, which of course meant temporary captivity and exile.

There were few more critical moments in French history. The excitement of the people at first knew no bounds. They had indeed already given demonstrations of their rage during the trial, and had broken several times into the Luxembourg. Lafayette, Barrot, and their friends were not idle: they, as well as Arago, flung themselves among the people, not always supported by the National Guard. The pupils of the Polytechnic School this time offered and came forth to help them; and their joint efforts saved not only the new Monarch from peril, but the Republican party from disgrace. Had it triumphed in a demand for the lives of the four guilty ministers, it must have struck off their heads, and thus inaugurated a reign of terror and of blood that would have proved fatal to any opinion or any party.

One is sorry to add that very small gratitude was shown to the chief personages who had saved the monarchy and the capital from the imminent danger of insurrection. Ministers had some time previous presented a bill to the Chamber of Deputies for the organisation of the National Guard. It was referred

to a commission, and that commission, whilst avowing that a commandant-general of the National Guard of the Kingdom was a position which gave power too great to one individual, still was of opinion that Lafayette should not be removed from it.* The King objected to this limitation of his authority, and the commission again considered the question; but no one dreamed that the result would be an affront to Lafayette. The sentence on the ex-ministers was given on the 21st of December, and Lafayette thus released from his unceasing efforts and anxieties. On the 23rd the Chamber of Deputies passed to the question of the National Guard, and voted that there should be no general-commandant, not even of a department. The National Guard of each division was to be exclusively under its own officers. It was the intention of Government to palliate this by conferring on Lafayette the honorary command. As soon as he heard the vote, he resigned. Louis-Philippe in reply pretended not to know what had been done. He begged that the General would come and speak to him. The King sought to soften to him the asperity of the Chamber, and made several offers. Lafayette, instead of listening to them, replied that he was not sorry for the occasion of having nothing more to do with a Government whose tendencies he disliked. Its policy abroad and at home was far too Conservative, and too much in opposition with the hopes and promises of July.† If the Chamber and its commission, not without the connivance probably of some of the ministers, had treated Lafayette most ungraciously, the General certainly acted no less so by mixing the question of his dismissal with that of the general policy of the Government. So that Lafayette not only resigned the command of the National Guards of the Kingdom, but even that of the Guard of Paris,

* Sarrans' Lafayette.

† Sarrans.

which was conferred, not upon him, but upon Marshal Lobau.*

Dupont de l'Eure resigned the Seals upon Lafayette's dismissal. Laffitte continued to remain in office, which was a mistake on his part. The Conservatives, who formed the majority of the Chamber, and enjoyed the King's preference, could not endure a Prime Minister who was for calming and cajoling popular turbulence instead of repressing it with the strong hand. But as an historian of this party avows,† "it was then premature to overthrow him." He was still the burgess personification of the Revolution, and to throw him into opposition would have augmented his importance and power. In order to avoid having so dangerous an adversary, it was necessary "to prove him an incapable minister." The Chamber thought it better that Laffitte's influence should die out of itself, than that it should expire under parliamentary intimidation.

This political avowal, revealing the intentions of a great party, was very mean and very unworthy. Laffitte was weak or short-sighted enough to retain office under such circumstances. He foolishly imagined that he could continue to govern without the support of any party, and upon the strength of his own personal merit. He dissolved the artillery companies of the National Guard, all republicans; and he introduced to the Chamber a series of laws which were much too Conservative for his friends, or indeed for the public.

The first was the municipal law, which was the same which had been presented under the Restoration, little altered. Another, presented soon after, was the new electoral law. Both proceeded upon a similar principle, that of awarding electoral powers to the highest taxpayers. The opposition thought with justice that all householders might vote for municipal councillors, and

* Deux Ans de Règne, par A. Pepin.

† Nouvion, Hist. du Règne de Louis-Philippe.

that these in turn might choose their mayor. The Government would have neither. Many districts were Carlist, several towns might become republican. The King could not run the risk of being received by local authorities who spurned allegiance to him. The electoral law gave rise to animated discussions. The first project was merely to double the number of electors which existed under the Restoration, taking the highest tax-payers and admitting the *capacités*, or professional men. The parliamentary commission was for limiting the franchise to those paying 240 francs direct taxes, in lieu of the 300 requisite under the former reign. M. de Sades proposed 200 francs taxes as a reasonable franchise, whilst Lafayette insisted upon 100 as sufficient. The discussion on the electoral law lasted a long time, to the satisfaction of the Conservatives, who had a strong argument in the want of it for not awaiting another Chamber. That the Conservatives pushed too far their fears of an extended suffrage is evident from the fact of M. de Sades' amendment being carried, as well as of such men as Dupin and Bertin de Vaux voting against them. It was indeed this discussion which first displayed the Doctrinaires as the Tories of the new régime, and gave birth to a middle or *tiers parti* as it was afterwards called, which thought at least a show of liberalism to be expedient.

M. Laffitte was not even successful in that which he understood best, finances, although he had procured an able supporter in the financial under-secretary, M. Thiers. But the Revolution had necessitated his failure by a diminution of taxes. Those upon drinks had ceased to be levied, whilst the attitude of the Revolution towards foreign powers demanded a respectable armed force. M. Laffitte could not revive the excise lest it should offend the people, nor increase direct taxes lest he should offend the Chamber, which was the representative of property, so that he was powerless as a finance minister.

It was not, however, the weakness of the Government, so much as the ultra-Conservatism attributed to the Chamber, and its illiberal mode of discussing and determining the new laws, that created wide discontent, and encouraged the different parties hostile to the new dynasty. What was considered over-obsequiousness to foreign powers in the treatment of the affairs of Belgium, and the discussion of those of Warsaw, added to the discontent, and offered certainly a powerful theme for the denunciation of such orators as Mauguin and General Lamarque. The Belgians in order to put a seal to their revolution were bent upon choosing a king. There were two names put forward which united most suffrages, the Duke of Nemours, son of the King of the French, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. The Belgians preferred the former of course, but if assured that the French prince would be denied them, they threatened to transfer their vote to his competitor. This was at all events to be avoided; and on the eve of the election, early in February, Van de Weyer felt himself warranted in declaring that the French King would not reject the award of the crown to his son, were it duly made. No doubt Sebastiani had induced Van de Weyer to risk such a declaration. The Duke de Nemours was consequently elected, and the Duke de Leuchtenberg set aside. But then came the necessity of rejecting the proffered crown, and stultifying Van de Weyer. Louis-Philippe performed this act courageously and declined the Belgian crown for his son, but not without exposing himself and his policy to great obloquy in both countries. It was about the same time that the King in answer to a deputation declared his policy to be that of a *juste milieu*. The expression was caught up and made the subject of sarcasm and abuse for many a year to come.

As the maintenance of Louis-Philippe and of his family upon the throne depended unmistakably upon his personal character, an event which greatly affected

this cannot be passed over. As his prudence and his policy forbade him to make appeals to the French love of heroism, it was the more necessary for the King to be immaculate in his private conduct. He was indeed so in most respects ; but his tenderness for his children was that rather of a private individual than of a prince. To provide his sons with wealth and apanages, and to marry his daughters advantageously, was a passion with him that overbore more serious policy. He had long been observed to pay sedulous court to the old Prince of Condé, who was heirless in consequence of the sacrifice of the Duc d'Enghien. The Prince lived with an Englishwoman of the name of Sophie Dawes, whom he had married to the Baron de Feuchères, his aide-de-camp, for the sake of conferring upon her an honourable title. Even this woman had been the object of marked attention on the part, not only of the princes, but the princesses of the Orleans family. All this was remembered when the last of the Condés was found dead, and suspended to the espagnolette or bolt of a window, at his residence of St. Leu. Inquests upon suicides are not as in England held publicly under the presidency of a public officer. The State undertakes this in France, as it does everything else ; and when the cause of the Prince's death was hushed up, or set down at once as natural, the anti-Orleanist parties in the public, especially the Legitimists, expressed a contrary opinion. In the Prince's will, his ready money, a considerable sum, was left to the Baroness ; the estate of Chantilly and other property to the Duc d'Aumale, who indeed still enjoys it. This was enough for calumny to impute the crime of murder to the Baroness, and even to accuse the King of having aided to hush up the catastrophe by which his family so largely profited. I have heard, long after Louis-Philippe had disappeared, from the law officer engaged in the inquiry, that the Prince's death was an undoubted suicide.

So many causes and symptoms of discord between the French public and the new dynasty encouraged the old dynasty to make a kind of demonstration. The 14th of July was the anniversary of the death of the Duke of Berry. The clergy and Legitimists resolved to celebrate the day by a solemn service. It took place at St. Germain l'Auxerrois, opposite to the Louvre, and was attended by such a crowd of carriages that the people gathered to witness the ceremony, and soon perceived that it was more than a funeral service for the dead. A *catafalque* in the middle of the church adorned with the Bourbon arms showed a portrait of the Duke of Bordeaux in royal robes. If it was intended to awaken the people to loyalty, the scene was singularly ill-judged. It forcibly awakened their resentment. This had not reached its height until the Legitimists and their equipages had disappeared. The church was then closed; but the *presbytère*, or dwelling of the *curé*, who had performed the ceremony was near. The people broke in and pillaged it. This redoubled their fury and excitement. The grating of the church was then forced open and the people filled the sacred edifice, which they treated with every mark of desecration, tearing down altars, breaking statues, destroying pictures. Pulpits and confessionals were broken up. An iron cross on the top of the church was flung down as in the worst days of iconoclasm. The turbulent then dispersed through different quarters, but threatened no other edifice, save the hôtel of M. Dupin, behind the Post-Office.

As this scene of disorder had been caused by the imprudence of the Legitimists, the Prefects of the Seine and of the Police, Messrs. Barrot and Baude, looked upon the acts of the people as reprisals somewhat just. The former even sanctioned the taking down of the Cross. The next day, however, the *émeute* was renewed, and became more serious. The archbishop's palace was entered, gutted, and destroyed; the furniture first; then

the books flung into the Seine. But, satisfied with this act of vengeance, the multitude, though storming through the streets, indulged in no further excesses. The *fleur-de-lis* was, however, the especial object of popular enmity. All crosses bearing the emblem were thrown down. And at Laffitte's desire the King, who had hitherto preserved the *fleur-de-lis* in his arms, ordered it to be effaced—a subject with him afterwards of bitter regret.

When the Chamber of Deputies met, the anger of its majority was directed, not so much against the Legitimists, who had occasioned the disturbance, as against the Government, and the two Prefects, who had not put it down.* The Prefect of the Seine, M. Barrot, excused himself by saying that the Home Minister, M. Montalivet, had never warned or applied to him, or sent his orders. The Prefect of Police, Baude, more bold, not to say impertinent, declared that the excesses and danger of the *émeute* proceeded from the unpopularity of the Chamber, which ought to be dissolved. This made matters worse, and led to open quarrel. M. Guizot attacked the ministry, and charged Laffitte himself with incapacity and inertness. He accused the latter of seeking to retain popularity, and of sacrificing everything to that, “as if,” continued the orator, “it was possible to govern without being unpopular.” M. Guizot here gave utterance to his great political mistake. He made unpopularity the basis of his government and perished by it. Unfortunately, the King adopted the same principle, and him too it dragged into the abyss.

The opinion of the Chamber was so condemnatory of those who were even lenient to the *émeute*, that it was necessary to suspend M. Baude and M. Barrot. It was for much the same reason found requisite to dismiss M. Comte, *Procureur du Roi*. M. Merilhou, who had been named minister, as a kind of shadow of Dupont de

* Pepin, Nouvion, Louis Blanc, the journals of the day.

l'Eure, rather than consent, resigned the seals. M. Thiers quitted the under-secretaryship of Finance, and advised M. Laffitte to abandon office. But the latter sought to make up another ministry with the aid of the Left. Had the King allowed him to do this and then dissolve, he might have prolonged his reign. But the Chamber saw the design. The finances were in considerable disorder, owing to the rejection of Laffitte's plan for raising a revenue. He was therefore compelled to demand a large credit, about 8,000,000*l.* sterling. It was obtained with difficulty, and granted in such a manner as to be a slur upon the minister.

Other causes than that of want of political support then undermined Laffitte. As a banker he suspended payment. He had sunk a great portion of his fortune in the purchase of land. And the Revolution brought a time when all moneys flowed out and none flowed in to a bank of credit. Louis-Philippe came to Laffitte's aid by purchasing a large forest, and guaranteeing a considerable loan to him. It was not enough. And his enemies with some justice proclaimed Laffitte as an unfit minister of Finance.*

Whilst the influence and importance of the Prime Minister were thus sinking, there arose another difficult foreign question, to add to the general discontent and complication. Early in February successful insurrections took place at Modena and Bologna ; an example followed by other cities. Neither the Police nor the ducal governments of Modena or Parma could suppress these disturbances without the aid of Austria. The French Liberals were for applying the principles of non-intervention, and forbidding the Austrians to succour the Princes of the minor Italian States. Marshal Maison, French envoy at Vienna, put forward such pretensions, but Prince Metternich altogether declined to be bound

* See Nouvion, Appendix.

by them. The Italian Dukes, menaced or dispossessed, were of the Imperial family. Austrian troops would certainly cross the Po, to their defence. All that Prince Metternich could engage was that, the disturbance once put down, the Austrians should withdraw within their own frontier. A despatch from Marshal Maison signifying this, and taking it for granted that it should be answered by hostile resolves, arrived in Paris in the first days of March.* The Foreign Minister, Sebastiani, and the King did not think it expedient to bring this matter at once before the Cabinet. The despatch was therefore not communicated to the President of the Council, Laffitte, who was certainly tottering. The attitude taken by Metternich was revealed to him in other ways. And Laffitte then learned that his colleague of Foreign Affairs was aware of it, whilst he remained in ignorance. He came to an explanation on the subject with the King, with which, according to the King's friends, M. Laffitte was quite satisfied; according to M. Laffitte's followers he remained much the reverse. In a few days after, as much in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Chamber on the former vote as of any mortification felt from the withheld despatch, Laffitte resolved to quit office; and Louis-Philippe set to work to compose a new Cabinet.

It is to be regretted for the monarchy of July that Laffitte was not a politician, and that he wanted alike the experience and the character required for that great profession. For he held just the position which might have enabled him, were he more intellectually endowed, to reconcile and lead the two fractions of moderate and extreme Liberals. A revolution naturally generated new men along with new ideas, and to amalgamate them with what was most liberal and worthy of the old, ought to have been the aim of a monarch so sagacious

* *Annuaire Historique.*

as Louis-Philippe. Unfortunately he came to mistrust and alienate the new men and new ideas of 1830. This no doubt was partly their fault, and partly his. Too much condescension for the mob, too much leniency, if not tendency, towards schemes of revolutionizing Europe, and enacting the Convention over again, misled Barrot as well as Lafayette, and made a severance between them and the politicians who were for order and peace. A statesman that could have commanded the respect of both parties, united them, and corrected their extravagance, would have been invaluable. Laffitte might have accomplished this, but he wanted the political sagacity and firmness requisite. Hence he allowed the schism to take place and to widen. The two parties fell asunder, Laffitte floating off with the one, and Casimir Périer rising to power on the other.

The one banker was scarcely more of a politician than the other. The multiform necessities of state were not appreciated by the rude organ of Périer, who felt the hatred of a man of commerce and business for aught that savoured of anarchy and confusion, and did not make allowance for the natural effervescence and aspirations of such a time. Society at the moment resembled a school broke loose, triumphant in a barring out; and Périer regarded it as a pedagogue only anxious to apply the birch. The subsequent history of Louis-Philippe's reign proves that repression alone is not sufficient to cure disorders of the body politic, and the popular exigencies or aspirations demanded some treatment other than brute force. It was no boon to Louis-Philippe, and no support to his dynasty,—that policy which flung not merely Lafayette, but such men as Barrot, into a permanent opposition which alienated so many of its natural adherents from the dynasty, and placed it in a state of hostility to the liberty as to the dignity of the nation.

Casimir Périer, however, was the man whom the

majority of the Chamber designated at the moment as the fittest Premier. He had proved himself most able as a financier and as an orator in the parliament of the Restoration. In manners he was as rude and resolute, as Laffitte was bland and weak. The Conservatives put high trust in him, but the Liberals began to mistrust him. The credit of a leading journal having been shaken by the Revolution, its proprietors besought him to support it, especially as it had always supported him. "Don't talk to me of journalism," replied Périer roughly; "all I ask of the press *now* is to let us govern." The financial state of the country deterred him from accepting office more than the turbulence of parties or the exigencies of foreign powers.* But when Baron Louis consented to accept the Finance Ministry, Périer agreed to take the post of Prime and Home Minister. He insisted, however, that he should be really Prime Minister, be not interfered with, and that he and not the King should preside over the Council. In this pretence he did not altogether succeed, for Louis-Philippe continued to preside the Council. And whether he did or not, Sebastiani and Montalivet, men devoted to him, continued to hold the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction. M. Guizot was not offered place, although his were the pointed and vehement attacks which overthrew the Laffitte Ministry. Casimir Périer deemed the name of Guizot too unpopular; but as their opinions were precisely the same, being that of *resistance*, there was certainly a want of courage as well as of gratitude and justice in setting aside the most able partisan of the policy to be adopted.

The Revolution of July, however justly provoked and gloriously accomplished, left behind it the unfortunate precedent of a change of dynasty and government effected by violence. It ended by the establishment of

* The Three per Cents. were quoted below 53.

a King, merely voted such by Parliament. That Parliament too was neither an influential aristocracy nor yet a broadly elected representation of the people. Legitimists and republicans had thus some reason in alleging that the new dynasty rested upon a narrow basis. When it came to reign no longer in the spirit of the language held by the King in July, or supported by the principal actors in that revolution, the majority of those who meddled in politics were inclined to condemn it. The Legitimists of course prepared to struggle for a Restoration; the Republicans and semi-Republicans were at least for overthrowing a dynasty apparently determined neither to advance the principle of liberty at home or abroad. The middle, the trading and mere professional classes held to the settlement that had been made. They were disgusted with revolution, as almost beggared by its consequences in the suppression of all trade, business, or gain. These classes formed the National Guard, and were quite prepared to put down perturbation; whilst the army, reorganised and under the direction of a man like Soult, were much more inclined to support the authorities than had been the soldiers of Charles the Tenth.

Casimir Périer wielded the government for somewhat more than a year, which was marked by efforts at insurrection, and these were made by both and all extreme parties. The efforts on the part of the Government were equally energetic to suppress them. Périer was a rude and practical statesman, who knew and cared little for theories of government—who saw anarchy and sedition everywhere opposed to order, to peace, and to property. To crush these by the strong hand, rather than punish them by the judicial one, was his instinct. But it is to be doubted whether his bold and undisguised way of avowing a policy of resistance and a determination to repress and chastise did not create much of the disturbance and opposition which his energy put down.

One of his first acts was to proclaim and expound this policy in the Chamber. In the course of his opening speech he utterly scouted the allegation that the new Monarch had made promises or issued any *programme* in July except what was laid down in the Charter. Périer afterwards challenged Lafayette on this point; the General avoiding a discussion that must have been a personal impugning of the King. That the latter had accepted a throne surrounded by republican institutions in a conversation with Lafayette was a fact and a phrase known to all the world. Périer, however, was right in declaring that no such promise had been made publicly at the Hôtel de Ville. With regard to foreign politics, the minister asserted that the French Government had never promised protection to any insurrectionists. They upheld the doctrine of non-intervention, but were not prepared to prevent it by force except when they found it expedient to do so.

That Casimir Périer might be warranted in adopting such principles of government is possible, but his avowal of them in the face of a recent revolution was certainly provocative, and the measures with which he followed up his announcement were still more so. The country generally was aroused by the Legitimist attempts in La Vendée and in Paris. In the Chamber, when the *émeute* caused by the scene of St. Germain L'Auxerrois was discussed, the patriots were much more severely censured than the Legitimists, and by the very party which now assailed the ministers. There arose in consequence a *National Association*, commenced in Lorraine, for the defence of the country against the men it had expelled in July. This association might have been irregular, but it was at least patriotic. Périer, however, regarded it with violent indignation, denounced it to all his subordinates in very vehement language, and threatened them with removal if they patronised or adhered to it. He even dismissed from office such men as

CHAP.
XLVI.

Odilon Barrot and Delaborde for the crime of belonging to it. Périér's admirers call this energy. To a distant and impartial spectator it appears misdirected and exaggerated.

These efforts and acts of repression were followed by others still more ill-judged. One was the arrest and prosecution of certain young republicans for the supposed part which they had taken in the turbulence during the trial of the ex-ministers. This might have been well founded or otherwise, and Cavaignac, Guinard, Trelat, and the chief republicans were, nineteen in all, placed on the accused bench under the pretext that they had tried to excite civil war in December. How ill-judged such a trial appeared is evident from the circumstance that nothing could be proved against the young men except what they themselves avowed. "We are republicans," they declared. Under the circumstances of recent history, how could such a manifestation of opinion be punished? The ten days' trial in fact served but to heroize them, and ended in their acquittal. A *quasi émeute* followed in the streets, to celebrate their triumph. It turned out fortunately but a harmless street riot, and no more. But the republicans gathered hopes and organisation for the future.

It was to be regretted that Casimir Périér, in his early acts, did not accompany his policy of resistance and menace by measures at the same time of progress and liberal improvement. His vigorous police repression pleased the trading classes of towns, and the educated who found themselves threatened by the mob. But this did not speak to France at large, to the rural classes, who merely felt increased taxation, and the coming amongst them of a new class of functionaries and officials not always calculated to command respect. A revolution by which nobody profited save a few officials is one not likely to last; and the recent one, which the Parisians so gloried in, brought nothing, not even in the way of

local independence, to the country districts. The first duty of the statesmen of the new *régime* was certainly to have made the rural classes feel and appreciate the superior worth and condition of really Constitutional government. That was more important than even putting down *émeutes* in the streets. But it was what the Orleanist Conservatives never thought of. They were men of the desk and bureau, of the city and the camp, not of the broad country, of which they knew not how even to feel the pulse.

Instead of winning the affections of the rural classes, the Orleans dynasty and its statesmen were afraid of them. Hence their narrow legislation with respect to the electoral franchise. The payment of 300 francs direct taxes was an exorbitant qualification for an elector. Actual proprietors of lands or houses alone could pay it. The throne of July was, however, menaced on both sides. If the rural classes were largely admitted to the franchise, they might return Legitimists; if the middle classes, shopkeepers and professional men in provincial towns forming the majority of voters, they would return ultra-Liberals. It might and may be asked, what dangerous policy could these supposed ultra-Liberals enforce? Economy perhaps, an extension of local liberties, more freedom of person and of press. All would have been gain to the dynasty of July. But in truth, what Périer and his Monarch feared was less democratic progress or reform than the prevalence of national feeling in the delicate questions of foreign affairs. Delicate these no doubt were. As long as the Belgian question remained unsettled, peace depended upon the English Government being satisfied with the acts and intentions of those of France. Such a reason for moderation could not be alleged, and therefore the Government feared a thoroughly national Chamber.

It was impossible, however, to go on with the old Chamber of the Restoration—equally impracticable to

CHAP.
XLVI.

have an election with the old franchise. It was proposed, therefore, to lower the 300 francs direct taxes to 240. This was considered too narrow and too mistrustful even by semi-Liberals, such as Dupin. And the franchise was finally fixed at 200 francs, which gave 200,000 electors, instead of half that number. It was copiously and fiercely debated, yet the real point of the question was not touched. What class was it that necessitated and supported if they did not actually effect the late Revolution? That humble portion of the middle class which did not pay taxes and now asked for the franchise. To exclude them from contributing to the support of the new *régime* whilst leaving the arms of the National Guard in their hands was on the part of Government a committal of suicide. It shook and alienated the only firm basis of the new throne. Yet this was called conservatism, and the future apotheosis of Périer was founded upon such policy as this. This narrowness and mistrust was very near not answering its immediate purpose. When the members met, it was evident that the conservative policy of the Government was not so popular with them as was expected. In the vote for the choice of a President, the House was almost equally divided; Girod de l'Ain, who had been Prefect of Police, being chosen by only one more vote than Laffitte, the candidate of the Opposition.

The first impulse of Casimir Périer was to resign. He could not carry on the government, he truly announced, with a majority of one. An event occurred, however, which saved the Conservatives, and prolonged their administration. The Belgians, disappointed in obtaining the Duke of Nemours for their King, had appointed as Regent M. Surlet de Chokier. He was in no position to enforce moderation, or to calm the excitement kept alive by disputes respecting the frontier. The King of Holland insisted on retaining Luxemburg, to which he had just claims. The Belgians denied this,

and the Dutch reorganised their army and prepared for war.

But the difficulties were not confined to Luxemburg. The arrangement made by the Protocol of the 20th of January was that Holland should preserve all the territories it possessed previous to 1790. This gave them a right to a portion of Limburg, to the left bank of the Scheldt, and to other territories in the north, which the Belgians claimed as necessary to their new kingdom. The Conference therefore, to accede to their wishes, formed a new line of demarcation, or what was called the Treaty of Eighteen Articles, which ceded to the Belgians a portion of their demands. Even then the Belgian Chamber displayed the greatest reluctance to accept the award, and it was only by dint of great exertions that the treaty was finally settled. Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg's acceptance of the crown was thereby secured. Although elected in June, he had deferred his decision till the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles had passed the parliament. But though the Belgians were content, the King of Holland professed himself the reverse. With some show of reason and right, he adhered to the settlement made in January. Nay, more, he declared that Leopold, in accepting the crown on conditions repudiated by Holland, had placed himself in hostility to the latter power.*

On the 1st of August the Dutch not only declared, but commenced war; and the new King, Leopold, taken by surprise, could, whilst rallying his few troops, but recur to the King of the French for instant aid. The demand, and the news of the war which produced it, came at the moment of Casimir Périer's resignation. At the summons of the King he recalled it. Marshal Gérard received orders to enter Belgium at once with the French army, the sons of Louis-Philippe in its

* Nothomb, Nouvion, the journals of the time.

CHAP.
XLVI.

ranks. Before, however, the French could arrive, the Dutch attacked the Belgians, and cut off one of their divisions; the other, when in front of the Dutch on the 8th of August, took to flight, the soldiers showing as much pusillanimity in the field as the people had shown courage in the streets. King Leopold did his utmost to restore confidence to the fugitives, but he was obliged to leave Louvain to the Dutch, and to take refuge in Brussels, where the arrival of the French troops alone gave him security.

The entrance of the French army into Belgium, which compelled the Dutch to withdraw, not only saved King Leopold and his throne, but also saved Casimir Périer and his administration, to which it rallied a majority in the Chamber. The discussion of the address which followed was marked by the most violent efforts of opposition, encouraged by the recent fact of both sides proving equal in the Presidential election. But the events of Belgium had altered the relative position of parties. Every amendment was negatived, and, with the exception of the paragraph of Poland, in which was inserted the expression of a "confidence that Poland would not perish," the Périer Cabinet rallied to it a majority, which the imprudence of its enemies contrived ever after to augment rather than diminish.

But, however the settlement of Belgium by means of a French army satisfied the Chamber and the influential classes which it represented, the seditious found arguments to render the people discontented with it. The Prince chosen to be called to the Belgian throne was styled an Englishman—a cry which even such writers as M. Louis Blanc continue to echo, though Leopold, held by no interest to England, was already the intended son-in-law of the King of the French.

Italy offered a theme as favourable to those who with Lafayette denounced the Government as every-

where abandoning the Liberal cause. The Austrian troops which had entered the Legations had put down the insurgents there, and at last pursued and reduced them in Ancona. Here took place the humiliating fact that Austrian vessels had carried off a hundred of the unfortunate patriots to the prisons of Venice. Instead of insisting on the principle of non-intervention, as the Liberals proposed, Casimir Périer negotiated. He obtained from Austria the promise of its speedy evacuation of the Legations, with the liberation of some prisoners, and from the court of Rome a far more illusory promise of reforms.

If there was little in this to appease the movement party or meet the indignant denunciations of Mauguin and General Lamarque in the Chamber, the collapse of the Polish revolution excited a fiercer spirit of turbulence and discontent. As a regular government, with a disciplined army led by experienced generals, the Poles had displayed a heroism and a successful resistance to the Russians seldom equalled. The Russian general Diebitsch had been defeated and had succumbed. He was succeeded by Paskewitch towards the end of June, with the resources of an empire behind him, whilst Poland in being the seat of war had become exhausted in all but spirit. The Russian general drove the Polish insurgents within the walls and suburbs of their capital. It had unfortunately become a maxim, borrowed from the experience of the French Revolution, that when a country and a cause were in their last extremity, nothing but democratic energy and fury can save them. This error impelled the Poles to suspend their experienced generals and give the army to revolutionary disorder and confusion. The Warsaw mob at the same time took to imitating the French *sans-culottes*, and turned their ferocity to Septembrising, in other words emptying the prisons of their inmates by massacre, instead of rushing upon the Russians. Yet the latter would have

CHAP.
XLVI.

been the prudent as well as the heroic part, for the Russian armies did not count more soldiers than the Poles, had these concentrated their forces and wisely directed them. In consequence, indeed, of this equality of force, the Russian General offered terms; and had there been any regular or possible Polish government, an accord might have been the result. Even a temporary suspension of hostilities would have given the Western Powers an opportunity of coming to the relief of Poland. But no general was listened to in Warsaw, and no authority respected. The Russians in consequence forced an entry, and dictated a capitulation, by which the Polish army abandoned the capital.

The fall of Warsaw and of the Polish cause created a profound sensation in Paris. The Chamber, which had introduced an amendment into the address in favour of Poland, might have been induced to pass a vote of censure on the Government for its remissness, had not the anarchists made it a subject of agitation and disorder in the streets. For some days in the middle of September attempts were made to originate an *émeute*, as indeed had been done on the 14th of July previous, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. But all such efforts, opposed and put down by the National Guard, merely frightened the majority of the Deputies into conservatism and into support of the ministry. Even the sad blunder of the minister Sebastiani, who announced from the tribune the close of the Polish insurrection in the words "Order reigns at Warsaw," could not stir the Chamber to remonstrance. M. Mauguin, as leader of the Opposition, terminated one of his eloquent diatribes by proposing an inquiry into the conduct of the Government. The Ministerialists met it by an order of the day motivated by an expression of confidence in the Government. This, proposed by M. Guizot, passed by 221 votes—an ominous number—against 136.

A domestic question, which excited the greatest

interest in all classes, then came before the legislature. It was the question whether the Peerage should be for life or hereditary. The Ministerialists, including Casimir Périer and the Doctrinaires, were most eager for establishing hereditary right, which after the example of England they deemed to be the chief bulwark of an hereditary throne. But not only were the people opposed to what they considered a retrograde measure, and which seemed so palpably against the great principle of equality, but the middle classes themselves, and their representatives in the Chamber, were opposed to aught that savoured of or led to a restoration of the ancient noblesse.

We must confess ourselves unable to understand the ardour with which M. Guizot, for example, abets the hereditary Peerage. Such a law may stand to reason in England, where tradition and even popular prejudice favour hereditary honours. But in France, where there existed none but ephemeral or personal right to a seat in an Upper Chamber, hereditary claims could but prove a source of weakness, not of strength—of obloquy, not of respect. There were no greater sticklers for the Peerage than Lords Wellington and Castlereagh; but when these Tory politicians heard that Louis the Eighteenth had conferred hereditary rights upon his senate, both at once protested against the absurdity of such a measure.* Stuart Mill in considering this question has given it as his opinion that a House of Commons would be far more conservative if it had not a House of Lords behind it. Much more true is this of France than of England. And after all the Doctrinaires were fighting for a shadow. In a family of wealth, consideration, and influence, a seat for its chief in an Upper Chamber must, under almost any regulation, be as certain under a life peerage as under an hereditary one, the reality being thus pre-

* Castlereagh Correspondence.

served without the obloquy. It was not an hereditary Peerage that could strengthen the throne of Louis-Philippe. A certain degree of popularity, and the careful acquirement of it, would have been infinitely more strengthening and more valuable; and yet such a talented politician as M. Guizot laid and lays stress on the hereditary Peerage, whilst counting popularity for nothing.

If the Conservatives were far too much in disaccord with public opinion in abetting the hereditary Peerage, the ultra-Liberals were still more in the opposite extreme when they denied the right of the Crown to nominate even life Peers. The creation of a large batch was rendered necessary precisely for the purpose of passing the law abolishing hereditary right; and yet the Opposition not only resisted, but ferociously resisted it.

The attitude of the Deputies and complexion of public opinion were such, that Casimir Périer abandoned the principle of hereditary right. He sought to preserve to the King the power of selecting peers as he chose; but the Chamber in this limited his choice to certain categories, to men who had served in special capacities, and filled eminent positions. It was the old principle of *Notabilités*, so much in force at the close of the great Revolution. Even with this restriction it required some effort to pass the bill which established the Peerage. It had passed the Deputies. It was only by the nomination of nearly two score of new peers that the Upper Chamber consented to vote it; and it was this measure that excited the unwarrantable anger of the Opposition.

Whilst the question of the permanence of political influence with the higher class was debated in the Chamber, the far more difficult and important one of the interests of the lower class created first an agitation, then a struggle, and at last a revolution, in the streets of Lyons. The art of making political capital

out of the wants and rights of the poor was powerfully but rudely cultivated during the Great Revolution. The cry of "War to the rich!" and "Death to the *peaux fines*!" was deemed, and indeed proved, sufficient. It was only towards the close of the Revolution, and when the populace had been definitively put down, that such men as Babœuf thought of exciting them again to revolution by an idea. Robespierre, it has been observed, never proposed an agrarian law, though he meditated and practically applied the same thing, putting the poor in the place of the rich.

All through the periods of the Revolution and the Empire, a philosopher of far more originality than the men of the epoch had raved, and as far as possible arranged, a plan for the regeneration of man in social, which implied political, organisation, and in religion. Born in 1760, the Duc de St. Simon had begun life by serving in the American armies, and with Lafayette brought home the idea that the American Revolution was a new era for humanity. Liberalism and Constitutionalism were, however, superficial ideas for St. Simon. He proposed to supersede altogether the existing arrangements of society, and in lieu of hereditary right to property and to power, proposed to substitute capacity or talent. How capacity was to be proved, a difficult matter, was afterwards left to be adjudged by an intellectual dictator! This dictator was also to distribute the wealth of the state. As there was to be no individual property, genius was to form an aristocracy: the lower grades of life were assigned to the stupid. That this, even if it could be effected, would not much alter the proportion of those possessing competence, and those possessing none, is apparent. However, such a scheme could not but be highly flattering to the class actually living by manual labour.

In Paris, the most dangerous place for such doctrines, they could have but doubtful popularity. Great care has

been always taken to find work for the lower order of Parisians, and to provide them with cheap bread. Trades, too, there, are widely diversified, the distress of one being compensated by the prosperity of the other. In Lyons it was different. That city contained some fifty thousand persons engaged in the manufacturing of silk, not prosperous in spite of protective tariffs and premiums on exportation. Plain silks began to be made cheaper and better by other nations, and the Lyons merchants could not obtain remunerating prices. Wages were reduced. The workmen murmured. The St. Simonians came amongst them to expound their doctrines, and the Lyonese weavers highly approved of the plan of workmen being paid not out of the produce of their work, but according to their supposed general capacity. A monarch like Louis-Philippe could not do this. A republic made expressly by the labouring classes for the benefit of themselves could do it. Although all did not embrace such opinions, many did. Meetings took place between master manufacturers and delegates from the workmen. The few who then discussed their relative interests easily came to an agreement; but the mass of persons and interests on either side were never satisfied. A tariff of wages was upon one occasion agreed to. It displeased, however, a great many manufacturers and upwards of a hundred of these signed a protest. The Prefect, Dumolard, having given his sanction to the tariff, was reproved by the Home Minister. The workmen, however, having obtained the sanction and signature of the Prefect, deemed that they had a practical right to the tariff, as well as a theoretic one to have work furnished them. The *Droit au Travail* was a St. Simonian principle. They therefore collected on the 21st of November, 1831, in the workmen's quarter, the Croix Rousse, and set out on a march to the Hôtel de Ville. They found in their way a detachment of the

National Guard, grenadiers of the better classes.* As these seemed to bar their passage, they received a shower of stones, and replied by a few shots. This was a signal for civil war. The suburbs sent forth all their workmen, many of them belonging to the National Guard, according to the new organisation. The General in command, Roguet, set his troops, not more than 3,000, in motion. In an instant the workmen, falling back on the defensive, threw up barricades, and the enthusiasm of the Lyonese was kindled to rival Paris and its celebrated Three Days. To prevent so terrible a catastrophe, the Prefect Dumolard went in person to the workmen's quarter of the Croix Rousse, and was accompanied by the General commanding the National Guard, Ordonneau. He ordered firing to cease until his return, but the observance of this depended upon the people as well as upon the soldiers; and whilst the Prefect was haranguing the insurgents at the Croix Rousse, the military fired to repel an attack. At the sound the Prefect and the General were made, and retained, prisoners. Exasperation, however, had not yet reached any height. The Prefect had shown himself favourable to the workmen in the matter of the tariff, and they at last let him go, as well as the General.

This first day's engagement had shown the people the superiority of their force. They were a multitude, the soldiers three thousand. Accordingly in another day's conflict, that of the 22nd, the military were everywhere driven back on the Hôtel de Ville, which General Roguet evacuated during the night. He and his troops were, in fact, beaten by the people out of Lyons.

It is more easy for the ignorant to gain a victory than to make use of it. No sooner were the people in possession of the Hôtel de Ville than two sets of persons struggled for the lead: one was the master weavers, who

* Louis Blanc, Nouvion, journals of the time.

CHAP.
XLVI.

wanted the establishment of the tariff; the other were the insurrectionists by profession, who desired a republic, St. Simonian or other. It occurred, however, to all, that the Government required but a few days to unite a powerful army against Lyons. To proclaim a republic was to stand a siege, and to renew the great disaster of Lyons under the Revolution. The more moderate, therefore, the mere insurgents for bread and wages, separating themselves from the insurgents for insurrection's sake, rallied to the Prefect. M. Dumolard, resuming his position, was allowed to exercise his authority and to command the armed bands of the people in keeping order and peace. Lyons in fact imitated Paris, and after having defeated an army, gave itself up again to authority. The Government sent down Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, the one to show military severity and the other princely clemency. They met with no resistance. The insurgents, lately so triumphant, submitted, and saw gradually rise upon the heights in the midst of the city, which they had carried, a series of fortifications calculated to suppress and destroy for the future any popular insurrection.

Orleanist writers are full of congratulations on the results—Soult's entrance into the city at the head of 20,000 soldiers, with drums and trumpets braying pæans to their triumph. This, however, did not obliterate the recollection of a successful *émeute*. The Lyonnese artisan bore in mind how he had demolished the soldiers and put them to flight. He was ready indeed to bow down to the authorities, provided these paid attention to his complaints. But they did nothing. The grievances of the workmen were scouted, as against every principle of political economy, and no real redress or alleviation was offered. The consequence was an increase of the Republican party in Lyons and throughout the south of France. The propertied class enrolled themselves as National Guards; for, as the

result of these *émeutes* both in Paris and the provincial cities, the people were soon eliminated from that body—which supported the new authorities in putting down sedition even in theory. But republicanism increased, nay, spread its roots under ground, in secret societies, and in a host of organisations, which either defied or escaped the action of the Government; and thus Louis-Philippe's throne came to be undermined as dangerously as had been that of the elder Bourbons, and hence unable to subsist or survive a serious catastrophe.

The insurrection of Lyons was followed after a certain interval by a similar movement at Grenoble. It was less, however, the result of turbulence in the labouring class than of a semi-Republican, semi-Bonapartist opinion. Grenoble had always been liberal: as a frontier and garrison town it was more—it was for a war policy, such as General Lamarque and Lafayette abetted. Louis-Philippe and his peaceful *juste milieu* were despised. And when the obsequious conduct of the Government to foreign foes was contrasted with its severity towards domestic ones, hatred became added to contempt. Over a population thus animated, Government had placed a very indiscreet and unpopular Prefect. He forbade this and prevented that. He interdicted processions in Carnival: these processions were made use of to ridicule the King, who was represented as a budget, and of no ordinary dimensions. The Prefect employed the military to put it down. The soldiers pricked the citizens with their bayonets. These armed in bands to protect themselves, and a conflict took place, when the soldiers and the Prefect were obliged as at Lyons to evacuate the Hôtel de Ville. An obnoxious regiment was ordered to quit the town altogether. The population thus masters of Grenoble, had no plans for making use of the victory. The Republicans durst not avow their principles or aims. So that, as at Lyons, the military resumed possession of

CHAP.
XLVI.

the town, and the insurrection was materially suppressed but not the ardour of the popular sentiment, nor the recollection of its having been victorious.

Conspiracies indeed became the order of the day. The combination of malcontents in secret societies always afforded the means, as often as the wealthy Legitimists came forward with money. These attempts, however, in which the zeal of the popular faction was set in motion by the gold of the faction really opposed to it, produced none but results ridiculous and abortive. One conspiracy seemed to have no more serious object than putting the great bell of Notre Dame in motion, and setting fire to one of the towers.* Another, more serious, contemplated an attack on the Tuileries in the midst of a ball. But for this the conspirators moved not in the dark, nor in caves or cellars, but at a public restaurateur's round a sumptuous supper. Of course the police pounced upon them, and sent the plot to be dissected and made public before the Court of Assizes. Singular to say, the same citizens who as National Guards were most ready to put down an insurrection, were as jurymen reluctant to convict. It is difficult to impress on a French jurymen that justice and truth, not sentiment, should be his guide. The republican accused frequently construed the reluctance to condemn them into sympathy for their principles. This induced the prisoners to play the mutineer on their trial, defy the judge, and criticise the law. When the jury acquitted, the judges condemned them to imprisonment for contempt of court; and this served in part to nullify the acquittal of the jury. To punish as sedition and treason their airs of triumph was had recourse to in default of a more regular verdict. Then the men themselves were forgotten in prison, whilst the bold words and attitude were remembered, and cited as acts of heroism.

* *Memoirs of Gisquet ; De la Hodde, Histoire des Sociétés secrètes ; Chenu.*

A more legitimate insurrection than these abortive ones in Paris was that of the Roman Legations, not long previous quieted by the Austrians, but resuscitated by a Papal legate. The Pontifical Government had obeyed none of the injunctions of France and other powers to reform its institutions, or, in pretending to obey, had merely eluded. It neither allowed municipalities to be formed, nor the lay Council of State, which had been insisted on. The temporal power at Rome admitted no means of government save violence. It therefore borrowed money and a general officer from Austria, and put the latter at the head of an army of bandits destined to invade and mercilessly rob and slaughter the people of the Legations. The latter flew to resistance and an engagement took place, in which the patriots were worsted, and in sequence of which the Papalines sacked town after town, slaying, plundering, and living at free quarters. They threatened Bologna, but unable to reduce it they sent to demand the aid of the Austrians, several thousands of whom immediately crossed the Po to re-occupy the Romagna.

This was too much for Casimir Périer. The news of the Austrians having entered Bologna on the 28th of January did not reach Paris till the 2nd or 3rd of February. The very evening that this news arrived, the Government telegraphed to Toulon to get ready an expedition, naval and military; and it sailed on the 7th of February, with the secret mission of entering the port of Ancona and taking possession of the town. The expedition reached Ancona on the 22nd of February. The Austrians were expected, but had not arrived. The French commander anticipated them, landed his troops, and hoisted the tricolor flag over the citadel, without, however, expelling the Papal soldiers or flag.

According to Prince Metternich's previous language, this should have been war. He had openly declared

CHAP.
XLVI.

his preference of fighting a battle with the French to suffering the Italians to take their fate in their own hands. The Pontifical Government was fully as furious. And what was more alarming, the English Government appeared to be as much offended at the bold step as any other of the Continent. Casimir Périer had risked the extreme measure, unaided and alone. If Austria and the other Powers wanted a breach with France, they had full and ample opportunity. But they shrank from the consequences. The Papal Government itself became resigned to the French occupation; and the storm blew over. No act of Périer gave him such strength or brought him so many adherents at home. It was the starting-point of a policy by which the French resolved to share at least the political influence of Austria in Italy. The English were quite mistaken when they took it for ambition. And indeed the other Powers, including Austria itself, were disarmed by the evident proofs that some such step was indispensable, not merely for the sake of the Italian civic population, but for that of the influence and solidity of the Government of the King of the French.

M. Guizot describes the interview which the ambassadors of the great Powers had at the time with Casimir Périer. Baron Werther asked him if there was such a thing in existence as the Public Law of Europe. "The Public Law of Europe!" said Périer, who was ill and in his dressing gown, advancing with choler upon the Prussian envoy, "it is I who defend it. Do you think it an easy thing to preach peace and observe existing treaties at the same time? The honour of France demanded what I have done. I had a right to expect the confidence of Europe, and I counted on it."

The occupation of Ancona had been preceded by an event of a similar nature, which had made not so much noise, though it gave the old statesmen of England singular concern. Don Miguel had thought fit to

maltreat certain French residents, and refused to give redress. Admiral Roussin brought the French fleet into the Tagus, passed the Castles, and took possession of the Portuguese men-of-war stationed off Lisbon. Don Miguel found himself obliged to acquiesce in the demands of the French Admiral. In this affair, as in that of Ancona, Casimir Périer, when he relied upon the English alliance, showed that he was no slave to it.

Spirited as this policy might seem, it was not actuated by that true spirit which is satisfied with nothing less than great and beneficial results. The first object of the French Cabinet was peace, and the second object was to take such a step as would not endanger it, yet satisfy the Liberal exigences of the French people. This was the entire system of Louis-Philippe's reign, which put forward the pretence of favouring Liberal principles and institutions in Italy or Spain and elsewhere. But it was only a pretence, for the real fears of the Monarch and his ministers were lest those institutions should grow thoroughly Liberal. The insincerity of this *juste milieu* policy became stamped upon all its acts, and contributed greatly to discredit it at home and abroad. The varnish without the reality of Liberal principles became in fact the practice, as it became the bane, of the Orleans reign.

Whilst the French prime minister was safely braving the resentment and suspicion of England and of all the great Continental Powers, he was aware of the presence and machinations of the Duchess of Berry in the Italian courts, and of the intention of her and of the Royalists to provoke a rising in France. The vigilance of the Government was immediately turned to ward off an attempt of this kind, more troublesome than dangerous, when Paris was assailed by a new and formidable enemy in the cholera. The ravages which the epidemic might make were not alone to be feared, but the agitation consequent upon them, with the strange and unaccount-

CHAP.
XLVI.

able suspicions of the populace. Thus the cry arose that the cholera was the effect of poison, and several persons lost their lives from being marked as poisoners! It was considered expedient that personages in the higher rank and authority should display their personal care and attention to the victims of the epidemic. It was proposed that the King and his Prime Minister should publicly visit the great Hospital of the Hôtel Dieu, filled with cholera patients. The Duke of Orleans insisted on replacing the King, and he went on the 1st of April, accompanied by Casimir Périer and M. de Marbois. Périer was the last man who should have gone. He was frequently indisposed, and obliged to use continued precautions to keep himself able for his work. Persons so preoccupied with their health are not fit visitors for scenes of epidemic. The minister took the cholera, and in a day or two after lay prostrate on his couch. "I knew I should quit this ministry," he said, "with my legs foremost. I am very ill," observed he to his son, "but the country is in a more dangerous state than I am." On May the 16th Périer expired.

Vituperated by his enemies, as extolled by his friends, both in an exaggerated degree, Périer's fame swelled to be colossal. He was a bold statesman, far too much preoccupied with one idea. Society as well as the throne which he had helped to raise were no doubt menaced by a formidable combination of parties, to defend which was the first necessity of government. But the existence of these parties was the natural consequence of the folly of the Restoration and of the convulsion in which it had succumbed. These parties had their only strength in public opinion, and to ruin them there it was merely necessary to prove them as impotent as absurd. Moreover they were mingled with the factious members of the well-intentioned and honestly thinking, who might have been separated from the more dangerous mass by milder treatment, by a fairer attitude, and liberal institutions.

But the principle of Périer and his friends was to make no concession, whilst using administrative power to crush and put down. This ultra-conservatism, too, extended to things no more necessary or useful. The great object ought to have been to place on solid foundations the throne of the first Prince of the Orleans family. For this a certain popularity was indispensable, and a decorous accord between the circumstances under which the throne was founded and the policy which it adopted. The enemies of the new settlement, more adroit than its champions, saw that the future mainly depended upon the personal respect and influence commanded by the Prince; whereas the Conservative Ministers of that Prince took no care to procure for their Sovereign this prestige. The accusation against him and them which had most weight was that they merely walked in the path of the Restoration—that the Revolution of July had changed nothing. Instead of contradicting this by facts and legislation, the Ministers and the Chambers, Casimir Périer included, aided to strengthen and corroborate it. They evidently preferred the hereditary right of the Peerage, and they strove hard to endow the King with income and the Princes with allowances as ample as the old. The Civil List was discussed in the session which took place before the death of Périer, and the demands of Ministers were too large even for the parliamentary majority, conservative as it was. One of the calumnies against Louis-Philippe, that which most seriously hurt him, was his supposed love of money. It was not true, and might have been despised, but it could only be disproved by generous acts and economical budgets. Instead of this the Civil List as arranged allowed a peculiarly sarcastic writer, M. de Cormenin, to publish attacks which, however exaggerated and unjust, had still truth enough in them to eat into the Royal character and accredit the too general opinion of Louis-Philippe's avarice. The fault of Casimir

CHAP.
XLVI.

Périer was that he did not clearly see where the strength and weakness of the monarchy lay. He thought the acquiescence of a parliamentary majority sufficient, that majority being based upon the vote of one or two hundred thousand electors, with the great body of the nation and the press altogether aside. The minister did not take sufficient note of these things; and the very success of his policy of resistance recommended it so strongly to the monarch, that he persisted in it, even when it was bringing him to the brink of the precipice into which he fell.

Whilst Casimir Périer was on his death-bed, the Duchess of Berry was traversing France in disguise, and yet *en poste*, to take the command of a Royalist rising in La Vendée. She had been for the previous year in Italy, principally at Massa, negotiating, discussing, preparing, getting secret encouragement from foreign powers and domestic friends. As everything was possible in France, the wisest politicians refrained equally from affronting or encouraging the Princess. Her plan was to excite first a rising of Royalists in the towns of the South of France, and when the conflagration had well-nigh lit up there, to travel to La Vendée to set that inflammable region also in a blaze. The poor Duchess, however, reckoned completely without her host. Like all her family, she took it for granted that France and the world were still those of the last century, when such sentiments as loyalty and personal attachment to a reigning family animated the peasant masses. These had died away with the progress of years, in the country cabin as in the crowded street. And however the smaller gentry might evince them, they had no followers to whom they could impart their enthusiasm or devotion. In towns such as Paris or Marseilles money was the spring for setting insurrection in activity. This, furnished by the rich Legitimists, might reckon on the support of Republicans and Bonapartists, both

anxious at all hazards and with all results for a tumult. The Paris Legitimists were, however, against the rising. That of some months previous had cost large sums and proved an utter deception. Nevertheless, an insurrection was prepared, or pretended to be prepared, to greet the Duchess of Berry's landing, which took place on the coast of Provence on the 29th of April. One of Louis-Philippe's cruisers soon after seized the *Carlo Alberto*, the vessel that had brought the Duchess, with many of her suite on board, but she herself had landed. She had scarcely done so when she learned that the promised rising in Marseilles had utterly failed. The authorities were warned, the conspirators alarmed, and could not effect even a riot. A corporal's guard was sufficient to put them down.

Advised upon this failure to re-embark, the Duchess refused, and persisted in repairing to La Vendée. She reached Saintes in a few days, and called a council of Vendean gentlemen at a farmhouse, which became the head-quarters of her partisans. All were of one opinion—that a successful insurrection was impossible. If other parts of France, including Paris, were in open resistance to the new Government, the Vendéans might do something. Alone they would not attempt it. The Duchess was in despair. All ideas of a rising in Paris had been abandoned; and the chief Legitimists then despatched M. Berryer to La Vendée to warn the Duchess and represent to her that, the renewal of the civil war being impossible, it was necessary for her to withdraw. M. Berryer brought her the means and the plan of escape, but she declined to listen to him. The result was, that, maintaining and exercising her influence over the most zealous of the party, she advanced and promoted two or three partial risings in different localities. Even these were not so serious or so numerous as they might have been, counter-orders having been given by Marshal Bourmont, which paralysed many

CHAP.
XLVI.

efforts. Several collisions, however, took place, in which many Vendean gentlemen perished. A portion of them made a most gallant and desperate resistance in the Château of La Penissière, out of which they were burned. Some hundreds of gallant men were thus sacrificed to the idle caprice of the Princess, who would believe vainly that the struggle and the glory of 1793 might be renewed. A few days undeceived her, and the Duchess of Berry was obliged to take refuge in Nantes.*

If it was the merit of Casimir Périer to have put down the violent outbursts of faction, it cannot be said that he penetrated to the sources and destroyed them. On the contrary, the number and audacity of the enemies of the monarchy increased immensely under his administration. The Republicans augmented daily, and conceived fresh hopes. We have seen how active were the Legitimists; and the Buonapartist or military party was not the least dangerous, although, most prudently, they resolved to await change rather than provoke it. The strength of the Republicans lay in the feeling that monarchy was but experimental, and that, based on popular choice, it must fall if repudiated by that which had given it birth. In this conviction many remained who were neither republican nor monarchic, but ready to have recourse to one if the other should prove a failure. Such was the ultra-liberal party in the Chamber, and Lafayette himself, who observed that Louis-Philippe had not satisfied the conditions upon which he was elected. The more moderate leaders of opposition, who were still decidedly monarchic, joined in this opinion. Provoked and irritated by the laurels heaped upon Casimir Périer's tomb, and by the loud vauntings of his policy, they resolved to issue a solemn protest, and

* Louis Blanc.

parliament not sitting, it took the form of a written document. Odilon Barrot, assisted by Cormenin and others, drew up this manifesto, which was published under the name of the *Compte rendu*.*

The Conservatives, even the tolerant ones of that day, have denounced the *Compte rendu* as an act little short of sedition and rebellion. There is no extremity of censure or punishment they did, and do, not call down upon its authors. We must confess to see nothing unconstitutional or subversive in it; on the contrary, it appears a very tame document, and one that a government might have tolerated in a parliamentary opposition. It accused ministers of a series of faults rather than crimes. It reproached them with the vague error of continuing the Restoration, not the Revolution. The civil list was too ample, bespeaking the luxury and corruption of the old monarchies. The ministry were denounced for favouring the hereditary right of the peerage, and yet the government had abandoned it. The organisation of the army was declared to be too expensive, and as enrolling too many active soldiers, instead of being contented with a pacific reserve. Coupled with these reproaches, came the signal ones, of France abandoning Italy to Austria, and not having rescued Poland from the grasp of Russia. Ministers were accused of creating divisions, of persecuting the press, of not procuring order, and not having effected a general disarmament.

This protest of the parliamentary opposition was followed by a republican insurrection, which of course was denounced as one of its effects. It was not a document of that stirring kind. The Republicans were well and largely organised in secret societies, and there were, moreover, many grades of them—some who raved a republic with the monarchy of the Constituent Assembly, whilst some few were satisfied with no less than

* Nouvion, appendix ; Annuaire

CHAP.
XLVI.

the red cap and the red flag. An opportunity arose for the display of these diverse sentiments; and the leaders, no doubt, thought the time opportune, when the government had been deprived of the strong arm and head of Périer, his surviving colleagues, with the exception of Soult, having acquired no reputation for either capacity or firmness. The occasion which offered was the funeral of General Lamarque, who had expired in the first days of June. It was at once resolved to put forth such a popular demonstration as should quite efface that made by what was called the *bourgeoisie* on the tomb of Périer.

The 5th of June, 1832, was fixed for the funeral of Lamarque. Louis Blanc, an historian fully acquainted with the ramifications and workings of that mine of disaffection which had established itself beneath the surface of society, and was active in sapping the foundations of the government at this epoch, states that almost all the liberal and non-legitimist opposition of the Orleans dynasty, had rallied under the banner of Buonapartism. There were the Imperialists, who sought to resuscitate, in Napoleon the Second, the old *régime* of Napoleon the First. There were others who raved a republic under the same prince, an hallucination greater than that of Laffitte, who hoped to find a Washington in Louis-Philippe. These opinions were all fostered and represented in secret associations, which had their arms, their funds, and their organisation. Orleanist writers allege that these societies and parties determined to make the funeral of Lamarque the occasion of an insurrection. M. Louis Blanc only so far modifies this assertion by saying that it was not the intention to promote troubles, but take advantage of them if provoked, or that, "if they saw a collision inevitable, they would accept and precipitate it." There is not much difference between the statements.

Soult was minister of war, and had some 60,000

bayonets to oppose to the intended insurrectionists. Both sides were prepared for action. The National Guards were provided with ammunition, and the members of the clubs carried arms under their garments.* Both followed the funeral procession. Its way ran along the boulevards, but the Buonapartists compelled it to turn into the Place Vendôme and salute the column. The guard opposite at first withdrew into their guardhouse, but the clamour compelled them to come forth, and present arms to the funeral car. The next event was the Duke of Fitzjames at his window refusing to unbosom to the procession. The windows of the hotel were immediately smashed. The fact proved, at least, that Legitimacy and Republicanism were not in accord. The procession increased in numbers and in excitement, as it approached the Place de la Bastille, where a platform was prepared for harangues, and the excitement reached a high pitch when some hundreds of the Polytechnic School students made their appearance, having defied the masters of the college, and broken loose. An unfortunate circumstance was the appearance of the red flag, which, according to some, had been seen all along throughout the procession. At all events, a red flag, borne aloft by a horseman, and soon surmounted by a *bonnet rouge*, appeared on the Place de la Bastille. Louis Blanc represents it as a trick of the police, intended to disgust and frighten the bourgeois; others would have it a provocation of the Red Republicans to action. The truth is, it was borne aloft by a madman, a fanatic, who, like General Dubourg, in the July Revolution, was his own adviser. Lafayette as well as General Excelmans were disgusted at the sight of the red flag and the *bonnet rouge*; but the latter, for objecting to it, was nearly flung into the river. Lafayette withdrew and returned home.†

* Louis Blanc, Nouvion, &c.

† Lafayette's Correspondence,

Louis Blanc, De la Hodge, Nouvion,
Gisquet's Mem.

CHAP.
XLVI.

It had been arranged that the procession should terminate on the south side of the bridge, the remains of the general being then transferred to a carriage for transportation to his native place in the south of France. To facilitate this, the Prefect of Police, Gisquet, sent some two hundred dragoons to the quay adjoining the bridge. They were assailed with stones and cries bidding them surrender their arms. As crowds were surrounding and overwhelming them, a second detachment came to their rescue. The Republicans fired on it. And at the signal barricades arose, and an insurrection in imitation of that of July took place on both banks of the Seine. The National Guards and soldiers who had joined the procession, and were confounded in the multitude, extricated themselves and escaped one by one. The military posts were carried one after the other. And by six in the evening the multitude were as triumphant as they had been on the 28th of July two years before.

Marshal Soult had so far fulfilled the duties of War Minister that he had collected in Paris or in its vicinity a considerable number of troops. But he by no means came forward to take the command, or even to give efficient orders for suppressing the insurrection. Unaware of the great fact that the working classes of the suburbs had not joined the enrolled militia of the clubs, and that these, with the mere rabble, constituted the whole force of the insurrection, the Marshal is said to have hesitated, and feared the fate of Marmont. Louis Blanc asserts that he proposed to abandon Paris, and others pretend that some chiefs of the Republicans had interviews with him, as Armand Carrel undoubtedly had with Marshal Clausel. The King, however, had come himself to Paris. And Marshal Lobau took the command. Instead of engaging his troops in the narrow streets, he first cleared the boulevards and the

quays, thus confining the insurrection to the old labyrinth around the Church of St. Méry. This was effected with some loss, but still effectually, before nightfall, a success that would have been more doubtful or more dearly purchased had the working class to any extent joined the *émeute*.

The night was then allowed to pass, and at daybreak of the 6th the insurgents were attacked in their fastnesses, the barricades swept with cannon, and their intrenchments everywhere forced by the National Guard, as well as the line, both of which lost a considerable number of officers and men. The better class of the Republicans held a meeting at the office of the *National*, where Armand Carrel, amongst others, seeing but the mere rabble joining the men of the secret societies, declared that the mass of troops could not be resisted. The Deputies of the Left met also at Laffitte's, but decided nothing more than a delegation to the King. It was composed of Laffitte, Odilon Barrot, and Arago. Lafayette had refused to go, and he was wise. For with the National Guard firm, and the troops faithful, there was nothing to fear for the government. All that the Deputies could do was to lecture Louis-Philippe, who received them at once, but who mocked their recommendations. They pointed to Paris and La Vendée as proof of the unpopularity of the monarchy. In this assertion they were right. But the King observed that his unpopularity arose from calumny and faction, not real discontent. He had observed the Charter, he said, and in July had promised no more.* According to M. Guizot, Arago was rude, Barrot polite. The King did not shrink from admitting that he was the main-spring of the government, the originator and upholder of its policy. Instead of avowing himself as

* For the conversation see Pepin, *Deux Ans de Règne*.

CHAP.
XLVI.

under the control of constitutional government and a parliamentary majority, Louis-Philippe spoke as minister and sovereign in one.

The worst consequence of this personal government of the monarch was that, however wise the King's direction of affairs might be, ministerial management remained in weak, because dependent, hands. On Casimir Périer's death, the Home Office was given to Montalivet, considered altogether a King's friend. With more zeal than discretion, this young minister, immediately after the insurrection, first declared the capital in a state of siege, for which there was not the least necessity, and then arrested the chief Carlist notabilities, the Duc de Fitzjames, Châteaubriand, and Berryer, for which there was less. All these had in fact deprecated, not encouraged, the Duchess of Berry's attempts, and had done nought to draw down upon them incarceration. The fact was confirmed by the speedy acquittal of Berryer.

This blunder compelled the King to think at once of strengthening his ministry. But every personage whom he addressed demanded, as the first condition, the appointment of a governing President of the Council. Talleyrand was thought of, and when he came to Paris, on his way to his usual baths, at Bourbon, the offer was made him. Talleyrand, however, would not accept the presidency, and at the same time did not desire that there should be any prime minister. The King had previously sounded Dupin, and at first was not averse to have that personage in the shoes of Périer. Royer Collard had said that Casimir Périer's administration had owed its success to his ignorance and brutality—harsh words, with a spice of truth in them. They might be equally applied to Dupin. But he would not take office, along with either Sebastiani or Montalivet. And Talleyrand mocked his pretensions. The King and Dupin therefore came to a rupture in a conversation on

the evening of the 28th at St. Cloud, where the future ministers were all assembled.*

CHAP.
XLVI.

Marshal Soult did not want the two precious qualities attributed to Casimir Périer; but he was more manageable than Dupin. Hence the King ended by appointing him President of the Council, with the War Office. The Duc de Broglie was chosen for Foreign Affairs. He would not accept without having for colleague his friend M. Guizot, who became Minister of Public Instruction. The most important nomination was that of M. Thiers to the Home Department. He had been introduced to office by Laffitte, of whom, however, he was more a personal than a political disciple. His history, many volumes of which had appeared, sufficiently pronounced him a son of the Revolution. His appointment was therefore considered as a liberal set-off to that of the unpopular Doctrinaires. Humann, of Strasburg, took the Finances.†

M. Thiers, in accepting the Home Office, gave up many of its attributes, in order to devote his attention to what had become an urgent necessity, that of arresting the Duchess of Berry. Although the open insurrection in La Vendée had been prostrated or put down, still the presence of the Princess kept alive agitation and inquietude, and, what was worse, excited the very general suspicion that the King connived at her efforts to disturb the country and shake his throne. Rumours are sometimes not the less credited and not less dangerous for being absurd. Had the Princess limited her confidence to French nobles and peasants, she might have concealed her presence and her movements, but she had admitted to her intimacy, even when in Italy, an Israelite of the name of Deutz, who had become con-

* Nouvion makes the King speak harshly to Dupin. It is not at all likely that Louis-Philippe would use language so unhabitual to him.

Dupin's own account, in his *Memoirs*, is quite different.

† *Memoirs of Guizot, of Dupin, Nouvion, Louis Blanc, &c.*

CHAP.
XLVI.

verted to Catholicism at Rome, and whom the Church in consequence patronised. Previous to her entering France, the Princess despatched Deutz on a mission to Spain and Portugal. She created him a baron, and gave him power to raise a loan; yet no sooner was he in Madrid than he wrote to the French Government to offer to betray the Princess. It has been said that jealousy was his motive, he having been first taken into favour and then sent away. At all events, Deutz made the offer to the Home Minister Montalivet, who did not consider it as aught worth following up. M. Thiers no sooner took the Home Office, and received renewed offers from Deutz, than he grasped at them, saw him, promised him half a million of francs, accompanied by menaces should he prove untrue. Deutz, under his directions, proceeded to Nantes. The Duchess was already informed that some one had undertaken to betray her. For she undoubtedly had friends in the council of the King; but the suspicion falling upon another than Deutz, he was admitted to the Duchess's presence. The police, however, had been unable to follow his track, and no more came of it. He demanded another interview to repair the failure of the first. It was granted, and the police then saw Deutz enter the house of Mademoiselle Duguigny; he there had his second interview. On one occasion the Duchess said to him, "Perhaps you are the person who, they say, is to betray me." Deutz smilingly observed, "It might be so;" and it was so. For Deutz had but taken his departure when the police burst in. The Princess, with Mademoiselle de Kersabiec and two gentlemen of her suite, had had time to retreat to a recess that had been prepared behind the fire-place of an upper room. And here they remained sixteen hours, defying all the ingenuity and resources of the police; at last the gendarmes, occupying the room where the recess was, lit a fire on the hearth to warm themselves, and this fire soon rendered the recess untenable by its occupants,

whose clothes even took fire, as the iron plate at the back heated. At last they cried out, saying they surrendered, and the Duchess and her companions were drawn half fainting from their hiding-place. She was treated with all respect, but conveyed as a prisoner to the Castle of Blaye, on the Garonne, below Bordeaux.*

On the 6th of November, not a month after the entrance of M. Thiers into the Home Office, the Duchess of Berry became a prisoner. But the throne of Louis-Philippe was beset by so many and such different enemies that the marvel is how it so long endured. As the monarch was proceeding to open the Chambers on the 19th of the same month, a pistol shot was fired at him; the assassin escaped, but the pistol which he used was found near to a young woman, who had seen him fire it. Bergeron, a young usher at a school, was no doubt the person who fired the pistol. He belonged to the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, two members of which had previously pointed him out as one who had engaged to protect another member of the society in an act of regicide. The Republican Society, as well as the Legitimists, who so often fomented conspiracy, had in fact begun to despair of street insurrections. Châteaubriand wrote to the Duchess of Berry that nothing was to be hoped from them. The conspirators therefore resorted to assassination plots, and Bergeron's attempt was the first. He was tried before the Court of Assizes, denied, of course, the act of regicide, but gloried in the profession of a Republican and an enemy to the throne. The jury acquitted him; but no one had a doubt of his guilt, which did not prevent many of even the most respectable Republicans from receiving and patronising him. To such a pitch had swelled party and personal feuds. The act was a godsend to the ministry of the 11th of October. An opposition that

* Mémoires de Gisquet; accounts of Nouvion and Louis Blanc; Dermoncourt's Vendée; Madame et La Vendée, &c.

CHAP.
XLVI.

had been gathering in the Chamber disappeared at the sound of Bergeron's pistol. Dupin was voted president, and the address was couched and carried in a sense quite laudatory of the new Cabinet and its ideas.

About the period of this criminal attempt upon the King, the breaches were opened before the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch persisted in holding. The enthronement of Leopold at Brussels, and the rejection of the Dutch from a second invasion of Belgium by the intervention of a French army, had not brought to a conclusion the difficult question of a delineation of frontier. Neither the King of Holland nor the Belgians were satisfied with the arrangement in Luxemburg, on the Scheldt or the Meuse. King William expected fresh insurrections in France, and sedulously adjourned every settlement in consequence; whilst the Duchess of Berry, at Nantes, awaited the first cannon-shot at Antwerp, as the signal of European war, to be followed by another Vendean one. It was necessary to put an end to the hopes and machinations of all those parties, who built upon the prospect of a general war. Some of the most intricate points in the adjustment or interchange of frontier were proposed to be left for after-negotiations between Belgium and Holland. One of these points concerned the territory east of Antwerp, and the Scheldt. And the Dutch monarch insisted on holding this frontier, the very key of the dispute, a fortress too within a few leagues of Brussels. To put an end to his pretensions, the new French Cabinet decided on Marshal Gérard's marching to Antwerp and investing its citadel. The English not only gave their adhesion, but blockaded the Dutch coast with a fleet, until such time as its monarch should yield. Such were the difficulties which reigned, and such the rash hopes and thoughts which actuated the most sensible men, that the first demand of Marshal Gérard was permission to attack the Prussians. He was told to confine himself

to reducing the Dutch soldiers in the citadel of Antwerp. Austria and Prussia held aloof from this enterprise, and Russia more openly disapproved of it. The adhesion of England, however, rendered any resentment or action of the Holy Alliance impossible. And by this protection, France obtained in peace the demolition of the hostile fortress erected on its frontier, whilst a Princess of the House of Orleans ascended the Belgian throne by the side of Leopold, and rendered the Cabinet of Brussels far more French than English. This was fully seen in the fresh commercial relations which afterwards arose between Belgium and France, from which England was rigidly excluded. And yet French ultra-Liberal, or even Liberal, writers represent their court and their King as but the dupes and instruments of England, in their negotiations and in the alliance on which they were founded!

When the French general appeared on the 19th before Antwerp, he had first to attack the fortress, and then prevent the Belgians from joining in the hostilities. Their doing so would have not only brought on the bombardment and destruction of the city of Antwerp, but would have led to hostilities on the part of the Dutch against the Belgians along the whole frontier. The Prussians were near, and would have become implicated in the war. The moment was critical. Ten days were spent in opening trenches and preparing for the attack even of the advanced works. Upwards of a month was required ere the siege was sufficiently advanced to leave no hope for the Dutch commander. On the 23rd of December he offered to surrender the citadel. The liberation of the Belgian territories was thus accomplished by an act of vigour on the part of the French government, and an attitude of friendship on that of the English, to both of which French Liberals ought to have been more just.

The close of 1832 was thus an epoch of triumph for

the new dynasty, and for the party in possession of power. In foreign policy and negotiations, as in the brief campaign, its aims were fully attained. They were literally so in domestic policy by the total defeat of the Republicans in insurrections and of the Legitimists in La Vendée. This was rendered more complete by the unexpected discovery of the Duchess of Berry being *enceinte*. The King and his family had made every effort calculated to conceal the scandal. But the Duchess met all such offers by denials, until at last she declared her having been previously married to the Count Lucchesi Palli, a Sicilian noble. Her subsequent confinement and liberation became of less importance from the fact of her second marriage totally nullifying her claim to act either as regent of France or chief of a Legitimist insurrection. Her political fortunes ended as sadly as those of Charles the Tenth himself. To the defeat of Republicans and Legitimists was added the brushing away of the difficulties which the King of Holland placed in the way of an adjustment of his frontier by the siege and surrender of Antwerp.

In this hour of triumph, it was to be regretted that there was no super-eminent and presiding genius in the Cabinet to prepare and inaugurate a policy of concession to liberal opinions. Louis-Philippe's wisest counsellor, his sister, Madame Adelaide, is known to have urged such advice. She regretted that, after the death of Casimir Périer, the formation of the new Cabinet did not take in the more moderate members of the Left, rather than the Conservative Doctrinaires. Such men as Barrot and those who went with him, she thought ought to have been won to the monarchy by being included amongst its ministers and functionaries. And she was right. For not only did the public find the government too Conservative, but in the Chamber itself a portion of those who usually supported ministers began to form a body apart, which soon assumed the name of the *tiers parti*.

One of the ministers indeed felt that *resistance* to popular desires might be carried too far. With fear and disquiet he saw disaffection gain ground in the masses. And he resolved not to be himself the instrument of repressing them, and thus go down to posterity as the Fouché of the Orleans dynasty. Thiers resigned the Home Office, and took the department of Commerce and Public Works. To have given a great impulse to industry and trade might have afforded the means of distracting the labouring as well as the lower portion of the middle class from listening to Republican or subversive arguments. The influential and wealthy in France were, however, backward in their ideas, and clung to the infatuated theories of protection. From political expediency, as well as from a want of exclusive devotion to the subject, M. Thiers felt not inclined to commence or inaugurate free trade. He preferred a plan which has since been so largely acted upon, of extensive public works to occupy the multitude. He asked no less than 4,000,000*l.* sterling for this purpose, in which he would have included the fortifications of Paris.

These attempts to conciliate the working classes were not accompanied by any legislation calculated to satisfy educated and moderate Liberals. The law of organising departmental and district councils came under discussion. The ministerial project allowed none to be electors of these councils who did not pay 200 francs direct taxes, thus excluding small proprietors, that large class in France, from any control even over local affairs and expenditure. In one of the debates of the moment, Messrs. Dubois and Baude gave vent to some angry expressions against the prevailing system. They were immediately deprived of their offices. M. Guizot declares he was opposed to this violent act of party vengeance, but the majority of the council insisted on it. The Doctrinaires were thus not so ultra-conservative in some questions as their colleagues.

CHAP.
XLIV.

This extravagance of conservatism was the more misplaced as at the moment there was a split in the Republican party, some with Lafayette recommending moderation and the use of constitutional means of combat in preference to the revolutionary tactics and language, which had come to be adopted by the more violent. As the *National* held to moderation, the *Tribune* abetted violence. So that the schism became manifest.

The King took no advantage of these divisions among his enemies ; we say the King, for unfortunately his was the only governing spirit. The ministry indeed comprised two men of first-rate ability, Guizot and Thiers, but they neutralised one another, their rivalry compelling both to bow before a mock President of the Council, or the King, who tacitly took the place. Far better would it have been had Thiers, leaving Guizot to be avowed and undisturbed leader of the Conservatives, frankly embraced more liberal and popular principles, rallying the moderate and middle party of the Left and Left Centre. But although such were the original colour and tendency of M. Thiers' political convictions, he had as minister been thrown into such personal antagonism, not only with insurrectionists, but with the more constitutional party which, if they did not support, at least flattered them, that Thiers, acerb and incisive in his mode of eloquence, became a more bitter antagonist than Guizot. This was to be regretted, as both in and out of the Chamber, even along with the strong disgust of popular turbulence, the idea prevailed that ill-judged and rancorous conservatism provoked it. To this was owing the rise of the *tiers parti*. To this was due the reluctance of juries to condemn even the most audacious and dangerous excesses of the press.

Could the Chamber have divided into two parties, the one avowing conservatism, the other abetting popular rights, able and prudent men taking the lead in the latter, with the prospect of being entrusted with the

government, when their rivals fell into a minority, or were found at fault, the great body of Liberals would have rallied behind them. The King, showing himself ready to accept as ministers one party as well as another, would have neutralised anti-monarchic principles and converted Republicans into Constitutionalists. Instead of this, the Chamber presented but the one governing clique, the members of which disagreed indeed with each other on merely personal grounds, the King making puppets of them all, and replacing and playing one by another, and thus concentrating upon himself that mass of hatred naturally attracted by every administration.

It is difficult, however, to assign the chief share of blame to any one person or party. For if active politicians and monarchists grouped too much together, and stood too much apart from the nation, they were driven to it by the ever-renewed insurrections which interrupted the quiet and constitutional development of party, and compelled the legislature to think and provide for security rather than liberty. The proceedings of the Chamber in the session of 1833 and 1834 were not conciliatory if we except M. Thiers' scheme of public works for the employment of the labouring classes. In order to meet and put down the continually increasing violence of the ultra-Republican party, laws were introduced, first against public criers, who were certainly most mutinous and even rebellious in their vociferations. Another, against associations, was most severe, and threatened the clubs and secret societies with extinction and punishment. The first law, that prohibiting public criers from selling papers and pamphlets without authorisation, nearly produced a serious tumult. The cause being brought before the Royal Court, it in a manner declared the law invalid, and decided in favour of the public crier. The proprietor of a paper called the *Bon Sens* took advantage of this to cry and sell his paper at the Bourse, threatening to resist if molested.

CHAP.
XLVI.

A tumult ensued, and a scuffle between the people and the police, but the former did not proceed this time to the extremity of insurrection.

The law against associations was introduced after that against public criers. The spirit of this law, drawn up by Persil, is sufficiently characterised by the fact that it is the same as that kept in force by Napoleon the Third under the second empire, and that he has found it sufficiently stringent without adding to it a single clause. Associations, in fact, even those for literary or religious purposes, were strictly forbidden unless they received the approbation of the Government, and any association which attempted to meet without this was amenable for such offence, not to an upper court or jury, but to the police tribunal. Here was one of the republican institutions with which Louis-Philippe had promised to surround his throne! Certainly the associations of the time were most mutinous and audacious, and demanded repression, but to confound all meetings, and to make it a crime for half-a-dozen men to assemble and talk, was a consequence of the Revolution of July, which shocked not merely Republicans, but many friends of monarchy and order. Such a law did not, of course, pass without long and animated discussions, in which the opposition and even some more moderate members stated their objections, and depicted the spirit of the Government with colours which severely depopularised the King and the monarchy of July.

The necessity of such a Draconic law against associations was soon, however, justified by the conduct of the existing Republican societies. These declared at once that they would not submit to it, and would engage in insurrectionary war against the Chamber as well as the Government. The majority of the Chamber indeed strongly supported a policy of severity, and showed it by granting at once the permission to prosecute M. Cabet, one of those writers who had published violent Republican articles. This time judge and jury were agreed

in the verdict, and M. Cabet was condemned to three years' imprisonment and 10,000 francs fine.

All these circumstances stirred the clubs to resistance. They wanted not courage, but funds, the sinews of armed revolt. The Legitimists used to be lavish in suborning the Republicans to take up arms. But since the *fiasco* of the Duchess of Berry, they were disheartened and ashamed. The Republican war champions were obliged to make use of the elements of disorder where they existed, instead of organising fresh ones.

Lyons had been for some time in a state of great industrial distress. The manufacturers found themselves under the necessity of lowering wages; this was resisted by the middlemen, or *chefs d'ateliers*, who employed the scattered weavers in their abodes, combined in a secret association calling themselves *Mutualists*; these decided upon ordaining a strike. It took place, and the Republican societies flung themselves into it to convert an industrial resistance into a political rebellion. This was greatly facilitated by the new law of association, which menaced industrial and political ones alike, and visited them with the same penalties. It shows how ill-judged had been a measure which confounded two species of offences. When the *Mutualists* were prosecuted and brought to trial for coalition, the Republicans took advantage of it, and raised a tumult which obliged the court to adjourn its sitting. The day of the trial being resumed became that of an insurrection of the Republicans. They were met by the troops, and a collision was the necessary result. M. Louis Blanc attributes the first provocation to an agent of the police. The Orleanists deny the fact; a barricade had, however, been previously erected, and this was provocation enough; as usual in popular insurrections, the multitude became master of the greater part of the town. General Aymard conducted the defence in a different manner from Marmont. He employed artillery to clear the streets

CHAP.
XLVI.

before him, and then ordered the troops to penetrate into the houses on either side, ere he ventured to advance, breaking through the side walls from house to house, and thus driving back the insurrection, without needlessly exposing the soldiers. This was slow work, but it was sure. It took four or five days to reduce the insurrection; some Republicans, under a leader named Lagrange, made a desperate resistance in a church, that of St. Bonaventure. But they were finally reduced, and the rebellious *faubourg*, threatened with bombardment, at last surrendered. The *émeute* occupied from the 9th to the 14th of April, 1834.

These events at Lyons could scarcely fail of producing at least an attempt to repeat a second time those in Paris. Government, however, was too vigilant and too well prepared. The Home Minister Thiers had lost no time in stopping the Republican journals, and seizing the chiefs. It was only therefore some subalterns who undertook to commence resistance and raise barricades on the night of the 13th. They chose the intricate quarter round the church of St. Méry, now opened by a spacious boulevard. It was then a network of lanes, in which barricades were soon thrown up, and vigorously defended. Similar attempts were made in other quarters, but could not be carried into effect. Some officers of the National Guard were shot, amongst others a wealthy citizen, named Baillot. Marshal Lobau treated the insurrection as he had done on a former occasion, invested the insurgent quarter during the night, and on the following morning stormed and carried the barricades. In the narrow Rue Transnonain some soldiers carrying a wounded officer were fired at, and the officer killed; the shots came from a house, which the troops instantly attacked, and when they forced their way in more shots were fired at them. The real perpetrators of this provocation and resistance escaped through the rear, whilst the exasperated soldiers took vengeance by

slaughtering the inhabitants of the house, many of them women and children, to the number of eighteen.* “We expected,” said the minister, “to find an insurrection in Paris as in Lyons, but we only encountered assassins.” Unfortunately the reproach of assassination was cast from both sides.

The Government evinced its thanks and confidence in the army by proposing to increase its numbers, with a large addition of expense, whilst, in order to make the most of the late insurrection, a monster trial of all inculpated was ordered to take place before the Court of Peers. Nothing could be more ill-judged; it was erecting a pedestal for men who were, after all, not the chiefs of any party, and many of whom attracted sympathy by their courage and singleness of purpose, notwithstanding the fanatic absurdity of their opinions. The moment of conservative ascendancy was also taken advantage of to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and procure the election of a new parliament under the influence of fear.

About the same time Lafayette expired. At almost any other moment his obsequies might have offered the opportunity of insurrection; but the republic had been too seriously crushed to move. It was almost a pity that Lafayette ever quitted his adopted country, after having aided in her emancipation. His ideas, however liberal and honest, were, somehow or another, never suited to the state of things in France at any epoch. He first promoted the popular Revolution of 1789, and ever after unsuccessfully endeavoured to stay it. After aiding in the overthrow of throne and aristocracy, he sought in vain to throw out anchors to prevent the State drifting into the republic. He did the same by the republic to prevent it drifting on the empire. At home, events

* The author penetrated into the street, and visited this house a few hours after. No pen could de-

scribe the horrible vestiges of military vengeance.

took a turn to give the old patriot a gleam of hope that his scheme would be realised. But the illusion never lasted more than a few days, and left him to fall back into his normal state of discontent with the world and with men, and of a vain and petulant, though honourable and disinterested, struggle against both.

These years of turbulence and repeated insurrections, which by their universal failure had added strength to the Government and cohesion to the parties which supported it, seemed to come to a pause after the events of April. Fears of revolution evaporated, and left the middle-class mind more free to criticise the acts of the Government. Ministers had counted on a great accession of strength in the new elections. In this they were doomed to be disappointed, for although ultra-Liberals were returned in fewer numbers to the Chambers, the incipient *Tiers parti* received far more recruits than the party of *resistance*. This was seen at once by the sentiments of the deputies as they met in Paris for the opening of the Chambers. The monster trial before the Peers was universally deprecated. Most people wished to see an end put to it by an amnesty which was to close and fill up the gulf of revolution.

Instead of yielding to this semi-opposition, ministers determined to resist it, and yet there was not the desired cohesion and agreement amongst them. The copartners of the Cabinet rebelled against their unintelligent chief, Soult, who, as president of the council, was as absolute in his opinions as defective in his power of expressing them. They complained to the King, who advised them to bear with the rudeness and oddity of the Marshal. Gérard, they said, would make a much better president of the council. "In that you are wrong," observed the King, "and if you succeed, you will have reason to regret the change." The King was right, but Thiers and Guizot persisted. Yet in the immediate cause of difference they were equally in error. They recommended a

civil governor of the colony of Algiers. Soult declared that a civil governor would be powerless in a colony where the native population was still in arms against the invaders. They insisted. Marshal Soult resigned; and Marshal Gérard became President of the Council in July 1834. But no sooner was he in that high position than he adopted the rallying word of the *Tiers parti*, and proclaimed an amnesty to be necessary. The consequence was that he resigned his new office in three months after having accepted it.

Then commenced fresh difficulties; M. Guizot proposed the Duc de Broglie as President; his appointment was displeasing both to M. Dupin and to the King. Count Molé was thought of, nay, consulted. He hoped to obtain the adhesion of Dupin. Persil and De Rigny did their utmost to overcome the objections of Dupin, saying that, if he refused, the predominance in the Cabinet would fall to the Doctrinaires.* On the 11th of November, a *Tiers parti* ministry was gazetted, consisting of the Duke of Bassano, president and home minister; Bresson, foreign affairs; Persil, justice; Sauzet, public instruction; General Bernard, war; Charles Dupin, marine; Teste, commerce. Passy was to have the finances. The ministers thus gazetted having met, with the exception of Bresson and Sauzet, who were absent, confessed at once to each other that they could not hope to command even the respect of the Chamber or of the public, their nomination having provoked a shout of derision. They therefore resigned, being designated, in the journals of the time, as the Ministry of Three Days. Marshal Mortier was forced to take the post of President of the Council, and under his nominal presidency,† the Thiers and Guizot Cabinet resumed office.

* De Rigny's letter in Appendix to Dupin's Memoirs.

† Memoirs of Guizot, of Dupin,

Nouvion, the annuals and journals of the time.

Even this arrangement did not last; Marshal Mortier was but a stop-gap, and he soon felt his nullity as dishonourable. He therefore resigned early in 1835, and there re-ensued the usual intrigue and irresolution of a ministerial crisis. Count Molé's name was put forward again; Dupin was once more solicited. But the *Tiers parti* had been defeated in recent attempts, so that the Doctrinaire party triumphed, Thiers being too much isolated to contend against them, or to hold any strong position between both. He as well as the King therefore consented to accept the Duc de Broglie as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, a conclusion that was announced on the 11th of March, 1835.

The necessity of having a firm and able foreign minister for the moment facilitated De Broglie's return to office. For the Spanish question required solution, whilst those of Italy seemed likely to re-open. The Belgian knot had ended by being successfully and satisfactorily untied. But the resentment of the Eastern powers against France had augmented, and had led to common resolutions which seemed to portend a resuscitation of the Holy Alliance. The ill-will especially of the Czar Nicholas for the King Louis-Philippe had displayed itself in a variety of small ways. The Marshals Mortier and Maison had been successively French ambassadors at St. Petersburg, and were treated with ample courtesy, but rather as French soldiers than Orleanist envoys. In 1833 the sovereigns had frequent meetings, especially one at Münchengrätz, after which they signified to the Court of France that they would not admit the principle of non-intervention. The Duke de Broglie replied on that occasion that, although he held to the principle of non-intervention, he was not prepared to make war for it, when remote lands were concerned, but that in Switzerland and Piedmont

France would no more suffer foreign interference than it had done in Belgium.*

In the autumn of the same year the Spanish question was opened by the death of Ferdinand, September 1833. Setting aside the Salic law, he by testament had left his daughter Isabella to be his heir and successor, his widow Maria Christina being declared at the same time regent. Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother, then in Portugal, was set aside. Maria Christina, however, soon found it impossible to maintain her position without leaning on one party or the other. The Legitimists and ultra-Royalists embraced the cause of Don Carlos. Christina was obliged to fling herself into the party of the Liberals, and replace Zea Bermudez in the ministry by Martinez de la Rosa. Zea was the statesman who upheld the doctrine that the *despotismo ilustrado* was the best government for Spain; Martinez stood up for a representative system and constitutional government. When the latter prevailed, the Cortès was, of course, convoked. The regent and her policy met with all favour at the French Court, which despatched M. Mignet to Madrid with counsels and encouragement.

The English Cabinet was already engaged to support Donna Maria, daughter of Don Pedro, as Queen of Portugal against Don Miguel, whose principles and party were analogous to those of Don Carlos in Spain. The ministers of Madrid applied, through their ambassador in London, for similar support against Carlos. To this the English minister assented, and a treaty was drawn up for the purpose, to which it was arranged that France might accede. Prince Talleyrand, however, as well as his government, took fire at a secondary part being apparently assigned to France. He insisted on its being a principal. This was readily accorded, and the Quadruple Alliance was concluded between England,

* D'Haussonville, *Politique extérieure de la France*; Guizot; Nouvion.

France, Spain, and Portugal, for the maintenance of the young Queens, France and England being bound to take no steps apart, or without mutual consultation and agreement.

The Quadruple Alliance was the seal of that accord between France and England which had already achieved the Belgian settlement, and which placed itself in direct opposition to the similar accord between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Orleanist writers are fond of accusing England, and especially Lord Palmerston, of having concluded this alliance with but half a heart, and they represent his lordship particularly as no friend to France.* The truth is, however, that this alliance was all to the advantage of France, which it protected from the combined hatred of Europe, England thereby incurring many unnecessary enmities.

A recent example forcibly showed what inconvenience an English Government might encounter in proclaiming a French alliance. There was no country in which England found it more necessary to maintain its influence than Egypt. Not that it desired to conquer or occupy that country, but merely to uphold its independence and secure its friendship, Egypt being the high road to India. That Napoleon should have aimed at grasping at such a country was natural enough, but that France under an Orleans dynasty should seek to make itself predominant at Alexandria was at least an element of estrangement between the countries. Egypt, however, under its enterprising Pacha had become French in its ideas, its officials, its military organisation, and its military ambition.† Ibrahim, with his French officers of artillery, undertook to accomplish Napoleon's

* M. Guizot disclaims this imputation in his *Memoirs*. Lord Palmerston, according to him, was no enemy of France, but generally too much occupied with one idea, and sacrificing everything to the aim

immediately in his view.

† Admiral Roussin, in his despatches to Ibrahim, characterises the Egyptian power as France's "own work."

old projects. He invaded Syria, conquered it, and at length advanced into Asia Minor to the overthrow of the Sultan himself. The immediate consequence was that the Porte flung itself into the arms of Russia. And whilst the French embassy itself was obliged to put forth the whole of its influence to stop the victorious march of Ibrahim, the serious result was produced of a treaty between the Porte and Russia, by which the former made over to the latter no less than the closing of the Dardanelles against the maritime powers. This was declaring the Black Sea and the Bosphorus Russian. Both France and England remonstrated with the Sultan and with the Czar, without receiving satisfaction from either. But if not their resentment, at least their intention of expressing it in any forcible or aggressive manner, was prevented by the interference of Prince Metternich, who obtained from the Russian Government a declaration that it would not make use of the obnoxious stipulations of the treaty.

The summer of 1835 was occupied by the public trial of the April conspirators before the Court of Peers. Not only the Liberal opposition, but the *Tiers parti*, and men like Molé and Gérard, strongly insisted on cutting the matter short by an amnesty. Had the prisoners in batches been at once sent before assize courts, or tribunals formed for the purpose in the provinces as well as in the capital, the most criminal might have been prosecuted, and their guilt fully exposed, without erecting a stage for them before the Peers of the realm, on which they were tempted to strut, vociferate, and enact the hero. The partisans of the amnesty desired to tranquillise public opinion, not continue its excitement, which they considered to be dangerous in many unforeseen ways. The ministers, however, and M. Persil, their legal champion, would have their monster trial.

There were no less than 318 persons marked out for prosecution in the report of the *procureur-général*. Of

CHAP.
XLVI.

these the committee of the Peers set aside about one-half, and allowed the Government to proceed against 164. These accused were unfortunately made by the press the heroes of the day. Public attention was riveted upon them. And they, knowing it, assumed an heroic and defiant attitude, and laboured to make the monster trial as monstrous and grandiose as possible. Every prisoner chose his advocate from amongst the most talented of the Republican party. So many speakers from the noted Republicans alarmed the court, and they forbade all pleading save by professional advocates.

The first sitting of the court was marked by the small number of Peers and the multitude of witnesses. The former was the most serious inconvenience, for a sentence could not be passed by less than two-thirds of the members of the Chamber. When the trial commenced, a number of the accused refused to make any reply, protesting against being denied the aid of those whom they had chosen to defend them. The loudest was Godefroy Cavaignac. An insurgent of the name of Lagrange, always foremost in street fights, was quite frantic in his behaviour before the Peers. To try men in such a frenzy was impossible. And the Peers retiring came to the conclusion to try the recalcitrants in their absence if they refused to plead or show respect to the court.

The mutiny, however, was not confined to the bar of the Court of Peers. A letter appeared in the Republican prints, encouraging the prisoners to resist, and outraging the Peers. "The infamy of the judge made the glory of the accused"—such was the language of the letter, to which the names of two Deputies were affixed, those of Cormenin, and Audry de Puyraveau. The Chamber of Deputies was asked for permission to have the two members called to the bar of the Peers. This led to debates in the Lower Chamber and angry allocutions.

Those who occupied the Republican gallery or tribune could not refrain from joining in the agitation and

giving noisy proof of it. The tribune was in consequence ordered to be cleared. The Republicans then thronged the outer room, through which the Deputies passed, and engaged in an altercation with some of them. Count Jaubert, who had moved the clearing of the tribune, was insulted, and even blows were exchanged. The *Réformateur* published an account of it, with a title insulting to the Deputies. Summoned to the bar, the manager was condemned to fine and imprisonment. The Chamber of Peers was equally severe to the authors of the calumnious letter. Cormenin and Audry de Puyraveau had neither written nor signed it. The advocate Michel de Bourges had drawn it up, and Trelat had dictated it, adding certain signatures; the Peers condemned both to fine and imprisonment, Trelat was to be confined for three years.

This kind of civil war between the insurgents of April and the House of Peers, who sought to try them, was interrupted by the escape of twenty-eight of the most violent and most inculpated of the prisoners from St. Pélagie. They had excavated a subterranean passage into the garden of a neighbouring street. Cavaignac, Guinard, and Marrast were amongst those who recovered their freedom. They thus braved the judges and the Government with success. This enabled the Peers to pass judgment on the rest. The most severe sentence was that of transportation; capital punishment was not asked or awarded against any.

Under such circumstances and with such a determination, it is difficult to contemplate even seriously the tragical laments and declarations poured forth by the friends of the accused. They were fairly tried and leniently treated, and if pity is to be awakened, it is for the King and Government, which they first sought to destroy, and then succeeded in worrying and defeating, without in the least deciding the relative merits of monarchy and republic. It is plain that whatever

CHAP.
XLVI.

party or opinion is in possession of power has a right to defend it, and with it that degree of public order and security without which liberty is an empty name. Throughout this series of insurrections and trials, the Republicans were the aggressors, and the King's government, whilst victorious in the street, timid and forbearing in repression and punishment. This forbearance too evidently bore the worst fruits. The infuriated turbulence of the enemies of the Government, whilst reaching the highest pitch in the press, in the court-house, and in parliament, durst no longer provoke war in the streets. But the secret societies, and more daring spirits, were merely emboldened to supply the place of insurrection with assassination plots. And these succeeded one another in fearful number. It would be tedious even to enumerate the successive endeavours of embryo assassins. One, however, so outstripped all others by his audacity and the number of lives which he sacrificed, that his attempt soon threw former ones into the shade. The King, who had narrowly escaped being blown up on the road between Neuilly and the Tuileries, had undertaken the review of the National Guard on the anniversary of the Great Three Days, ranged along the boulevards. A change of place for the review would have been wise. For not only the police, but the public, had been warned that a blow was to be struck, and the interminable range of houses looking on the boulevard offered great facilities.

And yet the assassin of the day belonged to no secret society, and scarcely to a political opinion. He was merely a starving desperado, whom two members of the secret Republican societies had certainly taken in hand, and supplied with funds and materials for a work of destruction. What this was appeared when the King, accompanied by his sons, his ministers, his chief officers and functionaries, was traversing the line of National Guards, up the ascent of the Boulevard du Temple. A

flash then broke from a window, and a shower of balls laid some eighteen persons dead, and wounded twenty-two. Amongst the killed were Marshal Mortier, Duc de Treviso, General de Verigny, Colonels Raffé and Rieussec, and Captain de Villate. Several other generals were wounded. Whilst the King continued the review, the police seized the assassin, who was found descending by a cord at the back of the house from whence had come the fire. At the window of his room in this house stood the machine just discharged, consisting of four-and-twenty gun barrels fixed in a wooden frame. Some had burst and cut up the face, hands, and person of the assassin, who was bleeding copiously. His name was discovered to be Fieschi, a Corsican of the worst character, a robber, a ruffian, and a spy. In order to supply his daily wants, rather than from any political motive, he suggested the idea of his infernal machine to a man more fanatic than himself, Morey, a harness-maker. Morey, however willing, was not rich enough to supply the funds necessary for such a machine. He therefore applied to Pepin, a grocer, whose house and shop faced the column of the Place de la Bastille. Pepin belonged to the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*. He tried to get the gun barrels from Cavaignac, who declined furnishing them. Every effort was made to trace the act of Fieschi to the Republican party or societies. They did not succeed. The infamous crime was evidently the work of three or four individuals, of whom Fieschi furnished the audacity, Pepin the money, and Morey the inspiration. Fieschi was ignorance itself; the others little superior to him in intelligence.

But however slightly connected Fieschi and his accomplices had been with any of the factions eternally conspiring, the Government took advantage of the horror caused by this crime to augment their powers of repression. This was done by the passing of laws, one modifying the jury, and allowing a bare majority of

CHAP.
XLVI.
—

juries to pass sentence, another giving the courts power to deal with recalcitrant prisoners. The third was directed against the press, which at the time undoubtedly indulged not merely in professions of republicanism but in admiration of regicide, or at least of the heroic character of those who perpetrated it. Morey as well as Alibaud were often depicted as political martyrs. Articles prompting to insurrection, to the destruction of the government, throwing contempt on the King, or making professions of adherence to pretenders or republicans, attacks upon property or on the sanctity of an oath—all these were made subject to new and heavy penalties. *Déportation*, proving more a name and a threat than a practical punishment, was expressly set down as the fit penalty for political crimes. The journals, too, were restricted in their reports of trials for sedition or treason. Their caution money was increased, as well as the responsibility of the *gérant*. They were compelled to publish rectifications or contradictions of their own statements, if required. Concerts or theatrical representations were forbidden unless previously authorised. It is to be regretted that such laws, instead of being introduced by the Government, as necessary to meet a certain situation, and to maintain the public security in an epoch of turbulence and disorder—it is a pity that, instead of passing such laws as exceptional, and for the time, they were defended as good and permanent portions of the constitution, and as if the war between the Orleans dynasty and the press was to endure for ever, instead of being the result of passing circumstances or personal antagonism. This was certainly not a strengthening of the monarchy in public opinion, but directly the reverse. One is thus not surprised to find the veteran Royer Collard raising his voice against the press laws of September.

Although the Chamber voted these laws by large majorities still, upon calmer reflection, many even

of the Conservatives began to be more and more persuaded that the policy of repression and resistance, however it might triumph over sedition and insurrection, would not succeed in eradicating the spirit from which these troubles emanated. This policy of resistance was considered to be especially represented by the Doctrinaires. That party predominated in the ministry. The Duc de Broglie held the foreign office and the presidency of the council. Were his foreign policy eminently successful, his conservatism, and that of his friends at home, might have been covered and compensated by his success abroad; but the Duc de Broglie was not conciliatory, and the results of his management of the foreign office were that the Eastern powers were more inimical than ever, whilst the bonds of alliance with England were not drawn closer. During 1834 the sovereigns of the East had met at Töplitz. They menaced Switzerland; they occupied and destroyed the independence of Cracow; they were emboldened to this by the coldness that existed between the governments of France and England. Prince Talleyrand had proposed to knit the alliance of the countries more closely. The Duc de Broglie had refused; he and Lord Palmerston differed, and more than differed, with respect to Greece, and with respect to Spain. Lord Palmerston recommended the new dynasties to lean on popular support and liberal ideas; Guizot and De Broglie preached abroad what they practised at home, the doctrine of resistance. England and France thus scarcely agreed, and the Eastern powers took the advantage to bully and to taunt.

The press did not fail to expatiate upon all this; and when the Chamber met again at the close of 1835, the majority began to regard ministers with less satisfaction. The *Tiers parti* carried the elections of president and vice-president. An amendment in favour of Poland was introduced into the address despite the government. At a moment when the ministry thus stood before the

CHAP.
XLVI.

Chamber shaken in strength, M. Humann, who was at the head of the finances, in his statement of the annual budget, announced, to the surprise of his colleagues, as well as the Chamber, his intention to reduce the Five per Cents in a year's time; the minister deemed that this adjournment allowed him to dispense with the consent of his colleagues on this subject; the Five per Cents were above par. He saw no objections to the scheme or its announcement.

The latter, however, was a very unpopular act, at least in Paris. The funds, especially the stock to be reduced, were the favourite investments of the small traders. Of a quarter of a million of holders, nine-tenths did not receive on an average more than 40%. annual interest; other funds and investments were not then, as they since have become, abundant. The King was much opposed to a measure so distasteful to the middle class. The Doctrinaires agreed with him, and M. Humann resigned; the Chamber, however, was more influenced by country interests than by town ones. It was, moreover, in a bad humour with the Doctrinaires, and it voted, against them, that M. Humann's proposal, instead of being set aside, should be taken into consideration.

The vote overthrew the cabinet. And it was evident that the *Tiers parti* could alone succeed to it. M. Thiers was for the moment the natural head of that party, and the ball thus came to his hands. He was reluctant indeed to accept it, aware that he could count upon the support but of a fourth of the Chamber. No competitor, to be sure, could boast the command of more than a fraction. But still fractions in opposition always contrive to come together, and at last to form a majority. M. Thiers, however, ended by accepting, and on the 22nd of February, 1836, the following ministry was announced:—

Thiers, foreign minister and president of the council;

Montalivet, home office ; Sauzet, chancellor ; Passy, commerce ; Pelet, public instruction ; Marshal Maison, war ; Admiral Duperré, marine ; D'Argout, finance.

One of the chief causes of the failure of the great experiment of constitutional government under the House of Orleans was the splitting, rather than the division, of parliamentary parties into fragments, scarcely differing or distinguishable, one from the other. The Doctrinaires, indeed, through the mouth of M. Guizot, talked more loudly of the necessity of resistance and repression than others. But M. Thiers was not a whit less vigorous or animated against republicans and *émeutes*. Count Molé formed a third shade, of which it required glasses highly magnifying to distinguish the difference. Dupin, indeed, denounced the Doctrinaires, and Thiers kept himself apart from them, and the line between them was discernible to the politician who frequented Chamber and saloons. But the great and remote public was unable to discover this distinction ; and to them the changes and alternations of government and ministry resembled those of a pack of cards in the hands of a patient and skilful dealer. It is needless to say that Louis-Philippe was considered the adroit dealer of the pack, Thiers, Guizot, Molé, and others forming the court cards, which he turned up successively, playing his own game all the time. No doubt there was a great deal of injustice in all this, both to the King and to his ministers. But such, unfortunately, was the impression. These first-rate intellects were thus expending their genius in the vainest disputes with each other, and gaining small triumphs, whilst they were every day losing popularity and real influence, and isolating the monarchy with them from the middle and humble classes, which in a turbulent country like France must finally award power.

There was more the pretence than the reality of a difference between Thiers and Guizot in domestic policy. And yet the debates were fierce. On the ques-

tion of the secret funds, the younger Doctrinaires indulged in an acerbity of accusation against M. Thiers, which they could not have exceeded if Barrot or Laffitte had taken office. Such debates are not worth recording. They tormented the new monarchy without strengthening or amending it. But the turn which affairs took in Spain, and the necessity of meeting, if not remedying, them, drove the Thiers Cabinet upon a rock more formidable than one of political rivalry or parliamentary opposition.

The first effects of the Quadruple Alliance had been eminently successful in the Peninsula. A little fleet manned by English sailors, under an English admiral, annihilated the navy of Don Miguel.* A Spanish general entered Portugal, and reduced Don Miguel in Lisbon. Don Carlos was surrounded, and had no other alternative than to surrender. At the moment the Spanish government sent supplications to the English and French government authorities not to allow Don Carlos to receive his liberty without some formal stipulations that he would not make use of it to disturb once more the peace of the Peninsula. Too magnanimous or careless to listen to such a demand, the powers allowed Don Carlos to go free. He made the use of his liberty which the Spanish government had foreseen, and, quitting London, traversed France and its capital, and subsequently the Pyrenees, to enthrone himself in the midst of his insurrectionary army in Navarre.

A fairer ground for demanding the armed intervention of France and England, in order to repair the fault they had committed, could not have been imagined. And the demand was accordingly made, made too by England in a way that implicated France but to a very limited degree in the struggle of the Peninsula. Lord Palmerston

* Napier's War in Portugal. The Portuguese official accounts of the naval battle make no mention of

either English admiral or English sailors.

(March 1836) merely proposed that the French should occupy Passages, Fonterabia, and the valleys wherein the Pretender found especial refuge. A difference, however, had arisen between the French and English governments as to the march of affairs in Spain. By means of one popular manifestation or another, power had in that country descended from the party of pure royalism to that of enlightened despotism: from this again to moderate constitutionalism. From Martinez the ministerial sceptre had passed to Toreno, and from Toreno to Mendizabal. The sole cause was that each successive government proved unequal to cope with the insurrection. None had power over the army, or the good fortune to find a capable general. Zumalacarregruy had either beaten or eluded every one sent against him. In such circumstances, the people and indeed all Spain clamoured for a change, and at last for a change from the moderate royal statute of Martinez to the old constitution of 1812, which had at least animated the military resistance to Napoleon.

French intervention would, no doubt, have stopped this downward progress of Spanish politics. Supported by the presence and aid of a French army north of the Ebro, the moderate Constitutionalists would have held their ground. So thought M. Thiers, who regretted not having accepted the first demand of Lord Palmerston, insisting on a large amount of aid, though not a direct intervention. France was to recruit its foreign legion to 6,000 men, and to allow General Bugeaud to take the command, whilst a force similarly raised in England would bring a large auxiliary force to the Spanish government.

Although the King did not think fit to oppose this measure, he was still much averse to it. He objected pertinaciously to engage France irrevocably in the struggle of Spanish parties. The reasons which His Majesty assigned were the increasing prevalence of the

democratic party in Madrid, the danger and expense of employing a large portion of the French army beyond the Pyrenees, when so much enmity existed on the part of Russia, if not of other powers, to France. These considerations may have had their weight with the King, but there was another more present to his mind and more influential at the time. This was his desire to find for the Duke of Orleans a wife amongst the princesses of the great reigning powers, which would not only add to the stability of his dynasty but perhaps win over to him one of the great Eastern powers. It was to an Austrian alliance that Louis-Philippe looked, to a daughter of the Archduke Charles, the Archduchess Theresa. One of the recommendations of M. Thiers to the King as foreign minister was that he inclined to Austria, and apparently adopted Prince Talleyrand's policy of an alliance with that power.

Nothing could be more distasteful to the court of Vienna than the interference of France in Spanish and Italian politics. What Prince Metternich most objected to was the alliance between France and England for the propagation of Liberal, or what he called revolutionary, systems of government. The King felt at once that, to succeed in the matter of the Austrian match, it was necessary to refrain from active intervention in Spain, and even to show that the bonds with England were somewhat loose. M. Thiers could not agree to this. He had already made sacrifices to Austrian friendship. He had refrained from uttering a protest against the occupation of Cracow, and the confiscation of the independence of that republic. He was prepared, moreover, to evacuate Ancona. But to abandon Spain, which was at France's door, and remote from Austria, to Metternich's superannuated ideas of policy, was more than M. Thiers would contemplate. In this he differed with the King, or rather the King differed with his minister to no purpose. For the court of Vienna, after

playing some time with the French prince, and giving him hopes of an Austrian bride, was at last unable to conceal its repugnance. So that, when the assassin Alibaud, on the 25th of June, 1836, fired a pistol at King Louis-Philippe, standing almost close to his carriage, and filling it with smoke, the Archduke and Duchess seized the opportunity to represent the impossibility of sending another Austrian princess to regicide France.

M. Guizot recounts an attempt of the Russian court to gull the heir to the French throne, and lead him upon a similar fool's errand. The King of Prussia, however, took pity on the family of Orleans, and exerted himself to procure for the Duke a princely wife. Although the lady was but the daughter of the Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, insignificant in territory and power, it still required great efforts on the part of both Prussia and France to bring about the marriage, to which the Czar Nicholas condescended to offer a malicious opposition. Orleanist writers are most jubilant in their success, as if a matrimonial connection with Mecklenburg-Strelitz was a mighty achievement for the King of the Barricades. And so indeed it was from the position which he had assumed in European policy and power.

Early in August 1836, the King determined to get rid of M. Thiers. Talleyrand had been employed to persuade him to abandon the project of intervention, but in vain. But as Thiers was supported by all the cabinet, except Louis-Philippe's particular friend Montalivet, and moreover by the Duke of Orleans, the King hesitated to dismiss him until the revolution in Spain, which forced the hands of the Regent, and impelled her to re-establish the constitution of 1812, gave him full pretext.

Who was to be now prime minister? The Doctrinaires were considered too unpopular. The Duc de

Broglie was disliked. But an orator like M. Guizot was indispensable to replace Thiers at the tribune, provided the former could be persuaded first not to insist on De Broglie being re-appointed president of the council; secondly, to be contented with inferior influence himself. The Duc de Broglie, indeed, did not care for place, though he felt hurt at being causelessly shelved by the King. The Duc de Broglie being set aside, M. Guizot preferred not to take any leading office himself, lest he should be charged with sharing or inheriting the spoils of his friend. He therefore assumed once more the department of public instruction, whilst his friend Gasparin was appointed home minister. Count Molé became president of the council and minister of foreign affairs. Duchâtel, another Doctrinaire, became minister of finance. So that in truth Molé, although he had the direction of foreign affairs, was really in home questions outvoted by a majority of the cabinet. General Bernard took the war department. But perhaps the most important change was that of Delessert replacing Gisquet as prefect of police, 6th of September, 1836.

M. Thiers, as minister, was a man of action. He took office reluctantly, except for the purpose of doing something, of striking a blow, solving a difficulty, or overcoming an obstacle. M. Guizot, more passive, at least as yet, was for allowing Europe to take care of itself. To sit, to watch, and crush conspiracies and sedition, was his aim, a policy not always leading to glory and success, as was the case with Périér. In 1836 his mission was indeed gone, for the general desire was to blot out and forget sedition rather than provoke or punish it. Count Molé was a statesman of neither action nor repression. He had none of the Quixotism of either. And these formed his recommendation to the King and the Chamber. He commenced with amnestying some sixty persons condemned for political offences. The ex-ministers

of Charles the Tenth were of the number. Polignac alone was obliged to go into exile. A short time after, Charles the Tenth expired in Styria almost forgotten. It was no longer the elder branch of his own family that offered any serious antagonism to Louis-Philippe. It was the Buonapartists who put themselves forward with most zeal to dispute, if not the present, at least the future.

The second son of Hortense and Louis Buonaparte, now the only one, from the death of his elder brother during the Italian troubles, resided in Switzerland, and gathered in its artillery school such knowledge as schools can give of military science. The tone of several Liberal prints and orators, fond of contrasting the military glories of the empire with the reluctance of Louis-Philippe to encounter military risks, had created in the mind of the young prince a belief that he would be more acceptable to the French as a sovereign than a prince of the house of Orleans. At this time an event occurred in Switzerland which threw immense obloquy on Louis-Philippe's government, and aroused the indignation of even moderate Liberals against it. French political refugees abounded there. And the French police, rendered nervous by Alibaud's attempt, felt it necessary to watch them. A person named Conseil was accordingly despatched to Switzerland to worm himself into the confidence of the refugees and discover their secrets. He placed himself in communication with the French envoy at Berne, the Duc de Montebello, received from him a passport and certain directions, the Duke undertaking to demand his extradition of the Bernese government, in order to render him, as a proscribed person, a welcome accomplice amongst the Republicans. They were, however, too wary, watched Conseil, and, enticing him to a secret rendezvous, managed by violent threats to make him confess his true character. They then denounced him to the Bernese government, and proved their denunciation by the papers they had seized on Conseil, this at the very

CHAP.
XLVI.

time that the Duc de Montebello was demanding the banishment of his own spy. The Vorort, as the presiding canton was called, took the most severe revenge possible; it rendered the whole affair public, brought it before the Diet, and charged the Duc de Montebello with his duplicity. Count Molé, accused in the Chamber with having instigated such proceedings, threw the blame on his predecessor. Whereupon M. Thiers rose to admit that he had certainly been prime minister at the time of Conseil's mission, but he was not consulted, and knew nothing on the subject. Thus the odium of commissioning this wretched spy, although but the error of Montalivet and the police minister, fell directly upon the King.

The clamour was loud in Switzerland, and greatly encouraged young Louis Buonaparte to try if he could not with his more popular name overthrow what he deemed an unpopular monarch. Fixing his residence at Baden, he easily put himself into communication with the officers of the Strasburg garrison. Of these he gained over Vaudrey, the colonel of an artillery regiment, Commandant Parquin, and some other officers. Vaudrey commanded in the arsenal. In concert with them, Louis Buonaparte made his appearance in Strasburg on the morning of the 30th of October, 1836, and addressed a regiment of artillery drawn up on purpose by the colonel. The Prince was at once welcomed by them, and marched at their head to the quarters of the governor of the town, General Voirol. He resisted, and had to be kept prisoner. The military conspiracy succeeded wherever there was artillery or engineers quartered. The common infantry soldier was by no means so advanced, as the French Liberals would say, by perusing the journals, and taking a military view of the politics of the day. There was consequently some hesitation when the Prince made his way to a regiment of the line quartered in the Finkmat barracks. Some

indeed received him with open arms, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur*. But others showed themselves unprepared for a movement so sudden, and even doubted that the personage before them was the nephew of the Emperor. In consequence, the infantry took up a hostile position to the artillerymen who accompanied the Prince, and being infinitely more numerous, the latter was soon seized and arrested. His companions prepared to resist, but Louis-Napoleon refused. In having failed to carry with him the infantry, he had lost all chance of success.

The Prince was accordingly a prisoner to the as great embarrassment of the government as of himself. The council of ministers soon met. Count Molé had been the minister of Napoleon. He could not be the executioner of his nephew. Louis-Philippe himself was generous and humane. It was at once resolved to hurry off the captive from Strasburg to a seaport, and put him on board a vessel bound for America. By Louis-Philippe's order, 6,000*l.* were placed in the Prince's hands on embarking lest he should find himself unprovided in a distant land.

To the annoyance of this affair, however well it turned out, and to the clamour raised by the discovery of the character of the spy Conseil, came to be added a military reverse. Marshal Clausel entertained very large ideas on the subject of conquering and occupying Algeria. The first step to it was the reduction of Constantine. M. Thiers, as usual, favoured such enterprising policy, but Count Molé's government was opposed to it altogether. It would not indeed countermand the expedition to Constantine, but denying a reinforcement, simply allowed the Marshal to undertake it with the force he had at his disposal, on his own risk and responsibility. Clausel, seeing his tenure of command about to expire, was tempted to at least achieve something ere he departed, and marched to attack Constantine with very

CHAP.
XLVI.

insufficient force. He arrived in sight of the fortress, but only to find it impregnable, and to beat his own retreat with considerable loss and no small disgrace (November 1836).

Such were the misfortunes of the Molé cabinet in the latter end of 1836, that year closing with an event still more deplorable than any. Two days after Christmas, as the King was proceeding along the quays to open the session of the Chamber, an assassin fired a pistol at the carriage. It passed between the King and his son, breaking the glass on the opposite side. The assassin was a youth named Meunier, excited more by the kind of foolish mania for the notoriety of regicide existing in certain classes than by any secret society or formidable plot. He was so insignificant indeed that capital punishment was commuted in his case for exile.

The inference drawn from the act was that the proposed moderation of the *Tiers parti* was as little calculated to stay the hands of assassins as the repressive policy of the Doctrinaires. These, in consequence, made their views predominant in the cabinet. And when, after Meunier's attempt, the juries of Strasburg acquitted Colonel Vaudrey and the other accomplices of Louis Buonaparte, they resolved to propose some additions to the repressive laws of September. According to Louis Blanc, Count Molé proposed to bring in a law allowing the government to remove such personages as it should deem suspicious or dangerous from the capital. This, however arbitrary, had the advantage of not applying any severe punishment, and of at the same time being a law of temporary rigour. The Doctrinaires objected to it, and proposed other measures much more objectionable. One was a law of non-revelation, punishing those who became cognisant of plots or conspiracies, without revealing them. It is needless to point out how this savoured of the Draconic code which the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety enforced. Another,

called the Law of Disjunction, ordaining separate trials for civilians and military men, though accused of the same acts of treason, sending the latter to a court-martial. This was vehemently opposed by jurists, especially by M. Dupin, as subversive of the rule and spirit of the French code. A third law fixed upon the Isle of Bourbon as the place to which prisoners condemned to *déportation* should be sent. Although Count Molé allowed these measures to be presented by his cabinet, he was known not to approve of them. It was remarked that during the discussion of the military code on a former occasion he had spoken against the principle of disjunction. The odium fell therefore exclusively upon the Doctrinaires. As if, however, these laws of rigour were not unpopular enough, there were presented with them at the same time two others calculated, at least one of them, to provoke a large share of criticism and opposition. These were the demand of a million francs as the dowry of the Queen of the Belgians; the other the grant of Rambouillet, its palace and forests, to the Duke of Nemours, second son of the King.

The most damaging reproach to the King, that which rendered him unpopular not merely with the lower but the middle classes, was his supposed avarice. It was upon this charge that M. de Cormenin amassed his figures and his pamphlets, which the Intendant of the Civil List, Montalivet, ought to have refuted by statements as full and as plain. But one of the faults of Louis-Philippe's supporters was they knew not how to make use of publicity and the press. Louis-Philippe was no miser. The state of his affairs, rendered public after 1848, shows that he was in debt, not in hoarded affluence, and the penury of his descendants in exile proves how unfounded was the imputation of greed. But he had the credit of being a miser. Yet, had the government proposed a suitable allowance for the Duke

of Nemours, it would not have been refused. But the King insisted on a grant in perpetuity of the royal estate and palace of Rambouillet, and, what was worse, the valuation of the property, as officially represented, was far beneath its actual worth.* All these causes rendered the rejection of the proposed dotation inevitable.

The disjunction law came forth for discussion, and led to a prolonged and animated debate. M. Guizot fully depicts his own situation before the Chamber, when he says that his friends dissuaded him from speaking lest even his eloquence should render the law more unpopular and more unlikely to pass. It was in fact lost by two votes. To the reason which M. Guizot himself gives for his not speaking, his friend, the home minister Gasparin, added that of incapacity. He was unable to defend either himself or his law. Count Molé immediately insisted on his being replaced. To this M. Guizot consented on the sole condition that Gasparin should be succeeded in the home office by himself. Count Molé objected. A ministerial crisis thus took place in the first days of April, 1837.

The King immediately requested M. Guizot to compose a ministry. He instantly applied to Thiers, who declined; and Count Molé, being then empowered, was not long in forming a cabinet without the Doctrinaires. These, in the persons of Guizot, Gasparin, Persil, and Duchâtel, resigned, and were but poorly replaced by Montalivet, Barthe, Lacave Laplagne, and Salvandy. This was an administration with even less political eminence and oratorical reputation than its predecessor. It excluded the heads of all the parties in the Chamber, thus tempting them to the obvious policy of combining to outvote the government. This, however, could not be done at once; and Count Molé gave no opening for it, as he withdrew the batch of obnoxious laws. Count

* Dupin's Memoirs.

Molé's political merit was indeed a passive one, that of avoiding the faults and extremes of his two great rivals. His mildness in home administration angered Guizot, his inertness in foreign politics disgusted Thiers, his obsequiousness to the King displeased all. But the events of his administration were fortunate, and awakened confidence, especially when contrasted with recent occurrences. The marriage of the Duke of Orleans, and its celebration at Fontainebleau, was the first event under the new ministry, and was a gorgeous fête. A war with Mexico, in which a French fleet, with the Prince de Joinville on board, reduced the Castle of St. Jean d'Ulloa, some success at Buenos Ayres, and still more the triumphant capture of Constantine (October 1837), restored its honour to the French arms. Under favour of the prestige so gained, Count Molé thought he might undo the great act of Casimir Périer, and withdraw the garrison from Ancona. He did so, however, without obtaining reforms or concessions from the Pope, and he thus gave Austria a triumph in Italy which, along with the non-intervention in Spain, displayed the French government and the King in the light of accomplices, rather than antagonists, of the Holy Alliance. Molé thus laid the foundation of his own unpopularity, whilst augmenting that of the King. The Chamber of Deputies showed increasing distrust and ill-humour through the session of 1838. Molé was entreated by his friends to reinforce his ministry by fresh talent. He might at least have done this by admitting Lamartine to the cabinet.* But the King was opposed to change. And rather than make any, he allowed Molé to try what a dissolution of the Chamber would do for him. It did not succeed, introducing into the legislature a number of members new to politics, staunch to no party, but wavering between all.

* Dupin's Memoirs.

The chief weakness of Count Molé proceeded from the nature of his cabinet, altogether, with the exception of himself, devoid of talent; whilst in face of it were the three great fractions of the Chamber, each led by an able and eminent man. The Right Centre followed M. Guizot; the Left Centre had rallied to M. Thiers, the Left to Odilon Barrot. What maintained, or apparently maintained, Count Molé in presence of such a combination of enemies? The King. His will alone could do it, that will, too, now displayed against an evident majority of hostile parties in the Chamber. Nor was opposition slow to discover the real nature of the obstacle to its wishes. M. Dupin and others did not shrink from discussing the present government of the King, and representing it as unconstitutional. And when on Count Molé's influence declining, the King began to consult other statesmen with regard to the future, he invariably received the same advice from all: Appoint a real president of the council, let him form an administration and govern.

In the commencement of 1839 the coalition appeared in full force. In answer to the Royal speech, Barrot, Thiers, and Guizot, however different their politics, contrived to draw up an address, and to impose it upon the government and the monarch. Objections were expressed to the government that it was not a responsible one, and did not cover the King; those to the foreign policy pursued, signalled the evacuation of Ancona as a weakness, the bullying of Switzerland, to make it eject Louis Buonaparte, an indignity, the compulsion of Belgium to yield to Holland another weakness.

In the discussion which ensued, the followers of the ministry could not fail to taunt the chiefs of opposition with having sacrificed their principles in order to coalesce. M. Guizot replied that, although he attacked the government, he was still a partisan of the *juste*

milieu. The ministry might be considered an extra-parliamentary administration, since it excluded all parliamentary talent and parties, and therefore destroyed that union between the crown and the representative chamber which should constitute the force of both. M. Thiers, who was accused of coalescing to obtain office, replied that it was his opinions on foreign politics which had expelled him from the ministry. He had begun his opposition while in the cabinet. The discussion lasted nearly a fortnight, the ministerial cause being supported almost solely by Count Molé, who was continually rushing to the tribune as to a bastion, from which to repel the several enemies who assailed him on all sides. Present at the animated debate which ensued upon this address, I can bear witness to the readiness, the ability, and at times even the eloquence, which Count Molé displayed in answering at repeated intervals his numerous and powerful aggressors. Lamartine came to his aid, but brilliant as was his oratory, he was looked upon as merely an amateur in politics, and he won far more admiration to himself than adherence to those he supported.

Immediately after the debate, Count Molé and his cabinet resigned. The King applied to Marshal Soult, who naturally could not succeed in amalgamating the scattered fragments of opposition into a ministry. The King then bade Molé try again, who had the hardihood and imprudence to dissolve the Chamber once more. A majority not having sprung from this, Louis-Philippe succumbed to the Coalition. It became necessary for them to form an administration.

The difficulties in the way of the triumphant majority in performing such a task were great. The Coalition had their chiefs, one of each faction, but no common head. In other circumstances, a nominal head, such as a marshal not overskilled in politics, might have sufficed. But one of the great grievances put forward by the

CHAP.
XLVI.
—

coalition was the absence of a real president of the council of ministers. And such a personage, were he to be found, could scarcely content the three discordant parties, which had clubbed in opposition. The pretensions of the Left were got over by the decision of choosing Odilon Barrot to be president of the Chamber, instead of giving him a place in the cabinet. The Doctrinaires objected even to this, and demanded the presidency of the Chamber for M. Guizot, and the home ministry for his friend, M. Duchâtel.* There were other difficulties. But these were the chief stumbling-blocks which rendered it impossible to agree. The King increased the difficulty by saying he did not care who were his ministers, provided his system was maintained. "But, sire," observed Dupin, "if you will impose your system upon every ministry, what is the use of changing them?"

The composition of a cabinet composed of all parties having thus failed, the King applied to Marshal Soult to form with M. Thiers a ministry of the Left Centre. Thiers immediately declined unless the mission was entrusted to himself. It was so, and he accepted Soult as president of the council, with Humann and Duperré, belonging to the Right Centre, Dupin, Sauzet, Dufaure, and Passy, of the Left Centre. The list of persons being fixed, M. Thiers drew up a programme of policy, not so much to present to the Chamber as to bind the King. The principal clauses of it were, complete liberty of each minister to name his subordinates without the royal interference. The other was the adoption of the English mode of aiding the constitutional cause in Spain. Louis-Philippe objected to this, but deferred his reply till there should be a general meeting of the new cabinet. It took place on the 21st of March for the purpose of signing the ordonnance and officially

* Dupin's Memoirs.

appointing the ministry. Previous to this, M. Thiers demanded explanations as to the policy to be observed with regard to Spain. Did the King accept the programme? He did not. Louis-Philippe would not hear of French sailors and marines actively aiding the Constitutional Spaniards, as the English had done. Neither would he admit that French vessels should stop ships suspected of conveying arms and aid to the Carlists. To M. Thiers' surprise, the King was supported in this opinion by Soult, Humann, Duperré, and even Passy. Moreover, M. Thiers was prepared to insist that Odilon Barrot should be the ministerial candidate for the presidency of the Chamber. To this also, his colleagues, especially Humann, objected. *Mettez-vous d'accord, messieurs* — "Agree among yourselves, gentlemen," exclaimed the King, dismissing the abortive cabinet.

Louis-Philippe then tried M. Guizot, and he, with Thiers, and the members of the *Tiers parti*, once more stood before the monarch. But Thiers would not abandon Barrot. "Then form a cabinet yourself," said the King. But M. Thiers declined. A week before he might have attempted it, but then the situation was so completely spoiled that success was impossible.

Two days later the King sent to beg M. Thiers to accept an embassy, and thus remove the great obstacle to the formation of a ministry. M. Thiers refused the proposal of "salaried exile."

The period had not only arrived but was past for assembling the Chamber. It was impossible longer to delay. A provisional ministry was therefore formed on the last day of March (1837), consisting of Gasparin, Girod, Cubières, the Duc de Montebello. The session was immediately opened, and it became necessary to elect a president of the Chamber. This was evidently to be a trial of strength between parties. M. Thiers insisted on his friends voting for Odilon Barrot. The Doctrinaires shrank from putting one of their own party in opposition

CHAP.
XLVI.

to him. But they agreed to vote for a member of the Left Centre, M. Passy. The latter was chosen by 223 votes against 193.

The result of this vote was that, after another trial of Marshal Soult, M. Passy was empowered by the King to form a ministry. That gentleman composed a list chiefly of the Left Centre, even Dupin accepting. Still it had no prime minister, and Dupin, on this pretext, as well as from the opinion that such a cabinet would not command a majority, subsequently withdrew his adhesion.

It was now approaching the middle of May, the ministerial interregnum having commenced with the New Year. Not only the Chamber became importunate but the public, whilst the Republicans began to think the opportunity too favourable for an *émeute* not to be taken advantage of. The history of the secret societies set on foot and maintained in Paris, not by any great number, but by a certain portion of obstinate and audacious spirits, would make, and indeed has made, an interesting volume.* The leading conspirators, such as Barbès and Blanqui, adroit as they were as miners, were countermined by Gisquet, the able though unscrupulous prefect of police. The Doctrinaires objected to him, and he was replaced by a gentleman of fortune and character, Delessert, most unfit to burrow in the earth in search of conspirators. Gisquet had broken up the *Sociétés des Familles*, and discovered their grand dépôt of powder, with about 200,000 cartouches. The conspirators were condemned to different terms of imprisonment. Count Molé's amnesty opened their prison doors, and they forthwith formed a new society, that *des Saisons*, with Martin Bernard at their head, Barbès and Blanqui his associates.

Resolving to take advantage of the suspension of the government, there being no ministry, and Delessert no longer pursuing them with the sagacity of Gisquet, the

* De la Hodde, Histoire des Sociétés secrètes.

conspirators of the *Saisons* fixed upon the 12th of May, Sunday, for an *émeute*. Six hundred of the conspirators, the entire Republican party, collected about 2 o'clock in the Rue Bourg l'Abbé. They began by pillaging an armourer's shop, and then the word of command came to march upon the police post at the Palais de Justice. At this order half the conspirators evaporated. The rest follow Barbès, attack the post; the officer commanding it is shot, and the post occupied. The attack was then directed against the Prefecture of Police, into which the insurgents failed to penetrate. But the Hôtel de Ville, occupied by merely a few National Guards, was captured. The insurgents afterwards proceeded to seize the different *Mairies*, which caused the band to separate. Sent to make themselves masters of a post at the Place St. Jean, the insurgents met with no success, and consequently fell back into the network of intricate streets in the quarter St. Méry. Here they flung up barricades, when towards the evening the National Guards and Line were brought against them. The barricades were immediately carried at the point of the bayonet, not without loss of life. The insurgents were defeated, and Barbès, badly wounded, taken. Bernard was captured afterwards, as well as Blanqui, and condemned to different degrees of imprisonment. Barbès was condemned to death, which was, of course, commuted.*

Whilst the noise of musketry was heard from the eastern quarter of the city, it occurred to Marshal Soult that this was a good opportunity for his putting together a cabinet. His sword was the best ministerial sceptre in times of popular tumult. It was the more easy to carry his design into effect as most persons hastened at such a moment to the Tuileries. Soult proposed, not to the chiefs of the Coalition, but to their seconds, to join him in a ministry, the perils of the monarch serving all as an excuse for accepting. Thus Soult became

* Louis Blanc, *Histoire de Dix Ans*.

CHAP.
XLVI.

president of the council and minister of foreign affairs; Duchâtel, home minister; Passy, finance; Villemain, public instruction; Dufaure, public works; Cunin-Gredaine, commerce; Teste, justice; Schneider and Dupin, war and marine. This was a ministry of precisely the same kind as Count Molé's, save that it would lie between Right and Left Centre, and combine several members of both.

This was apparently a signal triumph for the King. The coalition was not only broken up but its leaders punished. All were left out of the ministry, with reputations certainly not augmented by what they had done; and yet by defeating his adversaries, Louis-Philippe really defeated himself. For if there were some points that he gained by having a weak ministry, there were others that he lost; and above all he confirmed a great cause of his unpopularity, the idea that he intended to keep the government in his own hands for his own purposes. One of the effects of the victory of the King over the parliamentary coalition was a general dissatisfaction, not only with the ministry, but with the representative Chamber. It was accused of being too narrow, of being divided into factions moved by personal rivalry and interest, without a great principle or conviction to guide it. The difference between the parties in the Chamber was in fact nothing. It required ingenuity to make them or to state them. The remedy solemnly proposed for them was *Reform*, electoral reform.

It was a terrible word, which proved big with the future of the Orleans monarchy. Not so much that it was in itself fatal or even inimical, but that the monarch and his conservative faction regarded it from a narrow and false point of view, and, by obstinately resisting it, offended not the people so much as the larger and lower portion of the middle class itself. Numbers of the citizens of the National Guard, who exposed their

lives in storming the barricades erected by the Republicans, did not pay the direct or patent tax in sufficient amount to entitle them even to vote for legislators. To refuse them such a boon was on the part of the King and his councillors little short of madness. For the citizens thus mistrusted became hostile or indifferent. If the throne of July was to subsist, it must be by the support of the great and broad industrial and middle class, and by keeping it together at any price or with any concession. Neither the King with all his acuteness nor the Doctrinaires with all their talent could see this. They were unfortunately biassed and incensed against the very cry for reform by the circumstance of Legitimists and Republicans having been the first to raise it. They did not perceive that *reform*, of that moderate degree which would have satisfied the middle class, was a concession to them, and not to the extremes, and that the blank refusal of it would lead to the formidable alliance of anti-dynastic parties with numbers of citizens who had been hitherto attached to the Orleans family.

The French history of 1839 might be written without any mention of its colourless cabinet. The year was signalised nevertheless by the memorable result of the dispersion of the Carlist force and expulsion of the Pretender. A Spanish general, who had commanded in South America, contrived to infuse fresh spirit into the Queen's armies. He was aided in this by the presence of an English legion under General Evans, and by the ready support which the vessels of the British navy and its marines gave to the constitutional cause. The result of these joint operations was completely to crush the Carlist insurrection in Biscay, and capture Bilbao, the capital. The Pretender's court and forces being thus confined to Navarre and straitened in every way, dissensions broke out amongst those around his person. His commander-in-chief, Maroto, took the received mode practised by his party for getting rid of

CHAP.
XLVI.

his rivals. He seized and shot them. And naturally despairing after that of leading a successful insurrection, he capitulated and signed with Espartero the convention of Bergara, surrendering his army and the province on condition that their persons would be respected. Don Carlos, who was no party to this convention, took refuge in France, and was made to take up his residence at Bourges.

This success in the aim of the quadruple alliance was unfortunately far from producing increased accord or amity between England and France. Espartero had triumphed by the active aid of England and by the sufferance of France. That general, too, belonged to the Liberal and Constitutional party, and determined to support it, whilst the French government favoured the designs and efforts of the Regent Christina to shake off the influence of the patriots, and recur to what the Tuileries prized above all things, a policy of resistance.

The French government, and especially Count Molé, was not only jealous of England's favour with the Liberal party and preference for it, but in constant terror lest a Liberal commercial treaty should be concluded between England and Spain. The French ministers would do nothing of the kind for France. Prohibition and protection were their principles. When Lord Palmerston complained of this, M. Guizot showed how impossible it was to act otherwise. The wealthy landed interest in France was opposed to the house of Orleans, whilst the great manufacturing and monied class universally rallied to it. They were strongly interested in a policy of protection, and it was impossible to expect that the ministers of Louis-Philippe should offend by their commercial policy the men who chiefly befriended and supported them.* These arguments and admissions of M. Guizot show more

* Memoirs of Guizot, chap. xxviii.

strongly than aught else could, how completely the King and his politicians allowed their power to be based upon the support of one class, excluding the grand interests of the people, French Conservatives even shrinking from the narrow English franchise.

This conversation M. Guizot held with Lord Palmerston on his arriving as French ambassador in London. The views of Louis-Philippe were no longer those which he entertained when he sent Talleyrand first, and then Sebastiani, to England. The French King evidently desired to draw closer his connection with the powers of the East, a tendency which was no sooner perceived at the English foreign office * than Lord Palmerston was prompted to retaliate by taking the same direction. M. Guizot, however, was expressly sent over to negotiate upon the affairs of the East. It was this upon which the two governments finally split, and as the quarrel became a new starting point for France in its general policy, its history and development shall be reserved for another chapter.

The Soult ministry had but a very small majority. In the presidential election, the Left having proclaimed M. Thiers as its candidate, in imitation of the manœuvres of the Doctrinaires in putting forward and voting for Passy, the Centres set up Sauzet as his competitor, and the latter succeeded by 213 against 206 votes. A majority of seven was a sorry one for a ministry to embark with. Nevertheless the government obtained by a much larger majority the vote of the secret funds, considered one of confidence. A new edition of the amnesty followed, which allowed Cavaignac and Marrast to return to France, and resume the lead of the Republican party. Strangely enough the government imagined to oppose to it an expression of at least reverence for the manes of Napoleon. England was asked to give up

* See the conversation between M. Guizot and Lord Palmerston in the Memoirs of the former.

CHAP.
XLVI.

his remains. Lord Palmerston smiled when the question was put to him. It was as much as to say, You Orleanists don't know what you are doing. The request was, however, readily granted, and the ashes of Napoleon were brought to repose under the dome of the Invalides. The government had not only meditated a splendid mausoleum for Napoleon but an equestrian statue in a public place. For these two objects they asked of the Chamber a vote of 80,000*l*. The Deputies thought the mausoleum sufficient, and granted half a million francs. Louis-Philippe, nevertheless, completed his generous design by replacing the statue of the Emperor on the column of the Place Vendôme, from whence the allies had precipitated it.

One of the principal topics brought forward during 1839 was the proposed railways. It is generally reported that the first years of Louis-Philippe's reign were marked by great prosperity, great extension of commerce and of capital, and consequent corruption. How exaggerated were such statements was soon seen when it was necessary to find capital for the execution of railways. Money or its savings, gathered up in England in large reservoirs, were at that time in France dispersed, scant, and suspicious. Agriculturists would trust their savings to nothing but land, citizens to nothing but the funds. Subscriptions even to the most promising railroads were wanting, and the state was either obliged to undertake them itself or to encourage them with loans, or guarantees of interest. Another recourse that rendered the holders of money more wary, and that ought not to be overlooked, was the demand of the government for a large sum to be expended in warlike and especially naval preparations. This announced the Eastern question as fraught with danger, and quite forbade contributions to works of peace. But although these symptoms alarmed the French, they did not deter the English from engaging their money in France, and

to their aid and engineers was indeed due the completion of the first great railroad—that to Rouen.

CHAP.
XLVI.

The parliamentary session of 1840, which opened during the Christmas of the preceding year, did not display at first any spirit hostile to the ministry which Marshal Soult had put together. The opposition of the Left put forward the necessity of parliamentary reform, by at least conferring the franchise upon all citizens included in the second list of the jury. This included the whole educated class, as well as all members of municipalities. That so small and reasonable a demand should be resisted appears marvellous. M. Dupin makes a distinction between electoral and parliamentary reform, and declares the former as requisite and just, whilst the latter, aiming at the expulsion of all functionaries, including ministers from the Chamber, he denounces as fanatic and impracticable demagoguery. The reform question was not, however, as yet made even the subject of a motion; the Liberals, in fact, merely opened the breaches for that eventually formidable attack.

But whatever might menace government or dynasty for the future seemed so little imminent for the present that M. Guizot at this time accepted the embassy to London, in order to direct his attention and talent to the negotiations respecting the East, regarding which there seemed to be little difference between parties in France, however ill accordant all were with the views of England. At the same time was announced to the Chamber the marriage of the Duc de Nemours to the Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary. For the maintenance of the Prince the government no longer proposed Rambouillet or any hereditary appanage. It merely asked 20,000*l.* a year, with 12,000*l.* a year for the Princess if she survived her husband. The demand was referred to a commission, and the required documents furnished to it, and it concluded for the grant of the annuity demanded. Opposition was not idle. M. de Cormenin

CHAP.
XLVI.

came out with one of his virulent pamphlets. One of the members of the commission complained that the documents furnished were not complete. And when it was proposed to render these documents public, and thus reveal the entire state of the King's fortune, the government opposed the demand, and publicity was not granted.

This was ill-judged. The whole truth, as it afterwards came out, would have shown the King by no means so overflowing with wealth as the public supposed and his foes asserted. But the general opinion was that, with his large private fortune added to the public domains, and his 500,000*l.* sterling of civil list, the King possessed means sufficient to endow his children, numerous as they were. Subsequent accounts attempt to prove rather too much, viz. that the public domain occasioned more expense than it brought in receipts, whilst the private property of the Orleans family came to be estimated at only 40,000*l.* a year. Had such facts been fully and openly established in 1840 the Chamber could not have refused the dotation demanded for the Duc de Nemours.

Certain incidents that marked the debate made a most unfavourable impression. One was a declaration of Laffitte, that the annual income, set down as accruing from the forest of Breteuil, which the King had purchased from him, was egregiously underrated. No sufficient answer was made to this assertion of Laffitte. So that in the division which immediately followed there appeared 226 votes negating the dotation, against 200 that approved.

The vote of February 20th, 1840, which the ministry had brought on themselves by their want of truth and foresight, completely prostrated them. Marshal Soult resigned. Public and parliamentary opinion pointed out Thiers as his successor. And the recent settlement of the Spanish question removed the chief obstacle to

his appointment. In the fractioned state of the Chamber, M. Thiers was far from grasping at office. And he at first proposed taking the foreign department himself, and leaving the presidency of the council still in the hands of the Marshal. On Soult's refusal, he made a similar proposal to the Duc de Broglie; the chief cause of M. Thiers' hesitation was due to the evident displeasure and dislike of the King, who could not but feel that the vote negating his son's dotation, in which Thiers and the coalition had joined, was a personal outrage, and who felt, moreover, that M. Thiers was far too warlike and too spirited. His acceptance of the new cabinet he styled his humiliation,* and he had no sooner done so than he looked towards M. Guizot to have a more agreeable ministry ready in case Thiers should stumble. Yet the new premier introduced into his cabinet two staunch friends of the Doctrinaires, Rémusat and Jaubert, the former, too, occupying the important position of home minister. M. Thiers promised the Doctrinaires that, however desirous of gaining the adhesion of the Left, he would at all events refuse two things they demanded, viz. electoral reform and the dissolution. The other colleagues of M. Thiers belonged to the Left Centre. Vivien became minister of justice, Cousin minister of public instruction, Cubières and Roussin ministers of war and marine. Pelet took the finances, and Ganneron commerce. Billault became one of the under-secretaries.

Such was the ministry which had for its chief task to negotiate with England and the other powers of Europe the settlement of the Eastern question, which at the moment absorbed the interests of all.

* Guizot's Memoirs.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO HIS FALL.

1840—1848.

CHAP.
XLVII.

THE first half of Louis-Philippe's reign, which we have just concluded, was marked on the whole by rare prudence and signal success, the result of political sagacity, as well as good fortune. Much, or indeed all of this, was at the time attributed to the wisdom of the monarch, who was likened, not unaptly, to Ulysses. And yet, during the first years of his reign, which were those of his success, the will of Louis-Philippe was continually crossed and frequently overborne by his statesmen or his Chambers. In the last half of his reign, on the contrary, Louis-Philippe made his ideas more completely prevail, by setting aside inexorably the views and the men which displeased him. Yet this period, during which he was entirely master, was no longer marked by the same success or the same dignity. Enemies and obstacles gathered and rose against his throne, without his being able to either remove or conciliate them. The basis, too, on which his throne and his influence were founded grew narrower as years rolled on. The entire middle class at first supported him, all of the lower ranks of life, save a few, remaining indifferent. As his reign advanced, adherents everywhere, save in the official world, fell off, and began to dislike and to mistrust, when they did not rebel.

Speculative writers * have described the Restoration

* Louis Blanc.

as a struggle of the middle class against a government which attempted to restore the aristocracy, and was supported by the class which pretended to form it. The reign of Louis-Philippe is thus characterised as a struggle between the victorious middle class, or *bourgeoisie*, and the labouring ranks beneath them. Nothing can be more incorrect or calculated to lead to more error than such classifications. Charles the Tenth was overthrown by the resistance of the Chamber of Deputies, elected by the highest tax-payers. He was in fact abandoned by that very class which is represented as having upheld him. In the same way the people, which until the 27th of July, 1830, took little part in the overthrow of the elder Bourbons, were almost as uninfluential in the ejection of the Orleans. Every attempt based upon popular insurrection had been put down. From 1840 to 1847, Louis-Philippe, whilst he continued to keep true to him the majority of a Chamber elected by the highest tax-payers, contrived to array in enmity almost all parliamentary and press talent. The *bourgeoisie* split into as many opinions as the nation, its wealthy capitalists still upholding the policy of resistance, whilst poorer and professional citizens, constituting the majority of the *bourgeoisie*, repudiated it. In this, far from being antagonistic with the people or the labouring class, the middle ranks completely sympathised with them, or at least with those limited numbers which formed the thinking portion of the people. All theories which here draw marked and definite lines between classes, and ascribe separate interests and action to each, are mistaken.

The great divisions and antagonism of the time were in no wise between aristocracy, *bourgeoisie*, and people, but between those who conferred or held place and those who were without any such power or privilege. The non-official world, necessarily the larger number, became more and more hostile. The alternative rise

and fall of parties, incidental to constitutional government, would have gone far to remedy this. But Louis-Philippe was as obstinate as Charles the Tenth in not allowing any such alternation of power. He objected to any minister who would not accept his *system*. And his system at last became concentrated and identified in one statesman, an able and an honest statesman certainly, but one who drew unpopularity and danger upon himself, and consequently upon the King, by his continuous hold of power as well as by his policy. Representative government is a vessel floating upon a strong but ever-changing element. It may at times be constrained to stem the tide, or different means of power and motion may be employed to counterbalance each other, but the attempt to assimilate the vessel to the land, and fix it altogether, is to ignore its nature and condition, and to attempt what is preposterous and impracticable. Such however was the *pensée immuable* of Louis-Philippe.

The administration formed by M. Thiers in March 1840, however little to the taste of the King, was the government which might have best consolidated his throne, rallied to it the Constitutional Liberals of the Left, and inaugurated in domestic policy a new era. Although no member of the Liberal party save M. Billaud took office, still Odilon Barrot declared his confidence in the principles and aims of Thiers, the latter boasting the adherence of Barrot. He alluded to the most important though not immediate aim of the Liberals, reform, which no one proposed for *to-day*, whilst no one was bold enough to meet it with an imperative *never*.*

It raises a melancholy smile to read the anxious expressions of M. Guizot, and his anger at the same time, at the mere idea of a French minister ever abating the policy of resistance and repression. As if there

* Debate on the address.

was really any future or any solution to such a policy, or as if persevering in it, for its own sake, could lead to any other termination than disgust, disaffection and rebellion. M. Guizot seems even now to imagine no other attitude for a French statesman than that of St. George riding his rampant steed, and furiously transfixing the dragons of sedition at his feet, as if the dragon was ever killed, or as if St. George, eternally a combatant, was ever a definitive victor.

Foreign questions, however, were soon to efface all others, the turn which affairs took in the Levant, and the character of the ministers charged with directing and deciding them, leading to a total change in the alliance and attitude of European powers. It is idle now, as it was then, to lament that the French nation, far more than statesmen, should have embraced and thereby identified themselves with the cause and the grandeur of Egypt, thereby flinging themselves directly athwart the path which led from England to India, and in flagrant antagonism with English interests. Circumstances more than choice led to this—first the grand expedition to Egypt, then the rise and policy of Mehemet Ali, who made use of French men and French ideas to organise his power, his predilections and policy necessarily attracting him to the nation from which he borrowed them.

In a series of aggressions and triumphs, terminating in 1833, the Egyptian Pacha, having proved his superiority to the Turks, defeated and drove them almost to the Bosphorus. But these victories, instead of rendering Mehemet Ali master of the whole empire, as he would have been were the East left to itself, merely resulted in Russia taking the Sultan and his capital under her protection, whilst Mehemet retained the great portion of the empire east and south of the Taurus. This state of the East, such as the battle of Konieh and the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had created, was certainly most ruinous

CHAP.
XLVII.

to the Ottoman empire, which it cut in two, giving one half to the Egyptian Pacha, the other to the Russian Czar.

England played but a secondary part in the negotiations of these years. France alone had influence with Mehemet Ali, and French agents alone induced the Pacha and his son to submit, if that could be called submission which secured to them broad conquests. These conquests placed both the roads between England and India in the hand of the Egyptian Pacha, a ruler avowedly in French interests. At that time the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf were looked to as a passage to India preferable to that through Egypt. But Mehemet Ali stood astride both, a position inimical and menacing to England. In 1839 these considerations had more effect in England than in the years when it was absorbed in its great reforms. Lord Palmerston was in 1839 the leading spirit of the English cabinet; and he could not tolerate the position of Mehemet Ali in Syria. Lord Ponsonby, at Constantinople, was of the same opinion; and he unfortunately urged the Sultan to put an end to it. Mahmoud himself, indeed, was sufficiently prone to rashness, and by indulging in it he merely drew down upon Turkey the terrible defeat of Nezib (June 1839).

The French and English governments at home had not waited for the result of this battle to provide against its consequences. It had been foreseen. Lord Palmerston, representing the British government, M. de Bourqueney, the French envoy, and Marshal Sault, his chief, held frequent conference and communication, and had agreed to send a combined fleet to stop hostilities, and so deprive Russia of any pretext to come into the Bosphorus under the clause of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The territorial delineation between Egypt and the Porte was also discussed. Lord Palmerston, from the very first, insisted that the Porte should give Mehemet the hereditary investment of Egypt, and that in return

the Pacha should evacuate Syria, so as to place the desert between his troops and those of the Sultan. This would preclude all further collision. Marshal Soult at first made no objection.*

In a short time after, however, occurred, in addition to the defeat of Nezib, the death of the Sultan Mahmoud, and the defection of the Ottoman fleet, which the Capitan Pacha conducted to the harbour of Alexandria. Lord Palmerston at once proposed to take the Turkish fleet back by force, and restore it to the Sultan. The French minister objected to the employment of force, and in his communication more than hinted his opinion that, in consequence of the victory of Nezib, more favourable terms must be granted to the Pacha of Egypt than were previously contemplated. He could not be deprived of Syria, the French thought, without his offering resistance, marching on Constantinople, and thus precipitating that Russian intervention which it was the great object to avoid.

It was unfortunate that the French did not uphold from the first, as they did at the last, the right and justice of assigning Syria to Mehemet Ali, instead of insisting on the expediency of leaving that province to the Pacha on the ground that he could not be coerced. For this ground, as well as the plea of imminent danger from Russia, soon disappeared. Russia, rather than rush into conflict with England, France, and probably with Austria, abandoned its isolation, and consented to sign a common agreement, taking the defence and integrity of Turkey under the protection of the four powers, Russia herself making one.† An immediate result of this was to prevent the Turkish government from coming to a direct understanding with the Pacha

* Letter of Soult to Bourquency, June 17, 1839. It will be found in the *Pièces historiques* of M. Guizot's 4th volume.

† Diplomatic correspondence of the time, *Annual Register*, and *Annuaire*.

of Egypt, granting him not only Egypt in hereditary right but Syria.

The partial adherence and change of attitude made by Russia ought to have warned the French government to avoid being left in the isolated position of a friend at all risks of the Pacha. The King, indeed, did feel more anxious and afraid lest Soult was not equal to the critical task; he replaced Bourqueney in London by Sebastiani, who, he hoped, would bring back Lord Palmerston to the terms of French friendship and alliance. But it was almost too late. Sebastiani had scarcely arrived when Russia had made new propositions, no less than to abandon the especial advantages of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and, in case of the Egyptian Pacha menacing Constantinople, to come herself to the Bosphorus with an army indeed, but at the same time to admit French and English vessels of war into the Sea of Marmora by way of compensation.

Sebastiani laboured with all the address in his power and character to win back and keep the British minister true to the French alliance exclusively. Lord Palmerston was well inclined; he knew the slippery nature of a Russian alliance. And to meet the wishes of France, he agreed to depart from his fixed idea of putting the desert between the Sultan and the Pacha, and to give the latter the Pachalic of Acre in hereditary right as well as Egypt. It is to be regretted that Louis-Philippe and Marshal Soult could not close with this offer. Lord Palmerston indeed rendered it more difficult by saying he expected France to join in coercing the Pacha if he did not accept these terms. Moreover, his lordship plainly told Sebastiani that, if France would not accept this offer, "he would be compelled by necessity to seek elsewhere the support which he no longer found in France."*

* Letter of Sebastiani to Soult, October 10, 1839.

The French government did not take sufficient notice of this menace. Sebastiani allowed matters to drag on, and the more liberal members of Soult's cabinet, becoming alarmed, insisted on Sebastiani's being replaced by a more active and independent negotiator. This was no other than M. Guizot. The King objected. A more supple diplomatist, he thought, would be more useful, but he was overruled, and M. Guizot went ambassador to London. M. Thiers at the same time became foreign minister and president of the council. And the fate of the English alliance was thus entrusted to two of the ablest politicians of France, those also most inclined to preserve it. But this change of men and ministers in that country proved but an obstacle in the way of a wisely followed policy. All of them being weak were dependent on public opinion, and were compelled to follow, instead of undertaking either to guide or correct, it. Then, the very eminence of the minister and the ambassador, which rendered them more chary and suspicious about their political character than other men might be, made concessions on their part more difficult. M. Guizot reasoned with Lord Palmerston, but to no effect. M. Thiers told him merely to gain time. The vigilance of both, moreover, was lulled by a random proposition of the Austrian and Prussian envoys to give Egypt hereditarily to the Pacha, and Syria for life. This flattered the French with hopes of success, and yet M. Guizot was not empowered or able to accept the offer. Russia, in the meantime, made propositions for an accord between the four powers without France. The English minister resisted, when certain events occurred which wore the appearance of being produced by intrigue. Khosrew, who governed at Constantinople, and was known to be the declared enemy of Mehemet Ali, was of a sudden dismissed. This had been the repeated demand and known desire of Mehemet. He prepared to reply to it by sending back the Turkish

fleet. And everything portended an accord between the Porte and the Pacha, in which the former was, of course, to yield everything, the latter to come off triumphant, and the four powers, at least the two principal of them, England and Russia, be completely disappointed and befooled. The irritation of the English government and of its minister was extreme. That of Russia was not less. And the result was the signature, on the 15th of July, 1840, of a treaty between them, joined with Austria and Prussia. The 1st article gave Mehemet Ali, if he accepted within ten days, Egypt hereditarily, and the Pachalic, with the citadel, of Acre for life, the frontier to extend from thence to the northern littoral of the Lake of Tiberias. Mehemet was to give up the rest of Syria as well as Crete, Arabia, and the Holy Cities. This treaty Lord Palmerston lost no time in communicating to the French government.

The first announcement of the treaty of the 15th of July came like a thunderclap upon Louis-Philippe, and as little less to both the French statesmen, Thiers and Guizot. Neither of them expected anything so sudden. They complained of Lord Palmerston not having warned them that the treaty was on the point of signature, although this would have been playing with and deceiving the three powers with whom England was negotiating. M. Guizot did not believe in Lord Palmerston's powers to effect so great a change. The English government had but just been left in a minority, had dissolved parliament with small hopes of success, and was in fact not an established but an interim administration.* The prospect, therefore, was that the Tories and Lord Aberdeen would replace the Whigs and Palmerston, and the French envoy had good hopes of more successfully negotiating with the first. Even after the treaty was signed, M. Guizot thought it could not be executed, and that, if Ibrahim could hold out in Syria, the new alliance

* M. Guizot's Memoirs and Correspondence.

would find coercion difficult or insufficient, and that France and the Pacha would triumph after all.

Such were the opinions which M. Guizot expressed at the Château of Eu, whither he went to meet and consult the King and M. Thiers. The latter was by no means satisfied to leave time and circumstances to remedy or to arrange the affront which France had received. This, he thought, could only be done by war. But the country was by no means prepared for it. It wanted troops, equipment, *matériel*. The fleet, indeed, might cope for the moment with the English at sea, but even victory there would lead to more complete defeat afterwards. It was to the invasion and conquest of Italy that Thiers looked to compensate for the loss of Egypt. Such an expedition, if not crowned with immediate success, might bring the allies once more to Paris, as in 1814. For this M. Thiers determined to be prepared by fortifying the capital, and putting all the frontier fortresses in a state of defence. Besides the great expense of so vast a work, votes of additional estimates were demanded for army and navy, 56,000,000 of francs for the former.

To the more pacific views of Guizot and of the King M. Thiers so far submitted as to despatch Count Valewski to Alexandria to recommend the Pacha to be contented with the life possession of Syria, from whence he was to go to Constantinople to recommend a direct arrangement between the Porte and Pacha on these terms. But as their rejection was foreseen, Valewski had ulterior instructions to recommend Ibrahim not to dispute possession of the towns of the coast of Syria, but to concentrate his army in the north of that province, and there await till spring, in order then to co-operate with whatever warlike enterprise France might have set on foot.*

* Nouvion, Hist. de la Règne de Louis-Philippe ; Regnault, Histoire de Huit Ans ; D'Haussonville, Histoire de la Politique extérieure.

CHAP.
XLVII.

In the midst of this rekindling of the spirit and excitement of war, the remains of the Emperor Napoleon were in course of transference from the rock of St. Helena to the mausoleum prepared in the Invalides. One of the first acts of the Thiers cabinet on its installation was to ask England to deliver up the ashes. And the Prince de Joinville sailed to St. Helena to exhume the mortal remains of the Emperor. On opening the coffin, the features of the great man were fully recognisable. They did not reach France till the close of the year. When they were floated up the Seine, received and borne with all due pomp to their final resting place, there was some effort on the part of Republicans to beget a disturbance. But the people considered the act of the King and government magnanimous, which it really was. And all signs of disapprobation were put down.*

The danger, however, of exhuming and resuscitating patriotic and warlike sentiments appeared when in August, after the Prince de Joinville had gone to St. Helena, but before his return, Prince Louis-Napoleon made a descent upon the shore of Boulogne with a band of devoted friends. The Prince on this occasion repeated his mistake of supposing that the French soldiery were still animated by the spirit of 1815. Far from this, the peasant recruits of France were the most contented and quiet of the population. Some few officers, indeed, were carried away by enthusiasm for the memory of the great name, to incur the risk of seeking to raise his nephew to the throne. But even these were hesitating. The Prince had vague hopes, first of the support of the 42nd regiment, of which the principal portion was at Lille, with detachments in Boulogne, Calais, and St. Omers. Yet he was certain but of one lieutenant of the regiment, Aladenize. Had a regiment declared for

* Journals of the time.

him—a French regiment counts nearly 3,000 men—he had reason to think that General Magnan, commanding the division of the north, would join him. With such hopes he landed on the beach near Boulogne. Met merely by Aladenize, though he had expected a large body of adherents, Louis-Napoleon marched in the early morning of the 6th of August to the barrack of Lower Boulogne, where two companies of the 42nd lay. The soldiers marched forth, listened to the Prince's harangue, some showing signs of adherence, some not, when their officers, above all Captain Puygellier, arrived, who being a Royalist made courageous efforts to maintain his men in their duty. There ensued a kind of struggle, in which the Prince fired a pistol in the face of a grenadier, who no doubt wanted to seize him. The little band of conspirators found it necessary to withdraw, the soldiers and officers not preventing them. They then marched to the high town of Boulogne, trying to induce soldiers or people to join them. Finding this too vain, they retreated across fields to the Napoleon column, and thence descended the cliffs to the sea. They embarked in a small boat, but the National Guard began to fire at them, and even killed one. The boat was too slight to go to sea in, and it, moreover, soon upset. The Prince and Colonel Vaudrey, who were in it, were seized, and some fifty in all made captive. Prince Louis was then brought before the Court of Peers, and necessarily condemned. His penalty was perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Ham, to which he was immediately consigned, and in which he passed six years, by all accounts not ill employed in study and in reflection.*

In the midst of these events of Napoleonic homage and failure, the Eastern question pursued its course. Early in September Admiral Stopford cannonaded Beyrouth, and landed a number of troops, destined to support the Syrian insurrection. Sidon surrendered

* *Annuaire*, report of the trial.

after a brief resistance early in October. The celebrated fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, which had defied the arms of Napoleon, was evacuated by the Egyptian garrison, after having endured the fire of the British admiral for the space of a day. This was on the 2nd of November, and on the 26th Admiral Napier appeared with his vessels in the harbour of Alexandria. He offered Mehemet Ali with one hand the hereditary Pachalik of Egypt, with the other the destruction of his city, and probably his own dethronement. Mehemet at first was inclined to resist, but being made aware that the same hesitation which had displayed itself amongst his troops in Syria began to influence those of Alexandria, he resigned himself to his fate, and signified his acceptance of the conditions offered by Sir Charles Napier.

Long before this definitive result, the Porte, on learning the first successes of its allies in Syria, and the powerlessness of Ibrahim, had gone the length of declaring the Pachalik of Egypt to be forfeited by Mehemet Ali. Although Lord Palmerston treated this as a menace, rather than an accomplished fact, still it rendered it impossible for M. Thiers to persevere in a mere policy of sullen abstention. He therefore proposed sending the French fleet to Alexandria to protect the Pacha at least in Egypt. The King objected to an order from which war might spring, and the cabinet gave in its resignation early in October. The popular effervescence at the time was great. The middle class were more animated than the lower, and the National Guards talked of associating and entering upon measures of national defence, which indeed the announcement of the fortification of Paris showed to be not unnecessary. A popular demonstration was to be feared. And the King as well as the royal family besought M. Thiers not to desert them. He was willing to remain at his post, meditating hostilities not sooner than the spring. These

hostilities being on land, not sea, he waived the proposal of sending the fleet to Alexandria. He even consented to its being brought back to Toulon or the island of Hyères, provided the King would support the cabinet in its ulterior designs.

The recall of the fleet was a prudent act, but it was fatal to M. Thiers, who, by admitting it, became identified with the royal policy of peace at all price. His ulterior designs in his own opinion compensated for this, but the public knew not of them. M. Thiers sufficiently covered himself, he thought, by signifying to England and the other powers that he would consider the *déchéance* of Mehemet Ali as a *casus belli*. In answer to this came the act of violence committed by Admiral Napier at Alexandria, which indeed stipulated the maintenance of the Pacha there. But should the Porte disallow this? And in fact it at first determined to do so.

The epoch for opening the Chamber approached; and the terms in which the King was to address them became a subject of discussion and doubt. Several councils were held on the subject. The King, returning from one of them, was fired at from the quay by a determined fellow, who had charged his gun with no less than five balls and several large shot. This perhaps saved the King's life, for the barrel burst. Neither the carriage nor those in it were injured, but some of the outriders were. The assassin was named Darmès; he was connected with the secret societies then existing. Regicide, however, was too common an attempt to occasion any excitement or influence the course of politics. M. Thiers had drawn up a royal speech in accordance with the policy he intended to pursue. It was menacing. "Recent events," it said, "were calculated to bring on grave complications. Should such take place, the military precautions hitherto ordained would no longer suffice. To complete them, the presence and adhesion of the Chambers were necessary. It was not France

CHAP.
XLVII.

that had brought on the present state of things, but it must be prepared to act, on seeing the balance of power disturbed. France will not purchase peace at a price unworthy of her." Such language as this, Louis-Philippe refused to utter. M. Thiers and his colleagues in consequence resigned; and M. Guizot was summoned by the King to form an administration.

Its composition, announced on the 29th of October, 1841, was as follows:—Maison, first president and war minister; M. Guizot, foreign affairs; Duchâtel, home minister; Martin, justice and public worship; Humann, finance; Villemain, public instruction; Teste, public works; Cunin-Gridaine, agriculture and commerce; Duperré, marine.

M. Guizot, it may well be conceived, put language into the King's mouth very different from that of his predecessor. That speech in fact gave hopes of peace. M. Guizot explained on what these hopes were founded. He denied that it had been the intention of England or the powers to mortify or injure France. He indeed admitted the affront, but maintained it was not intentional. The French government committed a twofold mistake. It had exaggerated its own interests in maintaining the Pacha, and at the same time exaggerated the means of the Pacha to maintain himself. He therefore proposed for the present not defying Europe in arms, but showing resentment in sullen isolation. After this fashion dignity would be preserved as well as peace. To such announcement of the new minister from the tribune of the Chamber, Thiers replied, "You can give us not only hopes of peace, but the assurance of it. Peace could, of course, be obtained by yielding everything." The minister observed that the situation was not of his making. This led to unpleasant recriminations. The late minister accused his successor, until lately his ambassador in London, with not having kept him fully warned and frankly advised. M. Guizot said he had

fully warned his principal, but it was not the duty of an ambassador to advise. If M. Thiers accused his successor of being for peace at all price, the latter retorted that M. Thiers had definitively determined upon war in the spring. An invasion of Italy was to have been the answer on the part of France to the demolition of Mehemet Ali by Austria in concert with the allies. The difference being thus clearly stated, the majority of the Chamber rallied to Guizot and peace; and the address was voted, even after the events of Acre and Alexandria had become known.*

Although the new ministry triumphed in the Chamber, it was far from doing so in public opinion, naturally excited by the violence, and, as it was considered, the injustice, offered to the Egyptian Pacha. This was but a momentary and additional cause of excitement. The discontent with the government, the King and his system, and with the Chamber, was loud even in 1839. As was the case under the Restoration, some of the Conservatives of the Centre joined in this line of semi-opposition. They complained that the King appointed what ministers he chose, this influence being secured to him by means of the 150 or 160 functionaries who had seats as deputies. Early in M. Thiers' administration, a motion was made by M. Remilly, precluding members from being appointed to office. The government met it by the declaration of its unseasonableness for the present, whilst admitting that it was a question to be seriously discussed and even advanced hereafter.

It was indeed a serious question, involving far more considerations and results than appeared at first sight. What could be called an aristocracy did not exist in the country. The class which could pretend to be such held aloof from public affairs. The monied and manufacturing interest formed a large and influential body,

* *Annuaire*, French debates, Guizot's Memoirs.

CHAP.
XLVII.

with none to counterbalance them save the functionaries. Were these eliminated, the legislature would have been completely one-sided, and ministers at the mercy of a class which on political as well as on economical questions entertained very narrow and selfish ideas. Moreover, the functionaries were, for the greater part, the choice capacities of the nation. To expel them from the Chamber was to deprive it of its intellectual superiority and professional experience. Many of these, opposed to the omnipotence of the King, and the undue influence of the government, like Dupin, strongly deprecated the elimination of functionaries from the Chamber. And these arguments were, and still are, most worthy of consideration for such a monarchy as that established in July 1830.

But whilst the Conservatives were not unwilling to entertain or at least bring forward motions for getting rid of functionaries from the Chamber, they would not hear of any extension of the suffrage, which might render the electoral body wider and more liberal. Even the admission of the *capacités*, or educated persons, to be electors frightened them, such class being generally liberal. Petitions poured in upon the subject, demanding either universal suffrage or an approach to it. It was asked that at least every National Guard should have the elective franchise. This last was a dangerous proposal, at least dangerous to refuse, since such refusal must alienate the very power on which in insurrections the King and government most depended. Although M. Thiers scorned the idea of universal suffrage, or, as he called it, the sovereignty of numbers, with bitter derision, the Constitutional opposition did not desert, however they may have differed from, him. But this lukewarmness in opposition drove the Radicals, such as Dupont de l'Eure, Laffitte, and Arago, into co-operation with the Republicans.

It was the republic in truth that they preached. Their

revolutionary banner was indeed kept in the background, and that of reform hoisted in its stead. But by the side of reform appeared another with the more significant and formidable inscription of the *Rights of Labour*; Arago first hoisted it. Ever since 1830, original thinkers and powerful writers had been elaborating schemes for refashioning society, and superseding the unsatisfactory state of things which Christian civilisation had produced.

The efforts of the St. Simonians have been mentioned, sufficiently successful as long as they were confined to preaching and to theory. Having the boldness to put their ideas in practice, the nullity and impracticability of them soon appeared. They could not indeed revolutionise property without at the same time overthrowing the laws of family connection and descent. This involved such outrage upon morality that the whole thing exploded. The economical portion of the scheme, however, remained, and was taken up, manipulated, and expounded by able professors of other schools.

The basis of all these theories was that property belonged in principle not to the individual, but to the state, that the promotion of private interests, separate from public ones, was a sin and a crime, and that some way was to be found for rendering the whole population participators in the wealth and produce of the country. As any practical realisation of such a scheme was found to be impossible, it was provisionally announced that the destitute, or the day earner, had at least a right not to bread—such a demand was considered too ignominious for the sovereign people—but to the means and materials of labour. Land and capital formed these, the people had a claim upon both.

The seeds of such doctrine fell upon a soil well fitted to make them germ. In all other countries, the gradual decline and abolition of feudalism has left strong connection between the different classes of society. If there be dependence on one side, there is protection on the

CHAP.
XLVII.

other. That these may degenerate into servility on the one hand, and authoritative mastery on the other, there can be no doubt. But these relations are also blended with kindness, and with affection, respect, and care. In France there survive none of these mutual feelings. The labouring agriculturists had for the most part got possession of the soil in a way, and at a price, that inspired their less fortunate fellows with small esteem. The peasantry had in general subdivided the soil amongst them, and tilled it, with no superior to make a claim, or cast a shadow, unless it was the government taxman or official. Had this peasantry kept possession of the soil, it might have made them a happy and contented race. But the want of capital to raise more than the earth can produce unaided, and the necessity of either raising capital or incurring debt to buy off brothers and sisters, necessarily copartners of the land, as well as to meet the heavy fines of the conscription, left the French peasant, though a nominal proprietor of the land, yet necessitated to pay a larger portion of its produce in interest upon debt than he had under the ancient régime paid in rent. Thus the town capitalists replaced the old aristocracy, and took as large a share of the produce of the earth, without inspiring the same respect. Add to this that the new proprietorial class, labouring itself, required or employed small additional labour. Scant was the class that lived on wages, or that got any in the rural districts. The lackland population hence migrated to the towns, where what was heretofore the rent of land, now the interest of the town capitalist, enabled this latter personage to become the great and general employer. Town industry thus took a large expanse, as did the class that lived by it. Manufactures arose even in the fields. Beet was grown for sugar; and as foreign markets opened, and fertile years succeeded one another, there was a vein of prosperity which tended more than any effort or wisdom of Louis-Philippe or of his government to quiet the in-

creasing town population. But about the time of the Eastern question opening, harvests became unfavourable in France, whilst at the same time important foreign markets closed. General Jackson went to war with the Banks and with fictitious capital, and deprived the French of their great Transatlantic market. Manufacturing and agricultural interests both began to suffer at the very time when the government, quarrelling with England and with Europe, was compelled to incur large debts. In the general distress, disaffection and turbulence rose again. Manufacturers, deprived of their markets, could not supply work and wages, or tried to diminish both. The labouring artisan declared himself wronged, and the political agitator backed his complaint by proclaiming that he had a right to labour, and to its hire.

These socialist symptoms showed themselves in various acts of turbulence during the administration of M. Thiers. The small articles of commerce which Paris furnishes, being mostly those of luxury, were left without a market at the time of political agitation, and this, added to the dearness of provisions, rendered the artizan population eagerly attentive to the declaration of Arago that all men had a right to employment. Strikes took place in almost all the Parisian trades. Tailors, shoemakers, paper makers, compositors, stone cutters, each had their strike. At one moment, in September, this came near to assume the shape of an *émeute*, with barricades and banners. The troops early got the better of that manifestation. But these difficulties, blended with the embarrassment of the foreign question, formed the heritage which the Thiers cabinet left to its successors.

To these causes of agitation and danger came to be added the humble ground which M. Guizot took, instead of the prouder attitude of Thiers, upon the Eastern question. In this indeed he had the support of parliament, but it was a support of which, although the ma-

CHAP.
XLVII.

majority assumed the responsibility, they felt the shame. It would have been madness, however, to fly in the face of Europe, and provoke it either by land or sea. The original fault of being of one opinion, and allowing united Europe to hold the other, rendered France helpless. The powers, however, did not want to dethrone Mehemet, or even to reduce him so low as the Porte proposed. They refused to sanction the conditions which Turkey sought to impose by its *Hatti Scherif* of mid-February, limiting the Egyptian army to an insignificant force, and retaining the nomination of its chief officers. These hard conditions were rejected; and Mehemet was acknowledged as the hereditary Pacha of Egypt, with full right of sovereignty, the Turkish fleet being restored by him. This was offered in June 1841. And in the following month, M. Guizot, as foreign minister, signed with the other powers the Treaty of the Straits, which closed Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the one to Russian, the other to European, fleets. M. Guizot recounts how he endeavoured to make it more complete by regulating the right of way through Egypt, as well as other matters. But Lord Palmerston set these stipulations aside as irrelevant, and the close of both straits alone became European law.

Few ministers were ever burdened with so serious a task as that which M. Guizot and his colleagues had to meet. Whilst he himself laboured at the diplomatic oar, his law officers were engaged in quarrels with the press. Those journalists who often contrived to escape by the indulgence of the jury obtained no mercy when brought before the Court of Peers. Accordingly the Upper Chamber became the target for Republican virulence. The *National* called it an hospital of *Incurables*, a mere collection of dry bones, without sufficient energy for independence. Their debates were a constitutional concert played by the dead. These were but jests. The Court of Peers, however, punished them

by fines and imprisonment. Lamennais was condemned about this time. The trial of Darnès for his attempt at regicide also occupied the law officers of the crown. They were convinced that he had accomplices, and was an agent of the secret societies; but they could elicit nothing from either him or his associates.

War minister and prime minister were both sorely pressed by the large expenditure ordained, and the difficulty of supplying funds to meet it. The fortifications of Paris formed the most serious demand. The first idea of these works was to place all round Paris, and at a certain distance from it, detached forts which would keep off a besieging army or an enemy, and prevent hostile artillery from showering its projectiles into the city. The King was for this plan, which, however, was speedily laid hold of by opposition, and denounced as a plan for embastilling Paris. The patriots were for the simple wall, or *enceinte continue*, open within, and not menacing to the Parisians, their liberties, or their licence. The dispute ended by the adoption of both systems of defence, and of course the expense was proportionately increased.

Moreover, when the war-cry arose, all the materials of war were found to be wanting. Regiments were without equipments, dépôts without artillery or *matériel*. Fortresses were dilapidated, the military offices told of long peace and consequent dilapidation. Credit after credit was swallowed up, without satisfying engineers or intendants. This financial question was a vital one for any minister. That the monarchy of July should manifest itself more obsequious to foreign powers than the Restoration, and yet that its expenditure should be far greater, were confessions dangerous and humiliating to make. Yet unfortunately they could neither be withheld nor contradicted. The public expenditure, which required 40,000,000*l.* sterling annually in the last years of the Restoration, amounted to 50,000,000*l.*

in 1842. And these swelled to 60,000,000*l.* sterling, or one-third more, in 1847. The annual interest upon the debt during the seventeen years of Louis-Philippe's reign had increased from 10,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* sterling. The war office, which required 8,000,000*l.* sterling in 1829, absorbed 13,000,000*l.* in 1842; the marine, costing little more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling in the last years of Charles the Tenth, exceeding 4,000,000*l.* under Louis-Philippe. It is but fair to state that the expenses for public instruction had increased in a still greater proportion. The year's deficit not the less perplexed the finance minister. He could not increase the land-tax, it already made one-fourth of the revenue; the direct taxes, with the stamp duty, or *enregistrement*, furnished one-half of it; the indirect taxes, or excise, supplied another quarter; but the tax on drinks and salt was already odious to the population, and the minister durst not increase them. M. Humann therefore imagined to render the old taxes more productive by rendering the mode of levying them more stringent. Hitherto the repartition and levy of taxes had been left in a great measure to the localities themselves and to their notabilities, which of course produced much laxity and indeed unfairness. M. Humann proposed to institute the direct action and interference of the treasury; this led to angry remonstrance, especially in the towns of the south and west. At Strasburg, M. Humann's native city, it occasioned a conflict between the prefect and the municipality. To assess the taxes, it was necessary for the government officials to enter and inspect the houses. This was resisted. For the first time the Frenchman declared that his house was his castle. At Toulouse the resistance was so general that the prefect wrote for his instructions how to meet it; he was answered by his recall, and the arrival of a new prefect; the Toulousans received him with a monster *Charivari*. The prefect called out the gendarmes, and the people met them by

barricades. The National Guards then assembled of themselves, and all the government authorities were obliged to fly. They were restored some time after by a force equal to an army; but such suppressed insurrections left the locality in a more dangerous state than before.

The worst feature and most pernicious result of the resistance caused by these measures of the finance minister were that it blended middle and lower classes, especially throughout the provinces, in the one excitement of opposition, and made several provincial towns and districts as anti-ministerial and as anti-dynastic as the capital. The press of the *bourgeoisie*, as the middle class was called, began to echo and repeat the arguments of the Republican prints. Republican candidates, too, began to find favour in the provinces. Ledru-Rollin, a young advocate, was elected for the Sarthe, and made a complete confession of republicanism to his electors. The law officers of the government instituted a prosecution, which terminated in an acquittal for the orator, and a condemnation for his printer. The *National* was about the same time prosecuted for an article representing successive ministers as mere puppets, the true and well-known culprit being behind them. The personal allusion to the King was transparent; the ministry denounced such expressions as criminal. The jury found them venial, and, twice tried, the *National* was twice acquitted.

Hence might be divined the reason why government refused the electoral franchise to all upon the jury list. Those on the list showed hostility to the King and his ministry; they were not only of the middle class, but of the most educated and enlightened amongst them. Their disaffection and disapprobation of such prosecutions ought to have acted as a warning for the ministers of a monarchy which had no firm support but in a broad and favourable public opinion. Ministers, far from taking warning, were merely more irritated by what they

deemed the perverseness of the juries; the law offered the mode of avoiding trial by jury. It was to consider frowardness as treason, and impugn it before the Court of Peers.

In September 1841 a shot was fired at the Princes as they entered Paris at the head of the troops in honour of the return of the Prince de Joinville from Algeria. It was a workman named Quenisset who fired the shot, and several of his brother workmen were implicated. The journal which they were in the habit of reading was the *Journal du Peuple*. One of them wrote to the editor, Dupotet, asking him to defend them. Government had lately appointed a new *procureur-général*, a man of talent indeed, but of exuberant zeal, M. Hebert. He ferreted out from the files of the *Bon Sens* certain stirring articles, which seemed to approve of such violent acts as that of which Quenisset had been guilty. Adducing them as proofs, he charged Dupotet with being the accomplice of Quenisset. It was a most violent application of the law, which might be made to include in its rigour many an innocent person. The trial took place before the Court of Peers, and many members of it argued that, although no real complicity or connection could be discovered between Quenisset and the editor of the *Bon Sens*, still there was a moral complicity, and this they considered as sufficient to condemn. Such a decision recalled the prosecutions for tendency under the Restoration, and was certainly Draconian. A jury would have at once acquitted Dupotet. The Court of Peers condemned him to five years' imprisonment.

This straining of the law was not only illegal but out of season; for even extreme parties had become as much disgusted with regicide attempts as the moderate. No one placed hopes in them, nor had need to do so. The enemies of the dynasty met with such success in depopularising it, whilst the government and its agents

laid themselves so open to obloquy, that the Republicans began to entertain confident hopes of prevailing at no distant day without either conspiracy or revolution. The policy of a wise government ought not to have been under such circumstances difficult to fix. An open schism had taken place so far back as the last elections between the anti-dynastic opposition, the Republicans in fact, and the Liberals who still clung to the House of Orleans.* M. Thiers' plan was to conciliate the latter to accept progress, and bring all that could be called the middle class within the limits of the electoral franchise. The quarrel about Egypt drove Thiers from power; and M. Guizot succeeded him, with the task of preserving peace with Europe, and then keeping down opposition as well as sedition at home. He knew that the aims which he proposed in foreign policy were unpopular, and that the least extension of the franchise might be fatal to them. He therefore took his ground on the principle of no concession to the clamour for reform.

The cry for this great panacea had become general. The Republicans demanded universal suffrage, or an approach to it. The Moderates proposed at least the admission to the franchise of the second list of the jury, or the *capacités*, as they were called. When one considers that this motion was moved by Ganneron and Ducos, eminent citizens and leading *bourgeois*, one cannot conceive how the ministry could be so unwise as to scout it; joined, however, with this demand for extension of the franchise, came motions for excluding functionaries from the Chamber. The project, extreme as it might be, was supported by the members of the middle class, men who were annoyed at finding the wealthy commercial classes outvoted by the numerous talented functionaries of the day. The removal of functionaries from the legislature was indeed a propo-

* Louis Blanc, Histoire de Dix Ans.

CHAP.
XLVII.

sition far more radical than its movers imagined. There was no aristocracy in the country, few men, and no class, of wealth or weight. Functionaries, military and civil, supplied the place of an aristocracy. It might be desirable to give such a class independence in the Chamber; to exclude them altogether was to decapitate the country of its talent, and give a strong impulse to social revolution.

Ministers succeeded in setting aside such propositions, not indeed by any large majority, and quashing every project of electoral reform. But even if it were expedient to do so, whilst the question of peace and war still hung in the balance, it was very imprudent to meet them with such arguments as were used by the Doctrinaires. M. Guizot, like Canning, not only opposed, but ridiculed the very idea of reform. "It was but a popular itch," he said, "not a rational want, a *prurit*, which it could only injure sanity and health to indulge or pay attention to." The minister and his friends insisted on the virtue of immobility, or of not stirring an inch forward, and of maintaining the *status quo* in everything, as the only means of consolidating the monarchy, and of ensuring peace. "If such be your policy," exclaimed Lamartine, "the monarchy does not want men to defend or administer it, milestones in place would answer every purpose."

It is painful to think that the reign of Louis-Philippe could boast such eminent statesmen—personages whom it would be impossible to surpass in eloquence and intelligence—yet who were not able to consolidate or give lasting strength to the monarchy. M. Thiers' tendencies and convictions, more natural and spirited than those of his great rival, might have led to the success of the government in war and the popularity of the dynasty. This, however, must have been tried in the face of risks, whilst no one could predict the result. But neither the Chamber nor the King would have allowed the

experiment of M. Thiers; and therefore nothing remained but the foreign policy of M. Guizot.

To that foreign policy he was tied, and in it he was absorbed without time or means of casting his eyes or directing his intelligence towards the domestic questions far more important. Had M. Guizot leisure to examine these, he would have seen that something more was required than mere resistance. But there was no other eminent man in the councils of Louis-Philippe who could lay his head on his hand and think of whither monarchy and society were tending. M. Duchâtel was not equal to such a task, yet to him was the management of home and parliamentary affairs committed.

On most questions, indeed, or in all, it was not government which led or which commanded, but circumstances; and almost in any department a bold man or a decided will dragged the government into positions which were none of its choosing, yet which it became its duty and necessity to defend. We have seen this in the Egyptian question, when the French public drove the government into a path without issue and without honour. There resulted from this quarrel an awakening of French jealousy of England, and consequent hostility, without France being able to acquire a single ally in the quarrel which she was provoking. The end was that in almost every question England and France were at variance, yet unable, and indeed unwilling, to strike at each other more than diplomatic blows. The international quarrel was like that between enemies of the female sex, displayed in high airs, high words, much malice, with an endless variety of mingled coquetry and spite, but without real triumph, much less important results obtained by either party. The history of the Right of Search, of the Pritchard quarrel, of the Morocco one, and finally that of the Spanish marriages, are worthy of forming chapters in any novel. But the

CHAP.
XLVII.

acts achieved, the motives observable, and the arguments employed in all, are simply disgraceful to two great nations, which wasted time and energy in such petty passions and such beggarly considerations. The old monarchy of England went through this epoch unscathed and undiminished in dignity and in power, simply because the mere rivalry of its foreign policy was redeemed by the genius, the wisdom, and the grandeur of its domestic legislature. Sir Robert Peel was a political physician that could place his hand on the pulse of the country, and prescribe for its social and economical ills. All this time French politicians and ministers were writing diplomatic notes and fighting party and parliamentary battles about nothing.

The first source of quarrel was the Right of Search, accorded to the armed vessels of both nations over their mercantile shipping in order to detect and prevent the slave trade. As there were infinitely more English trading vessels than French, the cruisers of the latter exercised a right even more extensive and humiliating, if it was found to be so, than the English. From 1831, the date of the first treaty, till 1841 there had been scarcely a complaint. Unfortunately the English government were at the time rendering the right of search general in consequence of the consent of other nations of Europe which had hitherto refused. This necessitated a new treaty, which the French diplomatists and statesmen saw no reason to decline. The United States government soon intervened. The Americans, for reasons of their own, did not like English officers coming on board their vessels, even to decide their nationality. They cared far more for a question of pride than for that of slavery; and American agents soon stirred the French to entertain the same jealousies and act upon them. Some of the French ports were at the time deeply interested in the slave trade, and objected to its being put down. Nantes was one of these places, and M. Billault, a young

lawyer who represented it, so ably advocated slave trading interests that an amendment to the address in January 1842 was carried in the Chamber against the ministry, denouncing the right of search, and especially any extension of it. This suspended the treaty, left M. Guizot powerless to sign it, and France finally receded from it. The majority of the Chamber, not contented with this, pushed on for the abrogation of the treaties of 1831 and 1833. That body, the *Tiers parti* included, were not only irritated against England but anxious to display a warlike spirit on a question that could not lead to war. Such was the sentiment always displayed by M. Dupin and others of his school. They pressed for an abrogation of the right of search altogether, and of the treaties of 1831 and 1833, which sanctioned it. The English Tory ministry was not a little angry at this display of hostility from a monarchy and a court which it had in 1830 protected against Europe, and secured from the effects of a coalition.* But Lord Aberdeen was full of blandness, of consideration, and of trust for M. Guizot; and both ministers succeeded in replacing the right of search, by certainly a more costly mode of preventing the slave trade, but perhaps an equally effective one, that of a combined or double fleet of the cruisers of both nations. The arrangement concluded in May 1845 was as little to the taste of the slave interests of Nantes as the right of search. But there was no terrible objection to be raised against it.

The nation took a deeper interest than usual in all matters relating to the marine, of which the estimates became largely increased. The sugar question was felt to be connected with them. Proprietorial interest was so predominant in the Chamber that the colonists continued to be sacrificed to the beet growers, their sugar being

* Lord Sidmouth's Life and Correspondence, by the Dean of Nor-

wich; Lord Colchester's Diary; Lord Eldon's Life, by Twiss.

CHAP.
XLVII.

taxed double of that produced at home. It was felt that this system not only ruined trade but restricted the number of vessels and seamen. Beet-root was therefore denounced as a foe of the country's grandeur, and its protection so little desirable that equal taxes were laid upon home-grown and colonial sugar.

In the midst of M. Guizot's efforts to heal up the breaches between England and France, especially in maritime affairs, the caprice of a French naval officer undid all that the minister had been labouring to effect for years. Admiral Dupetit Thouars had been sent with a squadron to the Pacific to take possession of the Marquesas group of islands, and form there a port and colony, which would prove a refuge and a station for French vessels in those seas. Not only this, but the Marquesas were to furnish a place of transportation for French criminals. The retention of these at home was attended with a host of inconveniences and evils. Admiral Dupetit Thouars took possession of the islands in May 1842. His ambition was not satisfied. Otaheite and its group offered a more enchanting climate and a richer soil. The admiral sailed thither under pretence of protecting the Catholic missions, although Protestant clergymen had long since converted, and, as far as was possible, civilised the islanders. The French admiral demanded a large sum from the Queen and her subjects, as indemnity for the alleged wrongs done to the Catholic clergy. Unable to pay it, Queen Pomare said, Take our islands. Dupetit Thouars had no other object; and by virtue of the offer of the Queen of Otaheite, the French flag was immediately hoisted, and their protectorship of the islands proclaimed in September 1842 by the French. M. Guizot was as much astonished as Lord Aberdeen at this fresh cause of difference between the nations. For the English clergy were nearly masters at Otaheite, although the English government had refused to assume or accept any sove-

reignty there. But here was a French admiral, with French priests in his suite, prepared to take not only military but religious possession of Otaheite, and of course subject the Protestant missionaries to the arrogance and intolerance of the new conquerors. However so much annoyed at the admiral's enterprise, the cabinet would not disavow or undo it. Public opinion would have laid hold of the apparent weakness, and made the admiral triumph over every government that attempted to control him. Captain Bruat was therefore sent out as governor of the French possessions in the Pacific, the Protestants of Otaheite included.

The fellow Protestants of M. Guizot, Gasparin and Pelet, remonstrated against the subjection of a Protestant population to a Catholic priesthood, supported by an envoy. M. Guizot repudiated of course any intentions of intolerance as if he was master of either person or policy on the other side of Cape Horn. He might have been certain that priest and captain would as little obey him as the admiral had done. The English consul and missionary, Pritchard, returned to protect his flock, as far as possible, from the French ecclesiastics. They insisted, he protested. He invoked the support of Lord Aberdeen, who was determined to give none. Meantime Dupetit Thouars paid another visit to the island, and finding that his protectorate had produced its inevitable result of anarchy and quarrel, he sought to put an end to it by dethroning poor Queen Pomare, and changing the French protectorate into sovereignty. The Queen retired to Pritchard's house; the sympathies and indignation of her people naturally followed her. Insurrection and civil war were the consequences. An officer, named D'Aubigny, who took the command on Dupetit Thouar's departure, seized Pritchard and shut him in a blockhouse, until he could be transported from the island. Thus the French commanders did their utmost to excite war between the

CHAP.
XLVII.

countries, whilst the respective ministers at home laboured to prevent it. Sir Robert Peel indeed allowed himself to be carried away by his feelings, and denounced the treatment of Pritchard as a "gross outrage." But Lord Aberdeen explained it away, and admitted that Pritchard was at least not an "English consul" at the time of his arrest. He had already struck his flag. Still the English government required some reparation. It was given in the shape of a pecuniary indemnity to Pritchard, who was prepared to accept it. If this appeased and settled the anger and the difference between the governments, it raised a threatening storm in the French Chambers. The indemnity to Pritchard was styled a tribute, or humiliation. And many members of the majority, who habitually supported Guizot, were prepared on this occasion to assume the character of being spirited, and to condemn the government for any apparent concession to England. M. Guizot met this, as it only could be met; he determined to resign. This at once brought the would-be defectionists to their senses. They were anxious to show themselves spirited and independent, and to win popularity as anti-Pritchardists, but they could not afford to lose Guizot. Accordingly they abandoned the idea of even a semi-hostile vote, and so in 1845 the French government got over the perilous question of Otaheite.

Algeria, and the policy to be pursued with respect to it, a question important of itself, was equally so as exciting the jealousy and adding to the risk of a rupture with England. Both countries, it must be owned, were extravagantly and foolishly susceptible on the subject of colonial influence and conquest. It should be a subject of regret to Englishmen that the French have not been able to preserve a fair portion of colonial empire. The war evidently gave England more than she could people, civilise, or govern. That other races should have root and footing in the distant parts of the

world would have been just, and would not have been detrimental to us. With a French race at present dominant upon the St. Lawrence or the Mississippi, could not the balance of peace be better cared for and preserved in the New World? Besides, the want of colonial outlet has been the great cause of French turbulence and sedition. We should have favoured, not opposed, such development.

The possession of Algeria by the French ought really not to have excited a grudge. A vast region without rivers, and a sea coast without ports, was surely nothing to envy, with a climate where European families never outlive the third generation. It was long, however, ere the English government became resigned to the French dominion in Algeria, which it was feared might be extended to Egypt on the one side, or to the Atlantic on the other. On one of his expeditions, the Duke of Orleans proposed taking some frontier town or portion of the Regency of Tunis. Louis-Philippe thought it best to mention the project to the English government. It elicited a very fierce rejoinder from Lord Palmerston to the purport that the occupation of even a Tunisian village would be war.

The campaign of Marshal Bugeaud against Morocco raised similar fears in the placid breast of Lord Aberdeen. Algiers made no exception to the rule, that French agents and commanders carried the government at home into policies and positions which it deprecated and never proposed. The possession of coast with a certain influence, rather than dominion over the interior, would have satisfied government ideas in Paris. But no sooner was an officer appointed governor-general than he not only meditated but entered upon a complete subjugation of the country. Marshal Clausel was recalled for this. But the reverses which had befallen his arms in marching against Constantine compelled the subsequent siege of that town. Marshal Bugeaud was M. Guizot's

CHAP.
XLVII.

very good friend, but the latter could not confer his moderation upon the general. Bugeaud was of course for conquering, nay, he was for civilising in military fashion a military not civilian colony.

It was impossible for him not to carry on the war vigorously, for his menaces of conquest had aroused the spirit of the Arabs, and enabled them to find a chief worthy and able to lead them. This was Abd-el-Kader, with enough of fanaticism to impose upon and inspirit his followers, without disturbing his own *sang-froid* and prudence as a commander. Abd-el-Kader organised the tribes against the French, and fought them action after action, his chief superiority being due to the fleetness of his cavalry. Marshal Bugeaud was obliged to imitate him, to create native horse, and to mount his infantry for the march, in order to come up with the enemy, and engage with success the flying columns of the Arabs. In this campaign the King's sons greatly distinguished themselves. Even the mild Duc de Nemours showed himself on more than one occasion a hero. In 1843 the Duc d'Aumale surprised the *smala*, or encampment, of Abd-el-Kader—a scene immortalised by Vernet—and achieved a high military reputation for himself. This and similar disasters drove Abd-el-Kader first to the borders of Morocco, and then within its frontiers. Beyond this was a population still more fanatic than the Arabs, and not having yet experienced the disasters of the war or the prowess of the French, the Moors flocked in crowds to support Abd-el-Kader. The French found him on the frontier, and no doubt somewhere beyond it. The Moors, on their part, attacked General Lamoricière within the French bounds. War necessarily ensued between France and Morocco, and the Prince de Joinville, at the head of a fleet, sailed to cannonade and reduce the Moorish forts on the Atlantic. The English government, still Tory, was annoyed at this prelude to conquest. Lord Aberdeen could with

difficulty pacify his colleague Peel, and M. Guizot was at his wits' end to render his pacific assurances credible. Tangiers and Mogador were in the meantime bombarded by the French, and Marshal Bugeaud, entering the territory of Morocco, attacked their army of some 25,000 men at Isly in mid-August 1844. It was a rout rather than a battle. The Moors did not stand the first shock. And its result was a treaty in 1845, Morocco making submission and reparation, and promising not to receive Abd-el-Kader within its territory. The terms of the treaty were far from satisfying the opposition. And as the Prince de Joinville himself protested against them, the French public had some reason to complain that the conditions imposed upon Morocco were not more severe. M. Guizot's plenipotentiary had made sacrifices, and waived immediate money payment, rather than delay the final arrangement. The government had other reasons for terminating the Algerian and Morocco wars than obsequiousness to England. The King had long desired to make the Duc d'Aumale governor-general of Algeria, which would enable him to win the attachment of the army and its principal officers. He had clearly established claims to it by his capture of the *smala* of the Emir. Marshal Bugeaud, at first jealous, had at last assented to pave the way to such an appointment. But it was unadvisable to leave to the Prince the burden of a flagrant and difficult war. Peace accordingly was concluded with Morocco, which gladly sunk into inertness, and earnestly strove to observe its agreement with the French by repudiating the Arab Emir. The latter was not so easily set aside. He continued his campaign against the French with more courage than success, and at last undertook not only to resist them, but to revolutionise Morocco. However he might have done this in the heyday of his power, he had no longer the prestige necessary. The Moors resisted him, and in 1847 inflicted on him so severe a defeat that the Emir, seeing

CHAP.
XLVII.

the French bar his way back to the Desert, came to the resolution to surrender. He made the offer to General Lamoricière, who gave him the solemn promise that he should be set free, and conveyed to Egypt or to Syria. The Duc d'Aumale into whose presence the Emir was brought, trusting, the latter said, "That the son of a great king could not violate the promise of one of the first of his generals," reiterated the promise of Lamoricière. But the great king did not feel himself bound by the solemn words of either his general or his son. And Abd-el-Kader was put on board ship, and conveyed, not to Cairo or Alexandria, but to Toulon, from whence he was transferred, and shut up in the château of Amboise!

The desire of the monarch to give weight and military prestige to his sons brings us back to the sad event that rendered such care requisite. The Duke of Orleans was just such an heir as the founder of a monarchy would cherish, princely, spirited, taking a view of politics and political duties more liberal than his father, yet carefully avoiding to assume aught like an attitude of opposition. Brave as a soldier, and fully capable of winning the affections of the army, all this, united with the best of conduct in private life, rendered Louis-Philippe happy in his eldest son. The Duke had a decided taste for the light and the slender, which was always the occasion of good-humoured banter on the part of his sire. On visiting the Duke's stables, the King observed that he did not see one horse with what he called a leg; they stood on mere pipe stalks. The Duke's carriages were the same, with wheels of slightest construction, and springs so slender and elastic as to be dangerous. As the Duke, on the 3rd of July, 1842, in one of these carriages was driven by a postilion into the cross-road from the Bois de Boulogne to St. Ouen, the horse took fright, and the Prince thought it best to leap from his cockle-shell of a vehicle, which bent about

like a wave of the sea; in doing so, his head was flung to the ground sooner than his heels, and the result was concussion of the brain. His family soon gathered round the unfortunate Prince, of whose life there could be no hope; and in the evening the heir to the throne expired amidst his astonished and distracted relatives.

A greater misfortune could not have befallen the dynasty. The next brother, the Duke of Nemours, though brave, too, as a soldier, was of a soft temper, what Marshal Bugeaud called *mollasse*; yet it was for him to take the place of his brother in a crisis. The Prince de Joinville was petulant, but none had the weight or influence of the elder brother. The enemies of the throne and dynasty fully perceived the loss it had suffered. The secret societies met again with renewed hope and vigour, and even parliamentary opposition found means to engraft intrigue upon it. A law, regulating the regency, became necessary, the son of the late Duke being of course still in his infancy. The Duc de Nemours, next brother, was fixed on by the King and his ministers. But though gentle, the Duke was said to be conservative and to be wedded to his father's politics. The opposition, at least M. Barrot, was for setting him aside, and giving the regency to the Princess. This opinion was no sooner started than the anti-dynastic party embraced it. Lamartine was eloquent in its behalf, on the ground that the Duchess of Orleans, as regent, would be in the power of the Chambers, the Duc de Nemours, like his father, above them. The Republicans sedulously adopted the same opinion by saying that it was for the nation, not the parliament, to appoint a regent. M. Thiers entreated his friends of the Left not to render themselves impossible as ministers by espousing such extreme doctrines. They persisted, however, but were left in an insignificant minority by all the partisans of the monarchy.

CHAP.
XLVII.

These considerations of family stood paramount in the mind of Louis-Philippe. Indeed it often seemed as if he accepted the throne more to provide heritages for sons and daughters than to render France powerful, prosperous, and free; the King married his three daughters to his satisfaction. They were the Queen of the Belgians, the Princess Alexander of Würtemberg, and the Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary. The establishment of his youngest son as husband of the Infanta of Spain became early one of his objects.

The great reproach made to M. Guizot, and to the monarch whom he served, was that they took no account of the immense changes effected by the revolution of July, and that they unswervingly followed the old beaten track of Bourbon policy. In no case was this more evident than in the conduct observed towards Spain. Although the revolutions in that country as well as in France, if they did nothing else, at least rendered each of them independent of one another, Louis-Philippe and his minister persisted in regarding Spain through the same spectacles as Louis the Fourteenth. They cared not for Spanish exigencies, Spanish interests, but simply for those of the House of Bourbon; by keeping members of which family on both thrones, the principle of the family compact was to be maintained. Nothing could be so preposterous, or more absurd, except indeed the kindred policy, had it existed, on the part of Prince Albert, to obtain the throne of Madrid, by marriage, for a Coburg. This family had already won a sufficient number of thrones for its aggrandisement, and for the creation of enmity. It is by no means proved, however affirmed by M. Guizot, that the Queen of England, or any of her family or ministers, really laboured to give a Coburg husband to Queen Isabella. On the contrary, they early disclaimed any such purpose.

But what Queen Victoria did not, the Queen Dowager of Spain, Christina, no doubt did. She put forward the

project of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the future husband of her eldest daughter. It is said that she did not desire the marriage, but that she resolved to make a stalking horse of the Coburg in order to frighten and precipitate Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot into the marriage of the young Queen and her sister with princes of the French royal family. At one time, however, she was sincere in abetting the Coburg marriage. Sincere or the contrary, she at least it was that stirred all the selfish, avaricious, and jealous passions of Louis-Philippe, and made him perpetrate the scandal of the Spanish marriages.

Independent, however, of the question of the marriages, the widest difference prevailed between the French and English governments with regard to Spanish politics and Spanish interests. The English thought that the Queen's government should be frankly liberal and constitutional. The French were for falsifying constitutional government in Spain, as they did at home, and base it upon an oligarchy of influential men. They dreaded popular exigencies, municipal liberty, and aught exceeding the narrow *juste milieu* of the Tuileries. And when Espartero and the Liberals triumphed, the *moderado* opposition, who never could have rallied a majority in the country, supplied it by the favour which was shown them by France. Queen Christina was in the same sentiment. Popular dislike had indeed necessitated her departure from the country. But French agents were not wanting to pour into the young Queen's ears blame and distaste of the constitutional guardians to whom she was as yet subject. On one occasion this was too palpable. The French government despatched M. Salvandy as envoy, with orders to deliver his credentials to the Queen alone. Espartero, being regent and head of the government, conceived that it was to him, and not to a queen still a minor, that an envoy's credentials should be presented. He insisted; Salvandy refused to ac-

CHAP.
XL VII.

knowledge his claim. And the envoy, recalled, suddenly took his departure from Madrid, and returned to Paris.

The marriages were not yet on the *tapis*. But French jealousy was almost equally awakened by the demand of the English for at least a convention of free trade with Spain. Up to this moment, the French, by virtue of the family compact, had several trading privileges, especially at Barcelona, which the English had not. The British ambassador sought to establish equality of treatment. M. Guizot, however, took fire. He considered Spain as much an appanage of France as Louis the Fourteenth himself, and claimed that France should be the most favoured nation at Madrid in matters of trade as well as of alliance. Lord Aberdeen was weak enough to admit all this. And when Lord Palmerston, a statesman of bolder views, gave it as his opinion that France had really no more claim to dictate or dominate at Madrid than England, M. Guizot and Louis-Philippe accused him of creating a new source of rivalry between the countries.

When the question of marrying the princesses first came under consideration, the Liberal party and the Regent Espartero were undisputed masters of the government. The Queen was considered still too young, and therefore Louis-Philippe's ministers bore with Espartero. As the Spanish princesses, however, began to reach a marriageable age, it so happened that the *moderado* party, all along supported by the French court, came into power. Espartero was obliged to fly for his life. And Queen Christina returned to take the lead in the management of the domestic affairs of her family. Prince Metternich had long laboured to bring about a project of his own, which only displayed his ignorance of foreign countries, especially since 1830. He was for marrying Isabella to the son of Don Carlos. Louis-Philippe himself had once formed the idea, but soon saw the impossibility of realising it.

The son of Don Carlos being set aside, chiefly because the military chiefs in Isabella's interest would not hear of it, a Sicilian prince, a Bourbon, was thought of. And Count Trapani was fixed upon. He was taken from the Jesuits' college, in which he was educating, in order to be better fitted for a constitutional throne. In reality the Sicilian prince was as miserable a choice as the son of Don Carlos himself, and would as certainly have been scouted by Liberal Spain. Count Trapani had thus no party in Spain for him, except, indeed, Narvaez, who found that he must accomplish it in the teeth of the Cortès as well as public opinion. But Narvaez fell, and with him Trapani. Then Christina turned to the Orleans, or in default of it to a Coburg alliance.

Louis-Philippe opposed the marriage of his son with the Queen, whom he had reason to think incapable of bearing children. It would place him at variance at once with England and with Austria, and leave his dynasty without a friend. But to those Spaniards and others who pressed for the French alliance, he replied, "There is the Duc de Montpensier, my youngest son; let him be affianced to the Queen's younger sister, the Infanta, which will give you the French alliance, and not alienate England." The English minister, Lord Aberdeen, assented to this marriage of the Infanta on the condition that the Queen, her sister, had not only previously married but had given birth to an heir. Such was the understanding between the French and English courts when they met at Eu, and afterwards in the Isle of Wight.

This arrangement did not satisfy Queen Christina, especially that portion of it which deferred the marriage of her second daughter. She soon found an auxiliary in her policy of playing the Coburg against the Bourbon, this auxiliary being no other than the Russian envoy in London, Count Brunnow, who jeered the French ambassador on the imminent success of the Coburg mar-

CHAP.
XLVII.

riage. On the other hand, the British ambassador at Madrid, Sir Henry Bulwer, perceiving that there were few Bourbon princes that were desirable husbands for the Spanish princesses, wrote to his government, and otherwise maintained, how absurd and unfair it was to limit the choice of husbands for the princesses to one family, that family so effete in most of its branches. The Spanish people could not accept a Carlist or a Sicilian Bourbon. Besides the Orleans princes, there remained but the sons of Prince Francisco de Paula, of whom the eldest had the voice and the appearance of a *soprano*, whilst the younger, still worse, had actually declared himself a Liberal and an *exaltado*! "Why not marry the Queen to any prince, Bourbon or not," asked Sir Henry Bulwer, "and let the Infanta marry the Duc de Montpensier?" So natural a proposition is set down by M. Guizot as nothing less than an anti-Gallican and Coburg conspiracy. To put an end to M. Guizot's terror, Lord Aberdeen applied to Prince Albert, who gave his word that the family of Coburg would not press and did not even desire the marriage.

This promise of the Prince was far, however, from quieting the susceptible French minister. M. Guizot saw a Coburg in every breeze. It is evident that he was wholly preoccupied and absorbed by this arch enemy. And thus he and Louis-Philippe, in their anxiety to keep Bourbons and Bourbon alliances on the throne of Spain, allowed the same Bourbon family to slip off that very throne of which they had the special keeping, being no other than the throne of France itself. Unfortunately the susceptible minister and monarch had had a still more susceptible envoy at Madrid, Count Bresson, who was always in a panic or a passion, and proved it indeed by his last act, suicide, without it being possible to assign a sufficient reason.

The year 1846 demanded a solution of the marriage question. The Sicilian and Carlist princes being set

aside, the sons of Don Francisco came into the front rank. Lord Aberdeen had quitted office, Lord Palmerston was in power; and his lordship, being informed of the non-virile symptoms, manifest in the aspect and voice of the Duke of Cadiz, eldest of these princes, declared that his brother Don Enrique should alone be thought of as the Queen's husband. The French King's minister, as well as Queen Christina, thought otherwise. They had their own reasons. Lord Palmerston feared that a marriage with the Duke of Cadiz would prove null and sterile. He was not aware how such defects are remedied or supplied in Spain. He, therefore, was opposed to a marriage of Queen Isabella with the Duke of Cadiz. Were it to be decided on, he for very cogent reasons was desirous that the promise of the French government should in that case be observed, of not solemnising the marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier until the Queen had given birth to an heir.

Previous to the letter of Lord Palmerston mentioning the name of Saxe-Coburg, Count Bresson had, however, actually obtained from Queen Christina a promise of the simultaneous marriage of the Queen and Princess to the Dukes of Cadiz and Montpensier. Louis-Philippe showed himself highly displeased at such an intrigue, which placed him under the charge of duplicity towards England. M. Guizot viewed it otherwise. He considered Lord Palmerston's mere mention of the Saxe-Coburg candidate as freeing himself and the King from all engagements. This minister pleaded that the French court was to be disengaged from all previous agreements if the Queen's marriage with any prince not a descendant of Philip the Fifth had been imminent.* These words are vague enough. But even admitting their worth, no one could suppose Isabella's

* Life of Peel.

CHAP.
XLVII.

marriage with the Prince of Saxe-Coburg to have been at the time either probable or imminent. M. Guizot, however, considered it sufficiently so to despatch orders to the French envoy, Bresson, at Madrid to precipitate and accomplish the simultaneous marriage of the princesses.

Subsequent events have shown how little important were all these causes and jealousies, and how weak a hold the House of Bourbon had upon any one throne of Europe, much less upon two such thrones as those of France and Spain. The conduct of the King and M. Guizot sufficed to create the conviction, not only in the English cabinet, but in the English public, that the French government had tricked them.

The result was that the two countries and the two governments fell asunder, and that Eastern Europe perceived that the Anglo-French alliance was at an end. This emboldened them to complete the partition of Poland, and rendered France powerless to pursue any liberal or national policy in Italy. Had the Orleans dynasty and the French government of its predilection endured for any time, they would have afforded still further and distressing proofs of how much this separation from England left them at the mercy of other powers. But whilst the foreign policy of the French government went to deprive it of all allies, all support, and all confidence abroad, its domestic policy was gradually alienating every friend and every party at home, until the monarch and his ministers stood as isolated in the Tuileries as France did in Europe.

There was no circumstance connected with the dynasty of July that rendered it more welcome to the Liberals, and indeed to the French in general, than the conviction that it could not, apparently, favour the clergy, and that it would neither give high patronage to the ultramontanes nor make over to them that supremacy over education which it was the aim of the

Restoration to accomplish. Notwithstanding this belief, the ultra-religious party gradually raised its head in France, and became especially noisy and virulent in its attacks on the university. The clergy no longer strove indeed to dominate that body, appoint its grand-masters, and dictate the spirit and course of education; they adopted quite different aims, and, seeing it impossible to predominate in the councils of education, they clamoured for complete freedom of public instruction. They demanded, in other words, the power of establishing those Jesuit or monastic schools which had been banished the kingdom to Switzerland in the last years of Charles the Tenth's reign. Freedom of education is a good principle in a country where all is free. But in a centralised administration, or a country where every institution depends on a minister, to allow the Jesuits to establish schools and colleges was simply to set one administration against another. M. Guizot, as a Protestant, experienced more scruples than another might have felt. He showed himself tolerant to the Jesuits, and instead of protecting the university, and putting down its monastic foes with the strong hand, he applied to Rome. This was an attempt to take the matter out of the hands of the Chamber, which showed itself strongly opposed to the condescension of M. Guizot to the church party and the Jesuits. His conduct, no doubt, proceeded from principles of tolerance and justice, and a wish to give even ultra-Catholicism fair play. But the result was unfortunate, for, though the court of Rome advised the Jesuits to desist and withdraw, the good fathers managed to hold their ground under another name, and thus contrived to make the Orleans dynasty fall under the same imputations which Liberal France had directed against the Restoration.

Such imputations became more powerful and more pointed when the policy of the French government in

Switzerland became an object of public opposition and parliamentary comment. The Swiss, like the Italians, naturally marched with the age, and demanded ameliorations in their government and their social organisation; the republic had been but patched up in 1815. An inevitable revolution had taken place since; old prejudices and reactive ideas remained unchanged in the central or mountain cantons, whilst the town population of the plains came to predominate, and to demand the alterations consequent upon these. Several changes had taken place. The latest and most important was the suppression of religious communities in cantons where the civic and Protestant population predominated. This revolution effected in the canton of Argau created much disturbance. Lucerne is a half Protestant half Catholic canton; the Protestant party espoused the Liberal cause. The Catholics held firm in despite of this, and, whenever attacked, were wont to summon the mountaineers from the other side of the lake to their aid. The Swiss should have been left to settle this dispute themselves. But not only Austria, but France, interfered, to espouse the party of the monks and the peasantry of the forest cantons. Lord Palmerston deprecated this retrograde policy of the French in Switzerland, as in Italy; he refused to adhere to M. Guizot's and Prince Metternich's views; and the consequence was that the civic party throughout Switzerland took courage, formed an army, and with great ease put the retrogrades and monks to the rout, dissolved their Sonderbund, and expelled the Jesuits altogether. If the natural current of events, with which Lord Palmerston floated, thus ran counter to French retrograde policy in Switzerland, much more striking was that which he abetted in Italy. Here was a grander theatre, a more enthusiastic population. The change of a Pope from one of the old stationary school to Pius the Ninth had sufficed to set the mind of the peninsula in motion. At first, in 1846, the movement

had been directed against Austria, and the Pope as well as France had seconded it. But in 1847, when France had alienated England and assimilated her policy to that of Austria, the part of the Pope was quite other. The popular movement, too, had broken out into overt acts. Charles Albert inaugurated political changes at Turin. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, at Florence, and the Prince of Lucca were obliged to fly. In the midst of all these circumstances, Lord Minto, a member of the English cabinet, visited Italy, and though deprecating violence and ultra-Liberalism, could not but applaud the efforts made everywhere for emancipation. The Liberal movement, however, did not wait upon Lord Minto's smile or approval; he had only reached Rome when Sicily and Naples burst out into insurrection. The Pope grew alarmed, and his hesitation began at once to beget his unpopularity. Such was the state of Europe, and of France in it, at the close of 1847. The changes and the tendency of its policy threw Louis-Philippe into the arms of Austria, whilst the Liberal tendency and convictions of the English minister prompted him to trust the party of the people. That such a state of things would have drawn the King of the French by degrees into an alliance with the despotic powers, and into not merely estrangement but even hostilities with England, is evident. But the French people perceived the course their sovereign was taking, and this, added to the persistence in a similar policy in domestic affairs, of which the results appeared daily, gradually brought people's minds round to the necessity and probability of a revolution.

There were not wanting members of the King's own family who were alarmed by the direction affairs were taking. The Queen had misgivings which she communicated to Montalivet and Sebastiani. The Prince de Joinville was haunted by the same fears, which he ventured to express; his father, on hearing them, gave

as an answer the order to the Prince to take the command of the Mediterranean squadron. From on board, the Prince de Joinville addressed the following letter to his brother, the Duc de Nemours, depicting so strongly and truly the state of things as to render unnecessary any remarks of the historian. It was published at the time in the *Akbar*, a journal of Algiers, then under the influence of the Duc d'Aumale, who no doubt thought the publication of his brother's letter useful.

"I am troubled by the events I see gathering on all sides. I begin to be seriously alarmed, and when one is so, one likes to communicate with those enjoying our confidence. The King is inflexible; he listens to no advice; his will must overbear all others. One great danger is the action exercised by our father, which is so unyielding that a statesman who cannot break it finds, like Bresson, no resource but in suicide. Debates this session must turn upon this anormal state of things, which destroys all constitutional freedom, and puts the King personally forward. There are no longer any ministers, at least there are none of any responsibility. The King is of an age that accepts no observation to be made to him; he is accustomed to govern, and he likes to show it. His immense experience, his courage and great qualities prompt him to face danger, but the danger exists not the less. The present year will display more forcibly this false position. Constitutional government was established to avoid the inconvenience of having a monarch too young or too old. But it has failed with us.

"Our situation is bad. In the interior our finances, after seventeen years' peace, are not brilliant, and our foreign policy is as little so. Palmerston's accession to office, by arousing the passionate mistrust of the King, has betrayed us into the Spanish campaign, and left us open to a charge of bad faith. Separated from

England, at the moment when the affairs of Italy demanded its support, we have been able to do nothing. We durst not affront Austria, lest a new holy alliance should be formed and England join it. With a state of things thus detestable at home and abroad, the result of the King's growing superannuated, we come before the Chamber. Nor do I see a remedy. At home, our finances stare us in the face; abroad, what can be done? An Austro-French campaign in Switzerland would make matters worse. Italy, I had hoped, would have furnished us means of redemption. But the opportunity has been lost. Without England we can do nothing but throw ourselves into the arms of the retrograde party, which is worse than nothing. Oh, these sad Spanish marriages!

“In sum, our dilapidated finances, the alternative abroad of either submitting to Palmerston or acting the *gendarme* to Austria and Switzerland, all this is due to the King. It is very serious; and I fear that instead of discussions upon the rise and fall of ministers, the Chamber will go into constitutional principles. If there was any opening for action, one might enter into it with spirit, and win a victory. But there is not a chance.

“Excuse this, as well as what I say of father; you know my affection and respect for him. But it is impossible to look into the future without being alarmed.”

This letter, which sums up the chief causes of discontent connected with foreign policy, passes over that springing from domestic government as too well known. It mentions, indeed, the finances, the expenditure being nearly double that of the Restoration, and the wilfulness of the King, which effaced the responsibility of his ministers. The opposition did not slacken in denouncing these evils, but that most dwelt upon was corruption. The party which dominated in the Chamber, and gave the majority to the King and government, was

CHAP.
XLVII.

represented as a mere aristocracy of money, and so immersed in commercial and pecuniary calculations as to lose sight of all others. The rage of the time left the monied world open to this accusation. Instead of being a period of legitimate trade, it was that in which railways sprang up, and were subscribed for, the creation of, and traffic in, shares suspending almost every other aim or business. It was not the honest fructification of capital so much as the manipulation of its paper representative that constituted business, and occupied the commercial mind. In the creation of railroads, obstacles were to be overcome, influence bought, and a portion of the capital of every company was devoted to carrying out its objects by the usual mode of interesting, or, one may say, bribing, hostile or passive influence. This symptom of corruption was not, we fear, confined to France; but in that land of equality, where such an epidemic assailed every class, ministers themselves did not escape. M. Teste, minister of public works, was proved—the facts came out in the courts of law, where contending parties had imprudently brought each other—to have accepted some 4,000*l.* for sanctioning a scheme. General Cubières, who had been minister of war, was equally inculpated. Teste could not deny the facts, and was condemned to restitution, and three years' imprisonment. In the midst of the rage for revelation, many came forward to denounce and disclose. M. Émile de Girardin stated cases in which certain personages had been bought. M. Petit confessed how he himself had paid money for a place, and this in some degree implicated M. Génie, who was chief in the office of M. Guizot. The moral character of this minister was unimpeachable. His name was quite sufficient to shake off every imputation of the kind; and the same might be said of M. Duchâtel and other ministers of the cabinet. But the solitary case of Teste was damning. About the same time unfortunately occurred the murder

of his wife by the Duc de Praslin. However little such a crime of an individual had to do with the members of his class or his age, still the event was coupled with the offences of Teste and others; and the entire upper and middle class, especially that supporting the monarchy of July, was represented as a mere hot-bed of corruption.

It had been a constant source of anger and annoyance with Napoleon to find that his functionaries, as well as contractors, made large and inexplicable fortunes in his employ. Instead of bringing them to trial, or exciting scandal, however, Napoleon fixed a sum, equal in his idea to a large portion of their profits, and told them peremptorily to disgorge.* They always did so without a murmur. The Restoration was not more free than other régimes from this dilapidation; the story and trial of Ouvrard are sufficient testimony in this respect. The last years of Louis-Philippe's reign, the corruptions of which were so flagrantly exposed, were no more immoral, or epicurean, than those which followed or preceded.

If moral critics had thus a positive ground of accusation against the monarchy, those material interests which were represented as influential before all others had no reason to be satisfied. The railroad mania, which had given such activity to money dealings, had rather benumbed than accelerated actual trade. The companies carried off and spent all the disposable capital of the country, and, this not sufficing, were obliged to borrow more.† But money could only be had from abroad. A financial crisis was the consequence. The Bank of England and the Treasury of the Emperor Nicholas was applied to for gold, and lent it. This

* See Bourrienne.

† In two years the companies had borrowed 1,300 millions of francs at the Bourse, and government 200

millions more. The amount of the floating debt at the same time reached 700 millions. See Garnier Pagès.

CHAP.
XLVII.

distress affecting the commercial classes led to diminished expenditure, which curtailed or destroyed the usual gains of the shopkeeping community. The famine and dearness which affected the lower classes were fraught with worse consequences. The failure of the potato crop and the great inundations of 1845 had greatly diminished the usual store of winter food. Great drought followed in 1846. The price of corn consequently, in that year and 1847, reached famine prices, and, joined to the scarcity of money, produced one of those periods of universal discontent which, especially in France, are found to produce revolution.

The public in such crises look to the government and to the Parliament. Unfortunately neither of them responded or could respond to the supplicating attitude of the people. The French cabinet contained no Peel. Lacave-Laplagne was superseded as finance minister by M. Dumon. Salvandy had succeeded Villemain. Messrs. Jayr, Trezel, and Montebello, added to the cabinet, did not confer upon it that character for talent which it required. M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel stood, indeed, almost alone.

The Chamber and the parliamentary system itself shared in their unpopularity. The Chamber had been dissolved in 1846 after having sat four years. It had not introduced order or economy into the finances or added strength to the throne. The cry of corruption as well as of incapacity assailed and weakened it. The elections of 1846 made no change in the majority, which was in a manner stereotyped. Whilst the country was progressing, or at least notably modifying its sentiments, the narrow electoral body and the representative one emanating from it showed no alteration. It was pointed out that whilst 120,000 electors returned but 81 deputies, 93,000 returned 278.* The thinly-peopled rural and igno-

* Garnier Pagès, *Histoire de la Révolution*, t. iv.

rant districts thus formed the majority. And yet even in these districts agitation and discontent contrived to penetrate. The emissaries of the clubs arrayed the poor against the rich and excited the working classes with strange doctrines, whilst the educated and professional, denied even electoral rights, looked on and augmented the growing disaffection.*

The obvious remedy for this was reform. It is a dangerous thing when a whole country comes to concentrate its grievances in one word, and mad must be a government that would not pay attention to it. M. Guizot himself at one moment appeared not deaf. In addressing his electors at Lisieux, he declared that, whilst opposition merely favoured progress, the government would give it. The session therefore that opened in the first days of 1847 soon rang with echoes of Reform. Duvergier de Hauranne, the friend more of Guizot than of Thiers, took the lead. He proposed to lower the franchise to 100 francs, augmenting the number of deputies, and fix 400 as the requisite number of electors for a district. The motion produced an animated debate of many days, but was negatived by a majority of nearly a hundred. M. Guizot in the course of it refused to promise even at a future time to make any the least concession. There ensued another debate on the *incompatibility* of being placeman and deputy. On this the majority of 100 sank to 50. Many friends of the throne thought it might yield on this point. M. de Morny was one of them. When he pressed his advice upon the monarch, Louis-Philippe observed that France could not be governed except by its functionaries in and out of the Chamber.

The King, the minister, and the Chamber thus presenting an immovable barrier to the one desire and demand of all parties, these coalesced. Left Centre,

* See Dupin, t. iv.

CHAP.
XLVII.

Dynastic Left, Radical or Republican Left, not only agreed, but met. And in April, at Barrot's, they proposed to form a *comité central*, to get up petitions, and above all banquets. These apparently convivial meetings became the great means of opposition: the government, at first miscalculating their importance or uncertain of the law, felt doubtful of their right to interfere and prevent them. The first manifestation of the kind took place in the garden of the *Château rouge*, a tavern near Montmartre. Twelve hundred persons, under the presidency of the veteran Lasteyrie, gathered round the table on the 10th of July. Odilon Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne were the principal speakers. Ledru-Rollin refused to attend, Barrot and Duvergier being too moderate and monarchic for him. The two parties were afterwards to meet at the banquet of Lille, but their respective journals taunted both, and Barrot would not dine except a toast was given to the Institutions of July, which the Republicans declined. The schism was indeed much deeper between moderate and *exalted* Republicans than between both and the Monarchic Liberals. The *National*, edited by Marrast, was for such a republic as would conciliate and include middle and educated classes. The *Réforme* was for resuscitating 1792, without bloodshed indeed, but still putting the people, as at that epoch, dominant over the upper classes. In the bureaux of the *Réforme* itself there were also shades of difference, for whilst Louis Blanc was for gaining the support of the labouring classes by assuring them not only a right to labour, but a participation in the capital which employed it, others, Ledru-Rollin himself included, looked with doubt and mistrust on the sanity or realisation of such doctrines.

But however differing in principles and aims, all agreed in denouncing the King and his ministers, who were universally devoted to the infernal gods during the last six months of 1847. A signal proof how much

influential men were impressed with the necessity of the court yielding to the general demand was a vote of the Council-General of the Seine, strongly impressing this opinion on the government. The advice of M. de Morny has been mentioned. The old friendship of Marshal Sebastiani for the King emboldened him to offer more urgent counsel. It was repelled in a manner that offended Sebastiani, who never saw the King after. The Prince de Joinville's letter spoke the sentiments of the King's own family. The Queen commissioned Montalivet to make representations upon the grave subject. Madame Adélaïde, the King's sister, was forced to do the same. And her death at the close of 1847 was in this respect a great loss to Louis-Philippe. In fact, the only persons inexorably decided on not making the least concession were the King and M. Guizot, who on that account no doubt had been declared president of the council, a supremacy previously denied to him.

It has been generally supposed that M. Guizot was as resolute in non-concession as the King, and that for this merit he was proclaimed president of the council during the recess. In his *Memoirs*, however, that statesman declared that he was fully alive to the pressing nature of the demands, and that he warned the King that circumstances might arise during the ensuing session which would render it advisable to yield at least on some points. Had M. Guizot accompanied this admonition by adding that he would be, or was, ready to propose a moderate measure of reform, the King might have given way. But, on the contrary, M. Guizot said that if any amount of reform was deemed necessary, he must resign. This surely intimated disapproval and encouraged the monarch in resistance.*

* M. Guizot seems to say that his objection was less to Reform than to the dissolution of the majority. If the conservative majority could have

Nothing indeed could have been more easy than to have divided the coalition and disarmed opposition. Far from attempting it, the government managed to keep them more united and persistent. The King's speech on opening the Chamber (December 28, 1847) stigmatised reformers as factious and blind, and expressed the conviction that "the present institutions unchanged were quite sufficient to satisfy all the moral and material wants of the country." The address produced two-and-twenty days of fierce debate, in which King and government were accused in every department of foreign and domestic policy of weakness, corruption, incapacity, and obstinacy. This no doubt hardened their determination not to yield. Yet they might have done so with a good grace. M. Sallandrouze, one of their partisans, prepared an amendment in these words: "In the midst of these manifestations, if the government must recognise what are the real and legitimate desires of the country, it will, we think, take the initiative of wise and moderate changes which will satisfy public opinion, especially in the matter of parliamentary reform." This was eventually rejected by over 222 votes against 189. Had the government accepted it, the amendment would have passed, and would have proved to them that a moderate measure of reform would have satisfied and broken up a large portion of the opposition. The amendment, however, as well as all others, was rejected, making it evident that the decision and opinion of the majority of the Chamber were the reverse of those of the country and the public at large. The fiercest debate was on the subject of the banquets, which ministers claimed the right to prevent for the future. This led to a fierce interchange of threats.

agreed in a measure of reform, he might have adopted it. It became subsequently evident that, had he adopted it, he could have brought

the conservative party with him and preserved his cherished majority almost intact.

Hebert, who had succeeded to the seals of justice, was most provocative, or, as M. Duchâtel afterwards admitted, *trop absolu*. Barrot said that the present ministry was worse than that of Polignac, and a greater enemy of the public liberties. He prophesied to them the same fate. Duchâtel in a note to Guizot confessed that the debates were "leading directly to *émeute*."

The dispute was soon transferred from the Chamber to the streets. It had always been the intention of the Coalition to wind up the provincial banquets by one in the capital. It was announced to take place in the 12th district, a popular quarter. The police signified that it prohibited the banquet by virtue of a law passed in 1790!

The propriety of persevering or abstaining was seriously discussed at a meeting of the Coalition, but it being argued, especially by Lamartine, that to desist was to acknowledge defeat, the majority expressed the determination to meet at this banquet, whilst the government seemed as determined to disperse them. The inevitable collision that must ensue, and must end in a tumult, alarmed certain provident spirits, and especially M. de Morny. He determined to act as mediator, and M. Vitet, the friend of Duchâtel, joined him. They proposed, with the assent of the home minister, to M. Barrot that the meeting should take place for the banquet, that the police would then interfere, and that if the deputies thereupon withdrew, the whole dispute would be referred to the law courts and the right of meeting be decided by them. Barrot and his moderate friends of the Left accepted this arrangement, as did the council of ministers.*

It might have been foreseen that this would not suit the turbulent, and these instantly imagined a procession previous to the banquet, at which deputies, national

* Guizot's Mémoires.

guards, and schools should march in array. This was forthwith announced in a kind of manifesto, which secured the sanction of M. Barrot without that gentleman bestowing upon it much attention. When ministers heard of the manifesto, which they did on the 20th, they exclaimed especially against that part of it which called the National Guard to march in procession to the banquet. M. de Morny was summoned and told that this was considered to break off the agreement. Eager for peace, that gentleman hastened to Barrot and his friends, and represented the fears and objections of ministers. Barrot himself regretted these arrangements, but he could not counter-order them. Still he offered to publish a note explaining that if the National Guards came it was the simple act of each, and that there was no convocation or preparations made except for the sake of securing order.* Hurrying back with this *note*, De Morny found the ministry no longer disposed to accept it. The King was hostile to any such concession, M. Guizot equally so, M. Duchâtel was obliged to submit. "In that case," exclaimed M. de Morny, "a collision is unavoidable. But recollect if the government sheds a drop of blood, it perishes. Are you sure of the army? Do you think that the National Guard will support you?"† The ominous warning was thrown away, and a proclamation from the prefect of police forbade procession as well as banquet.

In order to prevent any serious insurrection, the government ordered the occupation of the principal posts of Paris on the morning of the banquet, the 22nd of February, according to a plan laid down by Marshal Gérard. Moreover, orders of arrest were issued against twenty-two of the principal movers to the banquet.‡ But at the threat of the police to disperse banquet and procession, how was the opposition to meet

* Garnier Pagès.

† Ibid.

‡ Guizot.

it? M. Barrot and his friends resolved to abstain and give up the feast, replacing it by the very ineffectual means of impeaching M. Guizot before the Chamber of Deputies. When the accusation, signed by fifty-two members, was laid on the bureau, the minister went up, read it, and laid it down with a contemptuous smile.

If the Dynastic Left was satisfied with this, no other portion of opposition was so. Lamartine represented the case as a *to be* or *not to be* for the patriotic party. If an insurrection threatened on one side, disgrace and suicide threatened the whole party on the other. In consequence of such arguments it was resolved to have the procession and a muster at any rate. But all were against pushing it to an insurrection. The members of the Dynastic Left, assembled at the *Siècle* office, were not alone of this opinion. M. Marrast, of the *National*, chief of the moderate Republicans, equally deprecated it. He preferred to see the Liberal deputies resign and quit the Chamber. Nor were the ultra-Republicans of the *Réforme* more animated or determined to push matters to a violent struggle. Ledru-Rollin declared that any such attempt would fail; Louis Blanc said he would cover his face with black crape if it was attempted. More determined fellows, such as Caussidière, said: "Let us wait, and watch events." None, however, counselled an *émeute* or open resistance to the government.

This unanimity in the adoption of extreme prudence on the part of the enemies of the government and dynasty worked it more harm than if they had decided upon open defiance. Word was brought of all these pacific resolves to the government, and so struck was it by this unanimity that the home minister Duchâtel, ever anxious for peace, sent round counter-orders to the troops and forbade that military occupation of Paris on the morning of the 22nd which had been arranged, and which, if persisted in, might have prevented the worst that followed. It was too late to

call a council, but Jacqueminot and Tiburce Sebastiani, the commanders of the National Guard and of the regular troops, insisting on it, the King was consulted, and it was approved of by him.*

Paris was thereby left to itself at a moment when the chiefs indeed had resolved to maintain tranquillity, but while the people, the students, and the multitude of those who had meanwhile probably promised themselves a political holiday were but too ready for disturbance. The workers of the faubourgs began to throng the Boulevards early in the day. The more ardent of the students did the same, to the number, it is calculated, of 3,000.

Dense as was the crowd around the Madeleine in the forenoon of the 22nd, there was little menace of revolution. It was only the young who were ardent and mischievous. The students, for example, or the more violent of them, made an incursion against the Chamber of Deputies, penetrated within its railings, and alarmed members and the *huissiers*, but were half persuaded, half driven off, from their purpose. A juvenile group accomplished more mischief. Some hundreds of *gamins de Paris*, choosing the most open spaces in the capital for their gambols, attacked a little guard-house of the municipal soldiers in the Place Louis-Quinze with stones. Some cavalry could have easily dispersed these ragamuffins. But there was none, and the municipal guards, shutting themselves up in their little station, the *gamins* clambered on the roof and set fire to it. This and a similar kind of attack on the *Hôtel des Affaires étrangères* on the Boulevards were the only *émeutes* of the 22nd.

Where were the men of the vaunted secret societies, the Republican conspirators? The prefect of police, Delessert, questioned on the subject, declared that secret societies existed no longer. This was in some measure

* Guizot.

true. The new *Société des Saisons* existed, but without action or purpose. It had depended on the group of journalists in the *Réforme*. But the *Réforme* itself was expiring for want of funds, and the society depending on it was expiring from the same cause. It had not even hope to keep it alive, for M. Ledru-Rollin had told its chiefs that there was no chance or possibility of a successful insurrection. There were 200 or 300 dare-devils, however, who were not to be kept down and balked of their natural prey by the overprudent such as Ledru. They constituted what they called the *Société dissidente*, and were prepared to get up an *émeute* on their own account, if on no one else's bidding. They had stirred up the workmen and brought them to the Madeleine, and they were the first to try their hands at a few barricades. Those at first attempted near the Place Louis-Quinze were, however, soon destroyed, and the small band of *émeutiers* withdrew to the central streets and the Rue St. Denis, and then commenced skirmishing with whatever troops or police showed themselves.*

These disorders were sufficient to warrant the summoning of the National Guard to arms. They mustered few, and those who did come were many of them Republicans, determining to excite, not put down, insurrection. The more conservative of the guards, disgusted, did not attend the summons. The watchword was given by the editor of the *Réforme*, Flocon, who bade all his friends don the National Guard uniform. These citizen soldiers were, however, of themselves more favourable to the insurrection than to order. The government had long shown its mistrust of them, the King not venturing to review them. Jacqueminot, their commander in chief, had attempted to sift the guards and make a corps of those in favour of ministers. This gave

* Caussidière, De la Hodde, &c.

CHAP.
XLVII.
—

great offence. And amidst the panic, the National Guards on duty at the Tuileries found that the soldiers of the line had ball-cartridges whilst they had none. The regiments of the former force accordingly, on the morning of the 23rd, showed favour to the insurrectionists, and instead of putting them down cried out "*La Réforme!*" with them. This took place under the very windows of the Tuileries. At the Place des Petits-Pères, the municipals about to charge the mob were met by the National Guard, who crossed bayonets with them to protect the people. The troops of the line, which had been brought on the morning of the 23rd to occupy different posts by order of Sebastiani, showed hesitation when they saw the Citizen-soldiers fraternising with the people.

Several witnesses of these startling facts hastened to the Tuileries to communicate them. The King was at first incredulous, but the royal family, and especially the Queen, saw their true import. About two o'clock, M. Duchâtel having come to the Tuileries on his way to the Chamber, the Queen observed to him that M. Guizot ought to resign, his unpopularity endangering the monarchy. Duchâtel hastened to the Chamber, and acquainted M. Guizot with what had been said. The latter repaired to the palace about half-past two. Whereupon the King asked, was he certain of being able to master the *émeute*? Had the minister taken upon himself to answer "Yes," he might have continued his purpose of resistance; but M. Guizot said he could not answer for events, and even to maintain resistance was impossible if the crown withdrew its confidence. Such a colloquy necessarily ended in the two ministers resigning.* The King sent for Count Molé, whilst Guizot hastened to the Chamber to announce his resignation. Meantime the insurrection grew strong. The line and dragoons were

* M. Guizot writes that from the first moment of his interview, and first words with the King, it was evi-

dent that the latter had already made up his mind to dismiss his ministers.

withdrawn from their posts in the middle of the city, and the municipal guards, besieged by multitudes, were either slaughtered or compelled to surrender. Count Molé recommended the King to admit Thiers to the ministry. The monarch hesitated. Had he declared Thiers and Barrot ministers in the afternoon of the 23rd the insurrection might have calmed down. But Louis-Philippe would not accept even Thiers, who, when Molé did call upon him late on the 23rd, insisted on the dissolution of the Chamber as a preliminary.

The afternoon of the 23rd was thus lost by the King, whilst the followers of the secret societies, the party of the *Réforme*, did their utmost to stir up the strife. Accident, however, did more than all their efforts. The post of the National Guard in the Place Royale was besieged and surrounded by the multitude. Some of its officers, to get rid of the people, proposed a procession to the column of the Bastille. The people caught at the idea, the procession was formed, and, having marched round the column, continued its course spontaneously up the Boulevards. Slowly proceeding along the broad popular path, they paused at the office of the *National*, were harangued by M. Marrast in inflammatory style, and then resumed their course to the Madeleine.

By a most stupid arrangement, the officers commanding the troops that protected the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, instead of merely surrounding the edifice, undertook to interrupt the passage of the Boulevard itself. Crowded as it was from one end to the other, a procession or any body of men must advance and could with difficulty check its course. It was in this way that the procession from the Bastille, after pausing at the *National*, came upon the troops barring the way before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Had there been National Guards there, they might have prevented a collision, but a company of them had been just called away when the procession and its leaders arrived. There ensued a parley. The leaders

CHAP.
XLVII.

of the procession begged to be allowed to pass. The colonel or commander pleaded his orders to bar the way. During the discussion a chance shot was fired, and the line of soldiers, who had merely orders from their colonel to keep off the multitude with their bayonets, fired. The volley took effect upon the serried multitude, near a hundred of them falling,* whilst shouts of horror as well as of pain burst from the decimated people. The officer was in dismay, and tried all kinds of explanation. They were not accepted. Some of the insurrectionists, who knew their business well, made haste to seize an open cart belonging to Laffitte's Messageries and load it with the bleeding dead.

The excitement caused by this fearful cartload swelled the ranks and raised the spirits of the professional insurrectionists as well as of the people to such a pitch that the central and intricate mass of streets between the quays and Boulevards soon offered a network of barricades. Instead of being ordered to attack them, the troops were withdrawn to the Carrousel. The King towards midnight withdrew the command from Sebastiani and gave it to Marshal Bugeaud,† and Molé having intimated that he gave up all hopes of forming a ministry, Louis-Philippe sent for M. Thiers. That gentleman reached the Tuileries after midnight, and had a long conversation with the King, who had at first objected to such ministers as Barrot and Rémusat, but at last consented. He would not, however, agree to the dissolution of the Chamber. "How am I to find colleagues," then asked Thiers, "if you will not grant what they will all demand?"

* Lagrange, the wild republican, has been accused of firing this provocative shot, but it is certain that Lagrange was not there at all. (See Garnier-Pagès.) Thirty-five dead and forty-seven wounded were counted in the neighbourhood.

† Guizot recommended Bugeaud's appointment early in the evening.

The King at first hesitated; Thiers was then appointed, and it was thought necessary to await his fiat. Louis-Philippe observed that, although Thiers would approve of Bugeaud's nomination, he would not initiate it. On this Guizot countersigned the appointment.

—“Get the colleagues first, and we shall see.”—“By-the-by,” observed the monarch, “I have given the command to Bugeaud. He is your friend.”—“Friend he may be,” said Thiers, “but he is most unpopular. If Barrot and I assume power, it is for the purpose of conciliation; the appointment of Bugeaud at the same time is a contradiction.”—“You would not disarm me altogether?” asked Louis-Philippe. M. Thiers replied that he could not, and he set out on his errand of persuading Barrot and his friends to be his colleagues.

As morning appeared, Marshal Bugeaud gave the requisite orders for regaining possession of the chief points of the capital abandoned during the night. He despatched one column by the Quays, another, under General Bedeau, by the Boulevards, and a third by the Place des Victoires. The accounts at first published and accredited of the revolution of 1848 represent Marshal Bugeaud as certain of success, his soldiers eager for the fight, and the people as unable to resist them. At this moment, it was added, the King, at the demand of M. Thiers, sent orders to suspend hostilities, and Bugeaud obeying, the people pressed on, and the monarchy was lost. Acquainted with many of the principal actors in these critical scenes, I often questioned them as to the possibility of Bugeaud’s resistance and Louis-Philippe’s success, and I always received for answer that success was as impossible in 1848 as in 1830! The National Guard and the whole population were at both epochs arrayed against the monarchy. Later accounts have corroborated these views, and the “History of the Revolution” by M. Garnier Pagès fully proves that it was not the King that overruled Bugeaud, but that the marshal himself, struck and overcome by the accounts of the resistance which his troops met with, sent the orders for suspending hostilities.

He did so no doubt at a moment when Barrot and Lamoricière, accompanied by their friends, undertook to

CHAP.
XLVII.

show themselves before the barricades, announce the formation of a Liberal ministry, and propose that as the troops had suspended hostilities the people ought to do the same and submit. In this mission, so courageously undertaken by Barrot and Lamoricière, they succeeded at first, and were well received in the Carrousel; but as they ventured further, they encountered more ferocious bands of insurgents, who rejected all offers of accommodation. The first barricade objected to Thiers and to Bugeaud; the others refused to welcome Barrot, and instead of accepting peace, shouted "Down with Louis Philippe!" or demanded his instant abdication.

The suspension of arms thus not only failed to produce any accord, but placed the troops in extreme danger. Had they been all marched immediately to the Tuileries, they might have made a stand for the King, or obtained conditions for his family or for his successor. But when they did begin their retreat between ten and eleven o'clock, it was a rout. Bedeau was obliged to abandon his guns. At the Hôtel de Ville the troops joined the people and left the National Guard alone to defend the post. Those of the Place de la Bastille had retreated on the Porte St. Antoine; seeing the insurrection triumphant, the entire mass of the people joined it, attacked the military posts everywhere, the municipal guards, the toll collectors on the bridges, some of which were burned, the barriers suffering the same fate. To describe all the scenes of disorder and popular triumph were impossible. They were not confined to what might be called the town side of the Château. On the other side, towards the Champs Élysées, the royal family, about to breakfast, were startled by an explosion. It was the soldiers on guard at the gate of the Tuileries gardens leading to the Place de la Concorde that fired upon the people, killing amongst others the deputy Jollivet.

Several persons rushed into the Tuileries, all with alarming reports. What was to be done? M. Thiers

recommended the King to retire to St. Cloud, gather what troops he could collect about him, and make either a stand or conditions. This was playing Charles the Tenth. Louis-Philippe would not follow the precedent, yet he adopted another equally fatal. Like Louis the Sixteenth at the supreme moment of the 10th of August, he descended to the Cour du Carrousel to review the 4,000 men there collected. He met with the same reception as Louis the Sixteenth; first, a few cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" then "*Vive la Réforme!*" and at last, "Down with the ministers, with the system, with Guizot!" The King instantly quitted the review for the palace, and meeting with Thiers, exclaimed, "All is over!" When he reached his apartment above, the counsel was "Abdication and Regency." Broken discussions, and lengthened pauses followed, which the King thought to terminate by at last frankly nominating M. Odilon Barrot president of the council. He had scarcely done so when a more formidable explosion was heard in the direction of the Palais Royal. It was occasioned by the attack of the people, or rather of the Republican chiefs, upon the post of the Château d'Eau, opposite the Palais Royal. Lamoricière risked his life a thousand times over to prevent this attack, and to obtain the evacuation of the post by the municipal guards. In vain; they refused to give up their arms, and the people would not on any other condition let them escape. The fight lasted long, until at last the people set fire to the building, and the unfortunate garrison perished to a man either in the flames or under the shots of the insurgents.

The terrible echoes of this battle had the effect of attracting to the Tuileries the mass of combatants and insurgents, who soon broke into the Carrousel. Marshal Bugeaud at first confronted them, and drove them out by his stern aspect more than by his strong arm. But blood panted after blood, and the balls were already heard upon the walls of the Château. Émile de

Girardin then rushed up the staircase into the royal apartments, declaring that abdication could alone save the lives of the King and of his family. M. Merruau, editor of the *Constitutionnel*, came at the same time, and bore witness to the ferocity which animated the people whose ranks he had traversed. Girardin demanded "Abdication, with the regency to the Duchess of Orleans, the dissolution of the Chamber, and an amnesty." The Duc de Montpensier pressed rather rudely his father to submit to these conditions. The old King consented, and Girardin hastened to communicate it to the multitude. The Queen and Marshal Bugeaud both protested against the abdication; but, overborne by events, the King at last signed the document, and sent it by Marshal Gérard to be shown to the people. The marshal, in the open space of the Carrousel, read it to the foremost squad of the multitude, and as it was impossible for him to penetrate the mass before him, then handed it to Lagrange, who seemed obeyed as chief by the Republicans, begging him to communicate it to his followers. Lagrange took the paper, and coolly put it in his pocket. Thus evaporated all hopes of compromise or armistice from even the written act of abdication.

The King had no sooner given the important document than he withdrew for a moment, and re-entered in plain clothes, and, giving his arm to the Queen, prepared to quit the Tuileries. The Queen, much excited, told all around that they would soon regret so good a King. The Duchess of Orleans exclaimed at being left behind. Louis-Philippe bade her stay for her son's sake, yet he refused to name her regent, insisting that the law had appointed the Duc de Nemours. The King, Queen, and a few followers, then made their way from the Tuileries, by a secret passage under the garden terrace, to the Place Louis-Quinze. The royal carriages had been ordered, but no one knew what had become of

them; the postilion had been shot. The royal family therefore got hastily into a couple of hackney coaches, and, escorted by a few dragoons, were driven along the quays in the direction of St. Cloud.

The first thought of the Duchess of Orleans, left alone with her children, was to repair to the Hôtel de Ville, and claim her son's crown from the people. An emissary from Barrot indeed proposed it to her. It was a bold idea, which some heroic woman might have converted into a triumph. This, in the present case, was, however, more than doubtful. But in the interim M. Dupin arrived, and proposed to the Princess to repair to the Chamber of Deputies, where parties might acknowledge her as regent.

There were few deputies on the benches of the Chamber, when the Duchess of Orleans and her children, accompanied by the Duc de Nemours and Dupin, entered it. She was received by the President Sauzet, and took her seat beneath the tribune. A member called on Dupin to speak. He at first declined, but afterwards announced that the King had abdicated in favour of the Count of Paris; his mother, the Duchess, being regent. It was received with applause, but ere it could be followed up, a band of insurgents and National Guards broke into the assembly. They apostrophised the Duc de Nemours. It was evident that, if the first act of the Chamber was the recognition of the Duchess, its second must be to repel the attacks of the insurgents. Where was the force that would enable them to do this? A measure indispensable to the success of the Duchess was to have prevented the Chamber from being invaded by the mob. The Duc de Nemours ought to have given orders to General Bedeau to that effect. But he had merely told him to protect the Duchess of Orlean's retreat to St. Cloud.*

* Bedeau's letter, Véron.

Neither Bedeau nor Gourgaud, the latter commanding the troops around the Legislative Palace, took it upon themselves to keep out the multitude.

The Chamber was evidently powerless. M. Thiers and M. Barrot have been both much blamed for not attending the opening of the sitting. But M. Thiers was not minister; Barrot, after failing to make any impression on the men of the barricades, went to the home ministry to issue some orders and tranquillise the provinces by telegraph. There he heard of the King's abdication, and soon after of the coming of the Duchess to the Chamber. He hastened thither, but was intercepted on the threshold by some of the chief writers of the *National*. They brought him aside, told him that they had resolved on having a republic, showed him a list of the provisional government, with his own name set down as one. To all this Odilon Barrot demurred. He preferred the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, as more legal, and more calculated to meet the wishes of the country.*

Individuals of the same group and party also caught hold of Lamoricière as he entered the Chamber. But let us first say, who these personages were, and what was their mission. Whilst the King was escaping on the westward road, the Duchess of Orleans about to proceed to the Chamber, and the mob engaged in plundering the Tuileries, a meeting was held at the *National* office to consider what was next to be done. In the morning these persons would have accepted the regency. Now they determined to set aside the Bourbons altogether, and have a Provisional Government appointed. A list of names was made out. It consisted of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Ledru-Rollin. The journalists had not the audacity to promulgate such a government of themselves,

* Memoirs of Dupin, History of Louis Blanc, and Véron, Mémoires
Garnier Pagès, Lamartine, Regnault, d'un Bourgeois de Paris.

but E. Arago and Bastide, with Marrast, hastened with the project and list of the Provisional Government to the Chamber, to persuade or frighten the members, as it might be, to adopt them. On arriving at the Chamber, Marrast and Bastide met Lamartine, whilst others encountered Barrot; the latter, as we have stated, would not listen to them. And had Lamartine proved equally staunch to the House of Orleans, or to the monarchy, and at the same time the generals received orders to protect the Chamber, the standard of the monarchy might have been raised in the parliament, with what definitive success may, however, be doubtful. Lamartine thought that the Duchess could never hold her ground, as regent, against the people. And this is the reason he gave for abandoning her. Probably he was right. Those who had accomplished the revolution could not resign their necks and fortunes to the party of the dynasty they had overthrown.

Lamartine was won over to the scheme of a Provisional Government; it was also communicated by Marie to Sauzet, who presided the Chamber. E. Arago, Marrast, and others entered the House soon after the Duchess, and thus both parties were in presence. After Dupin had vainly spoken the few words above mentioned, Marie, informed of the views of the Republicans, first rose to object to the regency of the Duchess. It had already, he said, been conferred on the Duc de Nemours, and would require a new law. He thought it more advisable to appoint a Provisional Government. Crémieux, who had been all royalist with the King, and was all republican with the Chamber, spoke in the same sense. Lamartine then proposed that the Duchess of Orleans should withdraw. Dupin is very angry with President Sauzet for at once supporting this idea, and turning the Duchess out. Sauzet was indeed a miserable president. The Duchess rose, and, quitting the centre of the hall, withdrew to the higher benches of the Centre, which was rendered necessary, for many of the armed multi-

tude had penetrated amongst the members, and already threatened her. Barrot soon after entered, and, full of his interview with the Republicans, declared that the supreme authority, as well as the fate of the country, rested upon a woman and a child. He declined, however, in the crisis, proposing the promulgation of a regency. He would not take upon himself the responsibility of civil war. The Duchess rose to speak, and many thought, had she persisted, she might have rallied the house to her cause. But Odilon Barrot went on, and she sat down irresolute. Larochejaquelin then obtained possession of the tribune, scouted the idea of an Orleanist regency, and as to the Chamber itself, he told the members, "They were no longer anything!" Genoude seconded him. Ledru-Rollin followed on behalf of a revolutionary government, but hesitated to propose it, whilst Berryer was crying out to him, "Conclude; move it." He did not. But some of the worst specimens of the combatants burst in at the time, and rendered any vote in favour of the Duchess impossible. A fellow with a long sword took his post under the tribune, and a butcher with a kind of cutlass kept menacing the group of members round the Duchess. She thought it prudent at length to withdraw, with difficulty escaping, and separated from her two sons, who each ran considerable danger, to the president's house, and from thence to the Hôtel des Invalides.

Lamartine then took possession of the tribune amidst the tumult, mingled applause, and threats of the armed people. At their aspect, President Sauzet ran away, after declaring the sitting at an end. The greater number of the deputies followed. A few of the extreme Liberals alone remained. Lamartine still occupied the tribune, and proposed that Dupont de l'Eure should take the president's chair. Lamartine had in his hand the list of the Provisional Government, chosen at the office of the *National*. He modified it somewhat, and handed it

to Dupont de l'Eure to read out the names. They were those of Dupont himself, Lamartine, Arago, Crémieux, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. They were accepted by the mixed multitude. And Lamartine immediately set off to exercise his authority at the Hôtel de Ville. Ledru-Rollin, however, tarried a little. He saw something informal in the list, and he read it over again from the tribune, adding the name of Garnier Pagès, and he met with equal acclamations; and then Ledru, with others, hastened after Lamartine to the great centre of popular authority.

Meantime the King and his family had directed their flight first to St. Cloud, then to Trianon, and subsequently to Dreux, the place of the family sepulture. There learning that the regency had been set aside, the royal fugitive travelled in disguise to the coast near Honfleur. He at first hoped to embark at Trouville, but difficulties intervening, the King, under the guidance of the English consul, ventured in disguise over to Havre, and thence embarked on board an English packet, which conveyed him safely across the Channel. Claremont was offered by the Queen as the place of residence for the exiled family, and here the dethroned monarch did not long survive.

Nothing can more clearly show than his fall how much stronger situations and insurrections are than men. Louis-Philippe smiled with pity in 1830 on the imbecility and blindness with which Charles the Tenth rushed on his fate. Yet eighteen years later he himself showed the same blindness, the same ignorance of the danger before him, and of the spirit of the people which he governed. Human prudence failed the one as completely as divine right blinded the other. Louis-Philippe thought himself both right and safe as long as he scrupulously kept within the letter of constitutional law, without perceiving that he totally nullified its spirit. Neither he nor M. Guizot perceived the danger of their position, and that in case of an *émeute*

CHAP.
XLVIII.

the monarch's unpopularity would array the National Guard as well as the people against them, and that in the face of this the army would be reluctant to act. To be sure, the government was always able to prevent an *émeute*. And there indeed was their only chance. But a variety of circumstances deceived the government into allowing full play and space for the commencement of the insurrection, which, once aroused and in conflagration, it was no longer possible by human means to suppress.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC.

1848—1852.

THUS did the National Guard, the students, and the people, excited by the Liberal minority of parliament, overthrow the King, his government and his functionary following, supported by the class of the highest tax-payers, who had the monopoly of the electoral power. Nothing can be more erroneous than to characterise the revolution of 1848 as a victory of the people over the *bourgeoisie*. It was the middle classes especially who murmured against the government, and rendered powerless the arms in its hands, for it was the presence and the voice of the National Guard in the *émeute* which deprived the soldiers of all enthusiasm, the generals of all hope, the King of all courage. Had the monarchy been one of the middle classes, it would not have perished so pusillanimously. But it was a monarchy founded by a group of notables, a pseudo-aristocracy, and carrying on its government by them alone, thus becoming estranged from any of the great divisions which a nation naturally forms.

It has been the fashion of late years to make the *bourgeoisie* the target for speculative abuse, the scape-goat of political ill; and Louis-Philippe's reign and fate have been the occasion for showers of vituperation upon the middle classes. It is styled their peculiar monarchy, the monarchy of the middle classes, and they

CHAP.
XLVIII.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

are taunted with not having maintained it. But monarchy is not the natural or favourite regimen of the middle classes. It is that of the highly born, and highly placed, the fastidiously reared, the intellectually educated. But the class whose brain is devoted to industry, and making pecuniary profit of its dealings with other men—this class is essentially republican in its habits, its aspirations, its ideas. In a highly aristocratic and wealthy society, indeed, that portion of the middle class which cater to it, or profit by it, take, of course, like theameleon, the colour of the substance or support on which it lives; and so the middle classes in many countries were and may still be aristocratic. But this is passing. At last and at length the wide public has become the best patron and the best chapman; and the industrial capitalist, who first doffed his hat to his rich customer, turns to bestow his attention, if not his courtesy, upon the people. The middle classes are thus by nature definitively republican. It was a monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions, they looked to, and were promised in 1830, and the promise being broken, they withdrew their confidence and support.

If the well-provided and well-educated classes be monarchic, rational constitutional limited monarchists, if the spirit and tendencies of the middle and industrious classes be republican, what are the people, what the labourers, the earners, not of luxuries, but bread, the *prolétaires*, as the French call them? Politicians themselves would make believe that such are the only republicans. They are no such thing. If you restrict the state to a city, register its impoverished classes, give them bread at their homes, and places at the theatres, they will in return fill the Forum on stated occasions, and gratefully perform the part of a political mob. But republicans they are not. They much prefer a great personality to any universal or written principle. They will, like the Romans, when fed with the Panem and Circenses, or,

like the *Sans-culottes* of the Terrorists, clamour and fight for those who feed and flatter them. But to be governed by peaceable, humane, intelligent, and superior citizens, is what the people will not long tolerate. A dictator to drive a nail is their idea of superior government. Be the nail war, or agrarian law, or universal suffrage, or equality, that is an humbling of the great to the common level—for such causes as these a people will fling up their caps. But their mode of doing it is to do it by a dictator. Riots, of course, lead the way, and anarchy follows. But an absolute ruler is the necessary heir of anarchy. To him the people always tend when they take matters into their own hands. They show no respect to a legally-formed monarchy unless they are still in the infant state of feudal serfism. They cannot comprehend, much less support, a republic. But despotism, that is, absolute power exercised, or pretended to be exercised, in their peculiar interest, that is the true popular regimen, the inevitable euthanasia of democracy.

If this account of the spirit and political tendencies of different classes be true, it fully explains the failure of the three systems of government essayed between 1815 and 1852. The elder Bourbons established a monarchy, which, if fairly conducted, might have had the support, for a very long period, of the middle class as well as of all above them. The tendency downwards was indeed inevitable, but by gratifying it to a certain degree, and taking advantage of the natural oscillations of political feeling, it might have endured. But the court, the squires, and the clergy, would be contented with nothing less than restoring the past. They would have a monarchy such as the intelligent classes of the day could not tolerate, and thus arrayed the best and most natural support of monarchy against them. The second attempt, that of Louis-Philippe, might have succeeded too, no longer as a monarchy of the upper and intelligent classes, but as a nominal monarchy and a

CHAP.
XLVIII.

real republic. As such the middle classes would have supported it, and the people applauded. This, no doubt, had its risks and incertitudes. War was one of them, and to what war might have led, none can tell. But the accusation was perhaps just that Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot merely essayed a second edition of the Restoration, which, with the elder Bourbons for monarchs, might have done very well, but with the King of the Barricades was an anachronism.

We now come to the experiment of the republic. It was by no means the people that either plotted or suggested it. The writers of the *National*, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, Ledru-Rollin, were amateur politicians, literary or professional men of the middle class, Lamartine himself of a higher grade of society, who saw no possible sovereign, and desired none, and who in consequence tried the more impracticable scheme of erecting a republic, governed by middle-class intelligence, interests, and ideas, in the midst of a civic population, of which the very dregs had boiled up to the surface. Could one even have swept away this mass of popular and civic foam, a republic was difficult, if not impossible, in a vast country without republican institutions, and without habits of local independence. This republic, too, became the banner of the most disorderly and anarchic classes of the capital and the provinces, which, instead of having learned to avoid the excesses and atrocities of the first republic, gloried in them on the contrary, the popular horde in the capital eager to recommence and re-enact them. That a French republic in 1848 must end in dictatorship and despotism was evident indeed from the first day. The only questions were, Who should be the dictator? and, Of what kind should be the despotism? It took three years to decide. And yet it required no wonderful gift of prophecy to foretell where authority would concentrate. Almost every eminent person sent in his adherence to the republic,

from Béranger and Larochejaquelin to the members of the Buonaparte family. Louis-Napoleon came at once to Paris with his adhesion; but the Provisional Government feared his presence, and bade him begone, as dangerous to their supremacy and to the public peace. The Prince instantly obeyed.

The first personage, who in the afternoon of the 24th reached the Hôtel de Ville, and assumed authority there was Garnier Pagès,* who had been sent by Odilon Barrot. He found the municipal council sitting, and he was forthwith chosen and installed as mayor. Soon after came Lamartine and the members of the Provisional Government, named at the Chamber, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. They experienced great difficulty in making their way into the edifice, and almost as great in finding a room in which they might sit and constitute a council. The crowd followed, and hustled and threatened, a bevy of friends and students struggling to keep them off.

The first serious business was to distribute the offices and duties of the ministry. The most aged, Dupont de l'Eure, was declared president of the council. Lamartine took foreign affairs; Ledru, the interior; Crémieux, an Israelite, with a most un-Jewish physiognomy, became justice minister; Marie, public works; Carnot, public instruction; the Banker Goudchaux, finance; Arago, marine. This was accomplished by seven o'clock, when some time after eight appeared Marrast, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, to claim their share in the government. The writers of the *Réforme*, a more radical Republican paper, on hearing that the *National* had drawn up a list of governors for the country, made out another one of equal right. It was the same list as that of the *National*, except that Flocon, editor of the *Réforme*, well known

* His *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*; Lamartine's *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*; Régnault's

Hist. du Gouvernement provisionnel; Cassignac's *Hist. de la Chute*; periodicals of the time.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

as a reporter in the gallery to the *Constitutionnel*, and Louis Blanc, one of its writers, were added, and with them an artisan, named Albert, a manufacturer of buttons, and a member of the secret Republican societies.* The *Réforme* was too late to despatch its list to the Chamber and get it sanctioned there. But it did not deem its right of electing the sovereigns of the country less sacred, or less clear. The original seven, however, named by the Chamber, objected to receive their new colleagues except as secretaries. So M. Garnier Pagès arranged it. The secretaries, however, took their seats with the other members of the government, and the question being soon raised as to whether a republic should be proclaimed or not, the new members showed themselves as loud and as influential as the others. They were indeed for proclaiming a republic at once and absolutely, whilst the others were for proclaiming it conditionally, until its ratification by the country. This latter proposal prevailed, and the Republic was proclaimed from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

Loud as were the acclamations which followed this announcement, it satisfied and tranquillised no one. To the middle class, the Republic enthroned at the Hôtel de Ville offered nothing to which they could rally. On the other hand, the secret societies and more ardent of the people were disappointed to see supreme power wielded by parliamentarians such as Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, and Marie. There was no time or means for making any plot or plan for altering this constitution of the government. But individuals and bands came one after the other, all through the evening and night, to apostrophise the members of the government, menace, hustle them, and demand all kinds of absurdities and impossibilities. Lamartine was the chief orator of the government, who faced them, whose eloquence often appeased, some-

* Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc's Pages d'Histoire, De la Hodde.

times dominated them, always at least prevented the crowd from proceeding to violence. Some, however, demanded his head. "My head, citizen, I wish it was on your shoulders, and then you would have some common sense." This trifling retort changed the imprecations of the mob to laughter.

Whilst Lamartine thus perorated for his life and the existence of government at the Hôtel de Ville, some of his colleagues laboured to quiet the disorder, which from the streets had spread to the environs of the capital. Everywhere country houses and palaces were sacked, that of Louis-Philippe at Neuilly, of Rothschild at Boulogne. The railway stations were burned; Vincennes was threatened.* The National Guards marched forth to prevent these excesses; that of Versailles saved the palace. The first impulse of such members of the government as met in the morning of the 25th was to follow an example given in 1830, and enrol the wild youth of the barricades into regiments to be called the *garde nationale mobile*. They were given good pay, the liberty of choosing their own officers, and other immunities. The offer was grasped at; and the young marauders of the 24th became regular soldiers on the 28th. It was well for the government thus to collect a force, for the anarchists were organising themselves. Caussidière and two agents of the secret societies, as well as of the *Réforme*, took possession of the police, and organised there a regiment of the worst and most reckless of the combatants of the barricades, not the *gamins*, but the veterans of conspiracy and crime. The army itself was threatened with dissolution. The people had everywhere broken into the barracks, taken the muskets, whilst the soldiers, disgusted, were ready to disband.

Ere the new *garde mobile* could be organised, or either the National Guard or the soldiers brought to

* Memoirs of Caussidière.

CHAP.
XLVIII.
—

protect the new government, its members, during the 25th, were assaulted by the same enemies which had first shown themselves, but no longer in a confused manner or in unorganised groups. The popular opponents of a civic republican government by such men as Lamartine might be classed either as Socialists or Terrorists. The first had conceived the idea, if not of seizing and confiscating all capital, at least substituting for it an employing power to be wielded by the State. This doctrine, preached in the secret societies, had not as yet the opportunity of prevailing or being applied. Two of its professors, Louis Blanc and Albert, had installed themselves in the Provisional Government. And deputations of their followers came on the 25th, not to recommend or supplicate, but insist upon this view being acted upon. A stentor of the name of Marche was their spokesman on this occasion, his rudeness alone being sufficient to excite opposition. This was shown not only by Lamartine, but by Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, and Marie. Louis Blanc tried to soften and excuse his rude behaviour. But the majority of the government would not sign or sanction these Socialist demands. They consented, however, to a compromise. The government promised to find labour for the workman, and to fix a *minimum* of his gains. And this was the essential point. Lamartine and his friends did not perceive that in granting this they really granted all. And it was seen a few days later when Marie, as minister of public works, prepared to open national workshops for all artisans and labourers out of employ.

Louis Blanc was unjustly charged with having originated this system of State employ for the labourer. But in truth, he had nothing to do with the national workshops. His ideas were more scientific and more complex. And whether impracticable or not, since he had been allowed a seat in the government, he ought to have been permitted to preside over and direct the experi-

ment. He would have conducted it at least better than the lawyer Marie, who was totally ignorant on the subject. Had Louis Blanc succeeded, he would at any rate have quieted the labouring classes. Had he failed, he would have been incapacitated from mischief. But the Provisional Government unfortunately did not entrust the workshops to the chief Socialist professor, but placed that professor at the head of a commission which was to sit in the Luxembourg, and instead of practising on the national workshops, he was to preach and propagate hopes and ideas with the working and other classes assembled to hear and discuss with him. The result was that Louis Blanc and his aide-de-camp, Albert, created an enthusiastic army of followers at the Luxembourg, whilst the minister of public works was enrolling workmen to play at pitch and toss, and receive government salary at the rate of thousands a day.

Whilst the Socialists thus partially succeeded with the government, the Terrorists, or *Sans-culottes* of the old traditions of the Revolution, came to make their demands too. They had far more villanous intentions, and a more formidable following, than the Socialists, filling the Place de Grève with their bands, whilst their chiefs penetrated to the presence of the Provisional Government. Their desires, indeed, were not such as could be expressed. They objected to a *garde mobile*, or indeed to any new force save their own revolutionary legion, organised under Caussidière, at the Prefecture. The people who followed them did not ask for employment or workshops, but pay, such as the revolutionists received in 1793, for inspiring and supporting terror. A tax on the rich to feed themselves, or the poor, as they alleged. All these things, which could only be obtained by terror, and terror awakened chiefly by the guillotine, were expressed in the one symbol—the red flag. The colour red indeed was sought by them to be universally applied. Cockades, colours, caps, all

CHAP.
XLVIII.

were to be red. And to make this demand of the red republic, the Terrorists gathered to the Hôtel de Ville. Fortunately the different parties were not as yet directly marked and decided, though each of them had already collected in clubs.

There were many mistaken moderate men, and of no opinion, mixed up and confounded with others predetermined to go every revolutionary length. Lamartine made a most courageous resistance to the red flag, and he inspired his colleagues to show equal resolution. Louis Blanc at first seemed to say that the colour of the flag was of little consequence, and that at all events each revolution, as it was different in spirit and aim from its predecessor, had a right to a different flag. But Lamartine would not abide such a theory. The flag denoted the cause, and the red flag, if hoisted, would be but the recommencement of the old revolution, its men, and its armies. The Provisional Government, or its majority, adopted his views, and shared his resolution. The difficulty was to persuade and overrule the mob, the packed mob of revolutionists. This Lamartine and, indeed, his colleagues, undertook, defending themselves, and haranguing each portion of the people as they surged up, and declaring that the Tricolour flag, which had made the victorious tour of the world, should be their flag, and not the despicable rag, never red but in the blood of its own fellow-citizens.

Lamartine has left an animated description of his struggles on this occasion,* of the effect of his eloquence, and of the way in which, making one or two proselytes in the crowd, these came to his succour, and, with tears as well as passion, aided in dissuading their comrades from violence and from obstinacy. The people, it was evident, were not Terrorist. Though led away at first to adopt their shibboleth and symbol, they remained the

* See also Dunoyer, *Hist. de la Rév. de 1848.*

honest citizens of the nineteenth century, not the maniacs of the close of the eighteenth. They were persuaded by the arguments of such orators as Lamartine, and were brought to admit that order, glory, and the Tricolour were preferable to anarchy, bloodshed, and even plunder under the red flag. It was a glorious triumph, for which Lamartine did not indeed reap his reward at the time, but which twenty years later was remembered in the national grant of 500,000 francs voted him by the Assembly of 1867.

After having settled the great question of the national colours, proclaimed the abolition of the pain of death, gone through a solemn funeral ceremony in honour of the slain during the last revolution, the Provisional Government announced (March 5) that, the Assembly being dissolved, another was to be immediately elected by universal suffrage, and by lists, as was the habit in America. Six months' residence was required. The number of members was fixed at 900.

After this the most pressing subject was the financial. The half year's interest on the Five per Cents was due the 22nd, and there was little more money in the Treasury than what would suffice to meet it. The Bank had already suspended cash payments, but was bound not to issue more than a certain amount of notes. How to pay the new *garde mobile*, the army, the national workshops? The revolution had suspended the *octroi* of Paris. Different interests pressed for a reduction of these taxes. The journals almost refused to pay the stamp duty. The provinces clamoured against the *gabelle*, or salt tax.* Goudchaux, the finance minister, resigned, and Garnier Pagès was obliged to take his place. In the paralysis or abolition of indirect taxes, direct taxes could only be come upon. Garnier Pagès, by a decree, augmented these by 45 per cent.

* Memoir of Garnier Pagès ; Goudchaux's Report.

This was a contribution of 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* sterling, struck chiefly upon the landed proprietors, so many of them poor,* throughout France. It was the first boon which the revolution conferred upon them, and they never forgave it. Yet had the country known the alternatives which were proposed and discussed, such as national bankruptcy, a tax on the rich exclusively, a forced loan, and other projects of the kind, it would have hailed Garnier Pagès' tax as the salvation of property and society. The rural population were nevertheless in their first burst of indignation at what they called the rapacity of the Parisians, when a flock of commissioners arrived amongst them for the purpose of republicanising the rural districts, and influencing the elections. These strangers were very ill received, except by a certain class in the chief towns, the members of the revolutionary societies. A kind of journal, or *bulletin*, was at this time issued from the home office, and circulated by post. Written by Madame Sand, under the patronage of Ledru-Rollin, in glowing style and with Socialist conclusions, it excited its readers amongst the populace to insurrection, and seriously alarmed everyone else.† The ministerial *instructions* to the commissioners, also published, endowed them with the duties and powers of the old proconsuls of the Convention. Their authority and their duties were both declared in the document to be *revolutionary*. The interests of the Republic were to be secured at all risks and all extremes. The elections were to be forced, and if government was not successful in them, another insurrection would set all right. The Committee of Public Safety might have

* Cassagnac speaks of 5,500,000 of peasant proprietors paying but 5 francs tax.

† "If the new elections," said one of these bulletins, "do not produce the triumph of Socialist truth, and merely express the interests of

a caste, there will remain but one resource for the people of the barricades. This is to manifest its will once more, and adjourn the decisions of a false representative assembly of the nation."—See Daniel Stern's *Hist. de la Révolution*.

issued these decrees with the guillotine at its back, but to send forth such edicts without terror to suppress resistance and disgust was on the part of Ledru-Rollin little short of madness.*

The Paris clubs, in the meantime, were affected with alarm at the prospect of the new Assembly. Their friends in the provinces wrote to say that they were in a minority, that the elections were indifferent and hostile, and that, to obtain a majority, it would require the employ of the old revolutionary excitement and terrorism to work up the feelings or the fears of the people to the due pitch. They demanded in consequence the adjournment of the elections. In this they were seconded by the Socialists, who were convinced that the new Assembly, chosen by millions of proprietors, would not sanction such a scheme, or such principles, as Louis Blanc's. A government which would at once proceed to the realisation and enforcement of these schemes, and accomplish its complete organisation and establishment, before the gathering of an Assembly was what the Socialists demanded. Louis Blanc expressed this in the demand for a dictatorship for a year. For this, however, it was not only necessary to adjourn the elections but to change the government, in other words, to expel the moderate and anti-Socialist members, Lamartine, Arago, and leave Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc masters of the situation. To such a project Ledru-Rollin himself and Louis Blanc objected. They did not want to go the length of expelling their moderate colleagues from the government, but only frightening them into acquiescence.

Such plans were mooted and discussed when a very foolish incident facilitated them. The home minister had claimed the power of annulling the election of officers to the National Guard,† and decided that

* Ledru Rollin's Circular.

† Lord Normanby's Year of Revolution.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

all of those guards should be alike and wear the same uniform. This suppressed the flank companies of the *grenadiers* and *voltigeurs*. As these had each paid a good sum for their bearskin caps and other accoutrements, they objected. It was, however, useless to object in those days unless one could bully too. And so the *grenadiers* and *voltigeurs* determined to go in procession to the Hôtel de Ville, and compel Ledru-Rollin to rescind his decree. They resolved to go unarmed. They did so on the 16th. But they, whilst disarmed, were met by an armed people, and such force as the government could collect. The procession of the flank companies, though they numbered 25,000, was thus powerless even to reach the council of government, much less influence it. In the sitting of that government, a great discussion took place. The circulars of Ledru-Rollin were discussed, and the necessity of modifying or contradicting them. Ledru-Rollin could not deny their imprudence, and accordingly, as the result of the discussion, a proclamation was issued, promising a free and uncontrolled election, and the abstinence, instead of the interference and direction, of the government, at such a critical period.*

The appearance of the proclamation spoke sufficiently that the Socialist and Terrorist party in the government had been overruled. The clubs determined to reverse this. The procession of the bearskin caps gave them the pretext. And on the following day, the members and friends of the clubs mustered in the Place de la Concorde, for the purpose of making a more serious demonstration. They numbered upwards of 100,000 men in columns on the Boulevards, some hundreds of the most determined and acknowledged leaders of the clubs taking the post of the advanced guard. Thus marshalled, they set forth, and reached the Hôtel de Ville about mid-day.

* Garnier Pagès ; proclamation in the public prints.

This bold project of coercing the government, and purging it of its moderate members, failed, owing to the personal rivalry and fierce dissensions of the anarchists. The most ferocious of them was Blanqui. A number of documents and papers found in the Tuileries and in ministerial offices, betraying the intrigues or the turpitude of the late government, had been given to M. Taschereau to publish successively in a periodical called the *Revue retrospective*. From some of these it appeared that the corruption of the time was not confined to functionaries or parliamentarians. For several reports were found of the proceedings of the secret societies. Those communicated by De la Hodde were discovered by Caussidière in the archives of the police. Another paper disclosed the whole plan and machinery of the conspiracy of May 1839. When it was published, Barbès declared that no one but Blanqui could have written it. The character of the latter was in consequence impugned, although his followers and club refused to credit the accusation. Barbès and others became decided enemies of Blanqui, and Blanqui himself a sworn foe of Ledru-Rollin. In consequence of this dissension, when the leading clubbists sought to persuade Ledru-Rollin on the day previous to the insurrection to assent to their plan of *epurating* the government, he altogether objected to being coupled with Blanqui. They persisted; and Ledru, repudiating them, hastened to Lamartine, confessed to him the entire conspiracy and the plan of getting rid especially of him, Lamartine. "To defeat the plot," observed Lamartine, "you have but to order the *rappel* to be beaten for the mustering of the National Guards."* Ledru gave the order, and whilst the one force was thus summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, Lamartine himself went to the quarters of the *garde mobile*, and secured their battalions. Thus, when the multitude of 100,000, headed by 1,000 of

* Lamartine's Hist., Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc, &c.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

the clubbists, reached the Hôtel de Ville, they found it occupied in force by the two guards. A delegation of the insurgents was alone permitted to present itself to the Provisional Government, when Lamartine, Marrast, and Garnier Pagès boldly rejected their demands for the adjournment of the elections, the dismissal of the troops, and the concomitant measures. Ledru abetted them; and even Louis Blanc and Albert were obliged to resist and blame the imperious tone of the petitioners. These, through their spokesman, Blanqui, were most insolent. But Barbès, who commanded one of the legions of the National Guards, and whom Lamartine had been instrumental in saving when formerly condemned to death, was present to correct and contradict the insolence of Blanqui. And this, joined to his disgust of Blanqui, rendered Barbès a powerful auxiliary of the Provisional Government on this critical day. Thus was the Socialist and Terrorist *émeute* defeated, and the existence of the Provisional Government secured and prolonged till the meeting of the Assembly.*

Although the moderate party of the government had triumphed, it was more ready to ask pardon than exult. A proclamation declared clubs to be one of the necessities of the Republic; it merely entreated them not to debate or come forth in arms. Decrees at the same time were issued to conciliate the people and the professional class, or the most needy and ambitious of both. The *octroi* on provisions was declared to be abolished, as well as the duty on salt. The judges were declared removable. Notwithstanding these acts in common, the Provisional Government was deeply divided, the Moderates desiring candidates of their opinion, the Socialists repudiating every one not entertaining the peculiar views then held by the artisans.

* Louis Blanc's Pages; Garnier Pagès, *Histoire*; Regnault, *Histoire du Gouvernement provisionnel*;

Marrast's evidence before the Commission d'Enquête; Lamartine; Caussidière, *Mémoires*, &c.

Louis Blanc formed a committee of six of those handicraftsmen to sift the candidates for election in the capital; and their horny hands, as Cobbett would say, rejected all but Socialists. Nevertheless, the moderates of the Provisional Government were elected by most votes. Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Flocon had not half the number. Lamennais was last on the list, Lamartine first. But there being thirty-four members for the department of the Seine, the chiefs of all parties were elected. The Protestant pastor Coquerel sate by the side of Lamoricière. Cavaignac and Caussidière were both chosen. The great number of members, indeed, greatly favoured the endeavours of the members of the old parties to be re-elected. The vote being by *canton* and *scrutin de liste*, the peasants could scarcely know more than one or two names of the list they were persuaded to give in. But the town electors sufficed to return the notabilities of all opinions. Thus the Assembly offered a fair field for the discussion and final decision of which of them should predominate.

On the 4th of May the new Assembly met in a wooden building erected in the court of the Palais Bourbon. The old Chamber could not have held the 900. There were, however, scarcely more than 600 present. They began by the act of proclaiming the Republic from the steps and colonnade of the palace, which confessed that the Provisional Government had not power to accomplish such an act. The first duty, indeed, which devolved on the Assembly was to appoint a new government. Should it be a continuance of that already in existence, or should the Assembly, like the Convention, take the administration into his own hands, forming committees for the purpose? The opinion of the majority of the Assembly was, there is little doubt, at present in favour of entrusting the government to Lamartine, either as parliamentary president or president of the executive. Those, however, who origi-

CHAP.
XLVIII.

nated this, and who proposed it, were Republicans indeed in profession, but Monarchists at heart. By accepting this offer, Lamartine must have broken not only with the extreme but with the moderate Republicans, that is, in fact, with all his colleagues of the Provisional Government. The majority might have compounded with his maintenance of such Republicans as Dupont and Arago, but his attachment to Ledru-Rollin they could not stomach. The truth was that, on the occasion of the 17th of April, and in face of the clubbist insurrection, Ledru-Rollin had deserted his Red-Republican associates, flung himself into the arms of Lamartine, and by so doing saved the government. Lamartine was grateful. He felt bound by that act to remain equally true to Ledru. He thus sacrificed himself and his influence to an honourable feeling. Lamartine openly declared his trust in Ledru-Rollin, and fraternised with him; and the Conservatives of the Assembly instantly fell off. They agreed to appoint an executive of nine. Both Lamartine and Ledru were named upon it, but they had the lowest number of votes and came fourth and fifth, Arago, Garnier Pagès, and Marie being named before them.* As the members of the executive were considered sovereigns, not ministers, it was necessary to make a new appointment of these. Lamartine ceded the foreign affairs to M. Bastide. He and Ledru both wished to give the home department to Jules Favre, who had the principal hand in separating Ledru from the anarchists, and rallying him to Lamartine, but Arago objected, and the home department fell to Recurs. Flocon was minister of commerce and agriculture; Carnot remained at the head of public instruction; Duclerc at that of finance; Marrast remained mayor of Paris, and Caussidière kept the police. Thus the choice which the executive

* Arago had 725 votes ; Lamartine, 643 ; Ledru-Rollin, 458.

made of new ministers was intended to conciliate even the most vehement of the ultra-revolutionists.

This end was not obtained; indeed, Lamartine warned his friends of the majority that, if the Socialists were set aside altogether, an insurrection would be the consequence. This party had egregiously increased in importance and in numbers. The discussions at the Luxembourg, the preaching and development of Louis Blanc's system, had gained the hearts and hands of thousands of workmen; and Socialism became a standard which set aside those of mere Terrorism or old Republicanism. The very anarchists who found that no one would abide their red flag or their antiquated Jacobinism embraced Socialism as a creed far more respectable and more inspiring; and even those leaders, like Ledru-Rollin, who at first had looked with almost derision upon the *organisation du travail* began to see in it the only banner that could largely rally the people to it.

The nomination of the members of the new executive council and of the ministers had grievously disappointed the Socialists. Louis Blanc had hoped at least for a ministry of progress. But no notice, save that of exclusion, was taken of his projects or pretensions. Accordingly, when the new government proposed a national fête to inaugurate their accession and that of the Assembly, the delegates and those who mustered at the Luxembourg refused to have anything to do with it. The new order of things had come as a humiliation and an insult to them, and was not a proper occasion of feasting or rejoicing.

The fête was accordingly deferred. The clubs, indeed, prepared one, but it was in honour of something more dear to them than Executive or Assembly. The failure of domestic insurrection had, as usual, suggested and set forward schemes of invading and revolutionising neighbouring nations. These schemes met with great favour from Ledru-Rollin. Two attempts had been

CHAP.
XLVIII.

made under his auspices to fling revolutionary bands into Belgium. Another was prepared for Savoy. Lamartine, desirous of peace and amicable relations with foreign powers, deprecated and opposed these manifestations, but in vain. A foreign question, however, raised in the cause of liberalism abroad was less repugnant to the National Guard than anarchy or socialism at home. The Parisian clubbists, although they had succeeded in the elections for the metropolis, had been rendered irate by the tone which affairs had taken at Rouen, where the *bourgeoisie* had been completely victorious, and put down the artisans and their club, both in the elections and in the streets.* It was a bad example, shown, too, so near. The government applauded the success of the Rouen *bourgeoisie*, and was thus traitor to the popular cause. It was necessary to put them down. The mode adopted was to get up a procession and petition in favour of the Poles, march upon the Assembly, force an entrance, and thus by violence effect a revolution and a change of government.† This outrage was rendered more easy of execution, by a fête in honour of the Republic which had been arranged for the 14th, and to be present at which deputations of provincial National Guards had arrived. Meanwhile it had been signified at the national workshops that the younger workmen were expected to join the army, in refusing to do which they would be sent away to their provinces.

The executive commission and the Assembly had both full warning that a tumult was in preparation. The former sent orders to the police prefect, Caussidière; but he and his myrmidons were enlisted on the side of the insurrectionists. Different members of the executive depended upon different leaders of the people to render the proposed manifestation innocent, if they could

* Régnault, Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc.

† Enquête, Garnier Pagès, His-

toire de la Seconde République, Louis Blanc.

not prevent it altogether. As for the Assembly and its president, they reposed on General Courtais. Had a war minister like General Cavaignac been in Paris, he could easily have prevented the *émeute*, for there were 10,000 soldiers in or near Paris, but General Cavaignac, though appointed minister, had not arrived.

On the morning of the 15th, the clubbists mustered on the Place de la Bastille, and from thence directed their march upon the Assembly. The procession was somewhat in disorder when it reached the Place de la Concorde, and a word from General Courtais to the *garde mobile*, which was stationed near, would have dispersed the throng. But General Courtais wanted to play the Lafayette. So he merely parleyed with the mob, which he really thought harmless. And the leaders, taking advantage of this simplicity, approached the gates of the palace of the Chambers, escalated them, and in a twinkling the mob filled the garden, and threatened to burst on the Assembly. It was then met by Lamartine, who began his old trick of haranguing. "We want no more songs from your lyre, my good fool," said the leader of the mob. And forthwith the multitude rushed into the Assembly to the cry of *Vive la Pologne!*

M. Wolowski at the time occupied the tribune, and was speaking in favour of Poland, but his voice was soon drowned in that of the crowd, which poured not only into the Assembly but into its galleries, from which the mob even overflowed. Clement Thomas first tried to surmount the din, and speak, but Barbès would not allow him; he insisted that the people's petition should be read. Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail, the chiefs of the clubs, occupied the tribune all together, speaking and proposing amid the uproar. Blanqui acted the part of president, Buchez, the real president, being set aside. Ledru-Rollin spoke, and was heard for a few moments. "How can debates or decrees take place when there is no liberty?" exclaimed he. "You did both," replied a

CHAP.
XLVIII.

voice, "on the 24th of February." The mob then seized Louis Blanc, and bore him in triumph on their shoulders through the hall and the adjoining apartments. The deputies still kept their seats, hoping that the other members of the Provisional Government, who were at the Luxembourg, would come with troops to relieve them. The scene of tumult lasted from half-past one till half-past three, when one of the insurgents, Hubert, declared the Assembly dissolved. Several lists of a Provisional Government had been prepared of the names of the known Clubbists and Socialists. Some of these, especially Albert, Hubert, and Barbès, set off for the Hôtel de Ville, and established themselves in the Salle St. Jean.

A staff officer had warned the commandant of a regiment of the *garde mobile* stationed in the Champs Elysées of the indignity offered to the Chamber. That commandant, the Vicomte Clary,* instantly led his men across the bridge, and, leaving them there, penetrated into the palace of the deputies, seeking president, questor, or some person in authority who could give him an order. He could find no one, and at last, on his own responsibility, he led on his troops, and, dispersing the mob, actually charged into the Hall. Some members seized Courtais, the commander who had betrayed the Chamber, and tore off his epaulets. Lamartine then mounted the tribune, and in a few words congratulated the Assembly on its deliverance. Afterwards calling Ledru-Rollin to accompany him, he declared his intention of proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville at the head of the *garde mobile*, and putting down any attempt at setting up a revolutionary government. It was high time, for a committee of government was elected, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville. The *garde mobile* soon made them prisoners, and Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin ordered their transference to Vincennes. Other members of the lists pro-

* See his account of the *garde mobile* and of these events published at the end of Cassagnac's *Histoire de la Chute*, &c.

claimed in the Chamber were seized, and sent there too. Louis Blanc was encountered about to re-enter the Chamber, and violently handled by his colleagues, who considered him the cause of the late outrage. On an examination, however, no real grounds were discovered for proceeding against him.

The unsuccessful attempts of the Paris mob, Terrorist and Socialist, to tread under foot the National Assembly, as the *Sans-culottes* had done in the Revolution, was virtually the death of the Republic. The majority of the National Assembly, of the Parisians themselves, and of the country, saw at once that a French Republic could be nothing but an alternation between imbecility and outrageous violence. The moderate Republican government was imbecile; the Clubbists were mad. The latter had indeed been put to flight or arrested. But the multitude which believed and hoped in them was afoot, and ready for mischief. To put them down required some other government than the existing one. But what other? Every one looked forth to find a man, convinced that individual authority ably exercised could alone get the better of the existing disorder.

Their several partisans thought of the son of Charles the Tenth, or of the most manly son of Louis-Philippe, the Prince de Joinville. But how could these princes ask or take the part of President of a republic, even as a transition? The heir of Napoleon could alone do that. The prince who occupied this position had displayed more courage than sagacity in his two unfortunate attempts. Still his name was shouted in the streets. Electors were eager to return him to the Assembly. In the partial elections in June, he was returned by several districts, notably by Paris itself. The executive commission, especially Lamartine, supported by Cavaignac, exerted themselves to enforce a decree of exile against so formidable a pretender. But the Prince's letter from London, modest and flattering to the Assembly, made it

CHAP.
XLVIII.

reject the proposal for exiling the Buonapartes. The Prince did not accept the seat in the Assembly, but said, —“If the country should impose duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them.” Cavaignac complained that the letter in which was this expression made no mention of the Republic. The Assembly, perhaps on that very account, rejected the demand for his exile.

The champion of the Republic was evidently Cavaignac. Though not gifted with eloquence, or with commanding person, still he was a soldier, a man of action. He could defend the Assembly from insult. He proved this in a manner which, however disobliging to the Assembly, impressed upon it an idea of his firmness. A vote passed in consequence of the disorders of the 15th of May, had conferred on the president of the Assembly the right of demanding the support of the army, and even of commanding one of its divisions. The president, by virtue of this vote, had entrusted the command of the forces round the Chamber to General Baraguay d’Hilliers. He affected independence of the minister of war. This General Cavaignac would not suffer. He insisted on all officers and divisions of the army being subject to him. And Baraguay d’Hilliers resigned. Cavaignac’s character, indeed, could have maintained his position as chief of the Republic, had the country been Republican. But it was not. He affected or rather indeed felt old Roman ideas of Republican pride, and repelled the Buonapartes as the early consuls of Rome defied the Tarquins. But it was an idle task. For whilst the Moderates and Monarchists of the Assembly supported him, the Republican moderates and immoderates soon became his enemies. His colleagues of the Provisional Government jalousied him. The ultra-Republicans infinitely preferred a Raspail or a Barbès.

These gentlemen, indeed, showed none of the lukewarmness or modesty of other pretenders. They were determined not to wait. Barbès, indeed, was a prisoner,

and Blanqui in flight. But one hoped to be liberated, the other to reappear. Their friends in the Montagne set to work to prepare a reception and a triumph for them. The materials, indeed, for a conflagration were at hand, in the threatened dismissal and consequent mutiny of those enrolled in the national workshops. A great *fête du travail*, a kind of popular banquet, was announced first for an early day in June, but then put off for the 14th of the following month, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. By that time government would have, as it menaced, turned adrift the inmates of the national workshops, and these had no resource but in insurrection. The finance minister had made known to the Assembly, and consequently to the public, his inability to pay 8 francs a week to each of the 120,000 men enrolled in the workshops. It had equally failed to make their labour give any return for their wages. All trades were mixed there pell mell. The spade and shovel were alone employed, and with these they worked only on alternate days. The Assembly appointed a commission to examine and report, and Léon Faucher, in its name, demanded a loan of 150 millions of francs, a portion to be employed in disseminating the workmen over the country. A staunch Republican, Trelat, at that time minister of public works, opposed the extreme step of dissolving the workshops altogether. Léon Faucher also proposed that the common labourer might be employed on the railroads, and other work found for the artisans in other localities and shapes. But the finance minister, Goudchaux, was eager to shake off the burden altogether, and the Assembly listened to him, rather than to the more cautious Trelat. M. Falloux, a Legitimist, insisted on the immediate dissolution of the *ateliers*. The minister Trelat recommended half-measures, and, in order to try them, seized the director of the workshops, and packed him off by a kind of *lettre de cachet* to Bordeaux. This was a fair pretext

of discontent with the workmen. Some were sent to the provinces to labour; the rest were told they would be henceforth paid by the task. From conflicting authorities, the workmen saw little to hope, and in consequence they listened to the emissaries that recommended an *émeute* for the *organisation du travail*. To keep their number together, a band of some hundred of workmen who had already left for employment on the Rouen railway were recalled by their comrades. They and others returned with songs and banners, and on the evening of the 22nd congregated on the quays near the Hôtel de Ville. The insurrection had in fact commenced.

It fermented and menaced all night, and on the morning of the 23rd the people began to throw up barricades. This was not done fortuitously, but evidently with a plan, and in obedience to intelligent orders. The insurgent population took possession of the eastward half of Paris, the line formed by their front extending from the barrier of Rochechouart to that of St. Jacques. Hundreds of barricades were thrown up, some of solid masonry. The intention was to get speedy possession of Vincennes, and liberate Barbès, with the other Anarchist chiefs who were prisoners in that stronghold.

Eugène Cavaignac, as minister of war, made what preparations were in his power for resisting this the most formidable of popular insurrections. It is impossible to calculate the number of the people which not only manned the barricades in the centre of the city close by the Hôtel de Ville, but formed others in the suburbs as far as the barriers on either side. The Panthéon, on the left bank of the Seine, the *Clos St. Lazare*, on the right, were the chief popular strongholds. The Place de la Bastille, the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the Pont d'Austerlitz were also rendered as impregnable as masonry could accomplish.

To take these fortresses, General Cavaignac had little more than 20,000 troops of the line, and as many more

National Guards; the *garde mobile*, accustomed to its daily pay and discipline, remained true to the government. It was the general's wish to collect these troops in the centre of Paris, and act with them upon the insurgents, whose forces and barricades formed a kind of circumference around him. This plan was opposed by several of the executive commission, and by the friends of order, who were more zealous than prudent, and who were for marching at once upon the barricades. General Cavaignac said he would not run the risk of having any one of his divisions cut off; he would blow out his own brains if such a misfortune should happen. It was therefore more against the will than at the command of General Cavaignac that a good deal of desultory fighting took place on the 23rd. The barricades at the Porte St. Denis were carried by the National Guard. Another division forced its way from Notre Dame to the Panthéon. But the result of these partial attacks was to leave the insurgents as powerful on the evening of the 23rd as they were in the morning, and to create much alarm as to the final result.

The struggle was renewed on the morning of the 24th. The members of the executive commission complained that they had seen and heard nothing of General Cavaignac all the preceding afternoon. He was with General Lamoricière in the Faubourgs Poissonnière and Temple. The Assembly perceived that the divided authority injured the defence, and left no one responsible. It therefore declared Paris in a state of siege, and invested General Cavaignac with dictatorial power. The possession of superior authority seemed to communicate to the general unusual activity and vigour. Considerable reinforcements had reached him, and he immediately launched forth his lieutenants, according to his own plan, in all directions. Lamoricière took the north, Darnéme (Bedeau having been wounded) the south, Duvivier the centre. The efforts of the latter

CHAP.
XLVIII.

cleared the streets round the Hôtel de Ville and a portion of the Rue St. Antoine nearly to the Place de la Bastille. Lamoricière advanced across hundreds of barricades through the Faubourg du Temple, and forced the insurgents to withdraw within the Clos St. Lazare, where a new hospital was in course of erection. The greatest effort was made in the Pays Latin, where the insurgents held the Panthéon. Cannon was brought against it, and some fifty shot were fired ere the gate was battered in, upon which the *garde mobile* rushed from the Law School opposite, and carried the church, most of the defenders falling under their bayonets, the rest escaping. Damême was mortally wounded, and was succeeded by General Bréa. This commander, seeing the troops everywhere successful, undertook to persuade the combatants of a barricade behind the Porte d'Italie to surrender, resistance being useless, and the government being prepared to show consideration to the people rather than take vengeance. No sooner, however, did the general venture amongst the insurgents than he was surrounded, disarmed, thrust into a guard-house, with every kind of ill-usage, forced to sign an order for the retreat of the troops, and this order, of course, not meeting with obedience, General Bréa was barbarously murdered.

Contrary to the hopes and plans of Cavaignac, the troops were more successful in the faubourgs to the right and left of him than in the centre. On the 25th, the defenders of the Bastille and Rue St. Antoine were shaken by their wings being driven in, and General Duvivier was thus enabled to advance. The strong barricades at the entrance of the Rue St. Antoine, however, long defied him. The slaughter at these induced the Archbishop of Paris to come forward to try and put a stop to the effusion of blood. He mounted the great barricade with his chaplain, and was descending on the other side, when he was shot down.

It was Sunday, but few save the archbishop thought what day it was. Archbishop Affre was not the only eminent victim: General Duvivier, Regnault, Damême, Perrot, and Négrier were killed. The death of the archbishop occasioned a pause in the strife, and gave an opportunity for summoning the insurgents of the Faubourg St. Antoine to surrender. They were willing to capitulate, and lay down their arms on certain conditions. Cavaignac, however, would listen to none; the insurgents must surrender at discretion. He was the more inexorable as he knew that Lamoricière had subdued the faubourgs of the north, had forced the insurgents in the Clos St. Lazare, and would be able to attack those in the Faubourg St. Antoine in flank and rear. These partial negotiations took place on the 26th, in the afternoon of which fighting recommenced. But it merely displayed the dying energies of the insurgents. They were everywhere crushed, disarmed, captured, every place that could serve as a prison being crammed with them. A number of atrocities marked the last days of the struggle. The assassination of General Bréa was not a solitary example. The insurgents were ferociously cruel towards the *garde mobile*. They considered them *enfants de Paris*, who had turned against their fathers as traitors. The *garde mobile* was not slow to retaliate; prisoners were shot by tens and fifties. Multitudes of them were thrust into underground dungeons at the Hôtel de Ville, or the Tuileries, and its terraces. Many were stifled in these crowded dungeons, or shot for showing their faces at the grating. A commission, ordered to visit the *souterrains*, durst not penetrate for the foul stench that emanated from them. Some five hundred were extracted from the caves of the Tuileries terrace on the night of the 27th. The National Guards were escorting them across the Carrousel, when a fusillade was heard from a neighbouring court, where some prisoners were being shot. Those who were led captive stopped,

CHAP.
XLVIII.

and clung to their guards, whilst these, fearing a rescue, shook them off and fired. The shots fell on some posts at the Tuileries, the soldiers of which returned the fire. Numbers fell in the midst of the confusion.* It is calculated that 24,000 were arrested; infinite suffering and many deaths must have been caused by mere crowding. National Guards and authorities felt that they had escaped indiscriminate slaughter and destruction from the Anarchists, and were irritated to a retaliation. Although the official report speaks but of 300 of the people killed and wounded, it is generally calculated that three or four times that number fell victims to the three days' battle.†

On the afternoon of the 26th, General Cavaignac, being able to announce the triumph of the army, hastened to give up his dictatorial power to the Assembly. It replied on the 29th by declaring him chief of the Executive Government, with the title of president of the council; he was given authority to name the ministers. His choice fell upon thorough Republicans, moderate ones, all of middle-class ideas, except perhaps Carnot, who became minister of public instruction, and who was soon displaced by a vote of the Assembly, refusing him a large grant he demanded for public education. The true cause was his Socialist connections and ideas. He was replaced by the historian Vaulabelle. Bastide was continued foreign minister; Lamoricière took the war office, Senard the home department.

The apparent result of the three days' battle of June 1848 was the triumph of the civic Republicans over the social ones. Cavaignac was the temporary sovereign; Marrast, president of the Chamber, Bastide conducting the foreign policy of the country. Such was the state of things in appearance. But in reality the combat of

* Castille, Histoire de la Seconde République.

† Prologue d'une Révolution, par

Louis Menard; the Commission of Enquiry, *passim*.

June killed the Republic, and effaced the old Monarchists, even at the time that these together formed the majority of the legislature. The two powers which stood forth prominent after June were on one side the army, on the other the Socialists. The former had recovered the rank and importance from which the revolution of 1830 had thrust it; whilst that of 1848 had as yet but added to its want of consideration and authority. But the days of June showed that order and authority were nowhere, except supported by the bayonets of the soldiery.

Although defeated in the streets of Paris by the military, Socialism rose immensely in either the fears or the admiration of the world in consequence of this very struggle. The people, or the lower portion of the people, long in want of a banner peculiarly their own, which the Republic was not, eagerly grasped at that of Socialism. The knowledge of its principles was indeed vague as ever, but this very vagueness swelled its importance, as it allowed persons and classes of very different tendencies and ideas to group together under the name. It was the banner of the earner and the poor against all who had property or position. And it enlisted the large body of the unsuccessful professional class against the comparatively small body of the successful. The traditional *Sans-culotte*, the Red-Republican, was enabled to profess his adherence to tenets and views far more respectable than the old and decried ones. And thus in a short time all the ultra-Republicans became Socialists. They formed indeed but a small minority of the country, but still their energy and organisation rendered them formidable; whilst the very name of republic was injured and degraded by having once been adopted by the enemies of the existing state of society.

If severity could have crushed the Socialists, the measure dealt to them in consequence of their defeat would

have done it. Cavaignac and his friends, with the Monarchists who supported them, would indeed have extirpated the sect. They hastened on the morrow of their victory to close the most outrageous of the clubs, and to extinguish the organs which spoke their sentiments. The press law of Louis-Philippe's reign was revived, requiring large deposit money for the establishment or mounting of a journal, which put an end to the democratic press. Even Lamennais was obliged to suspend his journal. Some periodicals which could have easily paid the *cautionnement* were suppressed by authority. Some of his partisans proposed to General Cavaignac to arrest the journalists, whilst suppressing the journals. He did not think fit to follow the advice, except in the case of M. Émile de Girardin, whose talents he seemed to dread. The great embarrassment of the new government was indeed the immense number of prisoners. Cavaignac did not know what to do with them. And it was found necessary to set some 10,000 or 12,000 at liberty. A decree of the Assembly previous to the final installation of Cavaignac had ordered all prisoners taken with arms in their hands to be *déportés*.* The leaders, however, who were supposed to have planned and matured the plot, without being themselves the actors, were yet to be revealed. The Assembly ordered a solemn enquiry. A commission sat and called numbers of witnesses before it. Their testimony exists as a terrible record of that anarchic time. The result was to incriminate Socialism more than the leading Socialists. But the Assembly was resolved to get rid of them. Accordingly, whilst Ledru-Rollin's defence was listened to, that of Louis Blanc and Caussidière fell upon ears predetermined to punish them. They were allowed ample time, however, to escape. To drive them into

* Deportation in France means that those sent beyond sea still remain under prison regimen. Transportation means sending out of the country without this subsequent imprisonment.

exile was the aim, and it was fully gained. Proudhon remained, as the apostle of Socialism, scouted in the Assembly, indeed, which he persisted in addressing, but received by the people as a philosopher of revolutionary promise. That Proudhon had no adherents in the Assembly is little wonderful. Capital was his bugbear, which he strove and promised to put down. Property was a crime in his vocabulary. And yet he gave utterance to these strange doctrines with an ingeniousness of sophism and a power of eloquence that puzzled and alarmed the propertied classes, and flattered the needy with hopes of soon forcibly sharing in the goods of this world.*

It is startling to find, on reading the debates of the time, how many eminent persons, although shocked or pretending to be shocked at Proudhon's extravagance, still abetted different kinds of modified Socialism, and proposed making the State come forward in aid of labour, so as more or less to interfere with the free action of competition and employ of capital. No half-ideas, however, were found practicable. The finance minister, Goudchaux, took advantage of the admissions made in these debates to propose that capital should be taxed as well as land. This was a very fair inference. But the Assembly would not sanction anything so practicable, and set aside M. Goudchaux and his theory.

But the grave question of time was, however, the nature of the definite government, in other words, What should be the constitution? should it continue to be a republic? that is, should the Assembly govern? or should the people be called upon to name a first magistrate, independent of the Assembly, and over its head? If so, there was virtually an end of the Republic, or, at least, there would be established rivalry and

* Proudhon's larger works are maniche best shows perhaps his originality of expression and of thought. The short one on the Travail du Di-

civil war between the new executive and the Assembly, to end infallibly in the triumph and ascendancy of the former. Some indeed saw this so clearly, that they proposed there should be no Executive, to which others added that there should be no Legislature, save that of the people at large—no representation, in fact, or delegation. Ledru Rollin was for having no President, and no elections! * At first the discussion turned upon there being one or two chambers: this was an idle point to discuss. If there was to be a republic, and the legislature to predominate, it must necessarily be one. There was no basis upon which an upper chamber could be formed. The election of both chambers together, and the separation of the elders into a chamber of ancients, and the rest into merely the representative, was puerile. To make an upper chamber of large fortunes and a lower one of middling fortunes was forbidden in a land of equality. What then? A senate composed of functionaries, or ex-functionaries, a mock patriciate of professionals become senators? Idle. It was decreed there should be but one chamber.

Should the Assembly elect the executive? The real Republicans, the politicians of the middle class, thought so, knowing it to be the only way of sustaining and prolonging the Republic. But the popular party, the Socialists, or the Montagne, as that great party of the Assembly was called, preferred to see the future president named by the people at large. He would thus certainly be in a better position to assume the power of dictator. But a dictator was precisely what the people frankly desired, provided he was in their interest. In the midst of these discussions, twice arose, like a spectre, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, first to announce that he took his seat as a deputy, and was prepared to support the re-

* See Louis Blanc, *Plus de Girondins*.

public; the second time, to declare that he accepted the candidature proposed to him of the President of the Republic.

If the people at large were called by universal suffrage to elect a president, there could not be a doubt that Louis-Napoleon would be the choice. To remote districts and to the peasant population of even central ones no other name was known. That of Cavaignac, so recently victorious, would certainly not have reached them. And what was Lamartine at that time but an unsuccessful politician, past whom the popular tide had already swept? On the 7th of October, the Assembly, by 602 votes against 211, decided that the president should be chosen by the people. On the 16th of December, the election took place, when Louis-Napoleon had 5,534,520 votes, General Cavaignac 1,468,302, Ledru-Rollin 371,431, Lamartine 17,914.

It would be erroneous to impute to the majority which elected Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte a political thought. There were four millions of electors who paid no rates or taxes. The greater number worshipped a name, and knew of no other in the political world than that of Napoleon. A million and a half of moderate and civic Republicans voted for Cavaignac, some 400,000 for Ledru-Rollin and Raspail, from the democratic and rural population. The intelligent votes for Louis-Napoleon were evidently Monarchists prepared to condemn and repudiate the revolution of February and its consequences. More than one-half of the Assembly would willingly have done the same if a government, securing moderate liberty, might be the consequence. But these politicians at the centre of publicity and affairs saw plainly, what the country could not so well see, that the supremacy of Napoleon must mainly rest on the army, and that a government so based would take little count of civil liberties.

The only chance for Cavaignac was thus to have

CHAP.
XLVIII.

rallied to him the several sections of the majority of the Chamber, and obtain his election by them. The moderate Republicans desired this. The men of the *National* abetted it. But, in fact, Cavaignac was too much identified with that party, and too much under the influence of such men as Marrast, to satisfy the Monarchists, who really made the majority. These, indeed, came to Cavaignac, and offered him their support, but it was upon conditions that he could not accept. He was prepared to put down the revolutionary party and the clubs, but he could not run counter to their ideas altogether, and reverse the laws which Carnot and others had introduced. The negotiations therefore broke off. And the Monarchists, such as Thiers and Bugeaud, decided to support Louis-Napoleon's candidature, taking care to limit it to four years, and rendering illegal his immediate re-election.* Whilst thus deserted by the Monarchists, the moderate Republicans began to quarrel among themselves. Certain members and hangers-on of the old executive commission chose that moment unfortunately for attacking Cavaignac, and alleging that he might have suppressed the insurrection sooner, and with less effort than he did. This unseasonable jealousy of the General avowed and uttered by Garnier Pages and his friends, stirred the spirit of the former to demand a public discussion, in which Garnier Pages and his colleagues vented their rancour, completed the ruin of their party, and caused to explode the last chance of a civic republic in France. That last chance was indeed Cavaignac. Yet Garnier Pages and Barthélemy St. Hilaire laboured *unguibus et rostris* to destroy him, to render it impossible for ever.

* Such was the guarantee against future usurpation agreed upon by the Monarchists and Republicans of the Assembly united. Well might Count Molé exclaim, "Do what you

will. Power is escaping from you. An assembly like this and a president elected directly by the people can never co-exist."

Notwithstanding the high character for sagacity and foresight, which is not unjustly given to the future Emperor, it is doubtful that he saw his way clearly before him at that epoch. He seemed to consider his election as an anti-Republican movement. And his first act was to compose a ministry of Monarchic elements. Odilon Barrot was named president of the council, in the absence of the executive president, and minister of justice. Malleville first, Léon Faucher soon after, friends of Thiers and Barrot, were installed in the home office. Falloux, the representative of the clergy, took public worship and education, and soon showed his leaning by upsetting all the anti-clerical plans of his predecessor Carnot. Drouyn de l'Huys was foreign minister, Passy took Finance. Bixio, a Republican, was at first appointed to be minister of commerce, but he soon resigned. The nomination of General Bugeaud to command the army of the Alps was the most significant appointment. The Prince de Joinville, had he been elected president, would scarcely have made any others.

This ministry had, however, a very bare majority in the Assembly, Republicanism, moderate and immoderate, declaring against it; whilst the leading Monarchists, set aside, lent but a wavering and uncertain support. To get rid of the Assembly and its too Republican elements, and to procure a new representation, more in accord with the presidential election, was the aim of Louis-Napoleon and his ministers. It was necessary, however, to fill the void in the Treasury. The addition of 45 per cent. to the direct taxes had been levied, and was far from meeting the deficit, whilst the salt tax was about to expire. Passy, with difficulty, retained one-third of this tax, and was allowed to augment the succession duty, that which came upon individuals, and was not universally felt at one time by the public.

Financial wants being thus inefficiently provided for, the Moderate and the Monarchist party pressed for the

CHAP.
XLVIII.

dissolution of the Assembly. A member proposed that this should take place in May. There was a division on the question as to whether this should be taken into consideration, and it was so by 400 votes against 396. A decree, that the dissolution should take place after an electoral law had been passed, was subsequently carried by a large majority. All depended upon the nature of the coming elections, which it was supposed, like the presidential election, would be favourable to the present executive. The minister of the interior, Léon Faucher, was so convinced of this, and indeed so fully aware of the little power that a new government could exercise over an election by universal suffrage, that he abandoned the popular choice to itself. The ministry closed certain Anarchic clubs, which disseminated Socialism, and sought to entrap the people once more with their fallacious promises. Ledru-Rollin, in consequence, laid on the bureau an impeachment of ministers. The elections for the new chamber, however, did not much alter the state of things. No party was strengthened, all almost lost eminent chiefs. Neither Marrast, nor Dupont de l'Eure, neither Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, nor Bastide, were elected. Civism or Moderate Republicanism, was extinguished. Monarchists and Socialists mustered strong; whilst Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte had not yet succeeded in the great object of his policy, that of rallying a party attached especially to his family and fortune.

Many inevitable circumstances prevented this. First, he gave trust and favour to the chiefs of the old Monarchist faction, who were desirous to make use of his name, but not for his profit. Then, although he had preserved order, and kept down insurrection, particularly the dangerous one of the *garde mobile*, he had not restored order to the finances, or regularity to the government, whilst the conduct of foreign affairs had produced, especially at Rome, results neither glorious nor satis-

factory. The aims and fortunes of the future Emperor were, in fact, still under a cloud.

Yet it was hard to expect of the government of a disturbed country like France to initiate or accomplish anything great. Lamartine and Bastide felt, as Louis-Philippe had done, that revolutionary France ran the risk of seeing a coalition form against it. The efforts to avoid this by conciliation and prudence were, like those of the government of 1830, inglorious. And when at last, at the express demand of the Pope, an expedition to Rome was despatched, it was really purposed to anticipate Austria in taking the same ground, but apparently it was nothing other than a war against liberalism in Italy. That long enslaved and disturbed country was the last in the world, perhaps, in which a *juste milieu* policy or party could succeed. Between democratic frenzy on one side, princely and priestly prejudice on the other, there was really no medium. Successive French governments had, however, hoped to find that middle point. They even had based a government upon it for Rome in the person of Count Rossi. The ministers of the President and the President himself were impressed with the same hope and the same opinion as their predecessors. They had kept at Rome M. d'Harcourt, the same envoy that had been appointed by Louis-Philippe, and he continued to assure them of the existence of a strong moderate Liberal party, upon which the French might count both to aid them and to establish a government of the same nature, on the rout of the wild democratic party led by Mazzini and Garibaldi. To put down the republic at Rome, as it had been put down in Paris, seemed a praiseworthy deed to the government of the Élysée, the more praiseworthy as, instead of being a defiance to the monarchic powers of Europe, it showed on the part of the new French government a coincidence and sympathy with their conservative policy.

When the first expeditionary corps had been prepared

CHAP.
XLVIII.

by General Cavaignac, but before it had sailed, the news arrived of the Pope's flight, and, of course, of the increased difficulties of the situation. Still it was persisted in, and the force doubled. Such was the ambiguity of language on the part of the French that the Roman insurgents at first were led to hope that the invaders were their friends. They were soon undeceived. General Oudinot advanced upon Rome, expecting a rising of the Moderates. Instead of what they expected, they were met on approaching the walls by discharges of grape, which was followed by a sortie of Garibaldi's legion. The result was on the 30th of April a somewhat disgraceful retreat, and a small loss of wounded and prisoners on the part of the French.

General Oudinot withdrew to Civita Vecchia, there to await reinforcements. Whilst these were preparing, M. Lesseps was sent to renew negotiations, and induce the Romans to submit. M. Barrot, the presiding minister, deprecated the French government's assuming the attitude of downright hostility to Italian liberalism, and of crushing the Roman republic, badly as it might have behaved, *vi et armis*. M. Lesseps could only accomplish this by an agreement with the Roman Triumvirate, by which the French troops should approach, but not enter, the walls of Rome, the citizens being then called upon to decide as to what form of government they would have, Pope or Republic.* This armistice, concluded towards the end of May, was displeasing and indeed humiliating to the French government. And General Oudinot, having received reinforcements, was enjoined to march and force his way into Rome. He proceeded to execute this order, but with due caution. He was obliged to occupy the heights outside the city, and make regular approaches to the walls, although Rome was anything but regularly fortified. It was indeed de-

* Lesseps' Mission to Rome.

fended with such ability and spirit by Garibaldi that General Oudinot took a month to force his way, Garibaldi and Mazzini withdrawing from it with the remains of the Republican government.

These events goaded French Republicans, or at least the really zealous amongst them, to madness. The elections for the Legislative Assembly which had taken place in May, marked the path in which public opinion was moving, that is, in favour of the Monarchist on one side, the Socialist on the other. Neither Lamartine, nor Marrast, nor Garnier Pagès were members, whilst Bugeaud, Changarnier, Lamoricière were returned. By the side of these Conservative generals came to sit several Democratic sergeants, such as Boichot und Rattier. Finding the Assembly grow more Monarchic, the ministry became modified in the same sense. Léon Faucher gave way to Dufaure; Tocqueville took foreign affairs. It required courage in the two men to take the helm at such a moment. Europe was in flames. The Italian Republic was still triumphant in Rome, although the north of Italy had already succumbed to Radetzky. Reaction was gaining ground in the kingdom of Naples, whilst the issue of the Hungarian insurrection seemed doubtful, raising hopes that Austria could not surmount all its difficulties, and that popular passions and interests would triumph over its fall.

At home the Republican Socialists were most active. They had formed a society and a committee to manage the elections, and, the elections over, the organisation was continued with a view to an imminent insurrection. There was no other hope. The Monarchists had obtained the majority in the Chamber. The President leaned to them. His foreign policy denoted what his home policy would be. The name of his ministers bespoke both. Such was the position and feeling of the *Montagne*, as the Socialist Republican party were called, when the news arrived of General Oudinot's hostilities

against the Republican party at Rome, and the employ of French bayonets in the service of the Pope.

At these tidings the impatience of such Anarchists as remained in Paris, after the rout and deportation of June, became inexpressible. They met in their secret clubs, and decided upon an insurrection, which indeed Ledru-Rollin almost openly announced in the Chamber, whilst proposing an act of accusation against the President and the government. The previous Assembly had decreed that the expedition to Rome should not be converted into an anti-Republican movement. The present Assembly and government took no notice of this injunction, its majority considering such motions as those of Ledru-Rollin illusory. The alternative of *émeute* in the streets was equally so. The reverses of June still haunted the workmen's quarter of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The foremost leaders of those days had been expatriated. And a new generation of workmen from the country had in a great measure replaced the old. These did not preserve any revolutionary abhorrence of the President. Accordingly, when the men of the Socialist clubs marched on the 13th of June in procession up the Boulevards, they were far from agglomerating the old important mass, whilst the rabble seemed altogether cured of their mania of throwing up barricades. The popular column marched from the Boulevard St. Martin to that of the Italians. M. Stephen Arago was at its head, and, by a singular chance, the first person it encountered was M. Lacrosse, minister of commerce, on horseback. He was surrounded, hustled, forced to cry, *Vive la République romaine*, and threatened with a hundred deaths. From this he was saved, however, by the interposition of a colleague, Gent, a member of the *Montagne* in the Chamber, who, at the risk of his own life, defended Lacrosse, and procured him the time to escape. The insurrectionary procession had, however, soon occasion to defend itself. General Changarnier

issued from the Rue Richelieu, as it passed that street, and sent his dragoons right and left along the boulevard at a gallop. The greater part of the Socialists withdrew, and were pursued towards the Boulevard St. Denis. In former times, the fugitives would have immediately proceeded to throw up barricades, and to form of the central and intricate streets of Paris a fortified labyrinth.

Nothing of the kind was now attempted. And yet it was upon this that the chiefs counted. They were assembled at the *Cercle de la Montagne*, Rue du Hazard, at the moment of the conflict, but thought proper to decamp from a neighbourhood already occupied by the troops of Changarnier. They betook themselves to the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, now opened by squares and boulevards, then in the centre of narrow streets. They were accompanied and escorted thither by a battalion of the National Guard, commanded by Guinard. The chiefs then assembled at the *Arts et Métiers* did not propose resistance, for they dissuaded some of the people, who sought to throw up barricades. Still a kind of barrier was formed of some carts. When the troops and the National Guard arrived, General Cavaignac, whom they met, took the command; the would-be barricades were overcome, and the would-be defenders dispersed by a discharge of musketry. The troops then penetrated into the *Arts et Métiers*, from which the greater number of Montagnards, they could scarcely be called insurgents, made their escape. Messrs. Ledru-Rollin, Considérant, and Martin Bernard were nearly caught. Some National Guards pressed them to a wall, the bayonets to their breasts, but, whether knowing or ignorant of their condition, they allowed them to escape. This was effected with difficulty, but in some days after Ledru-Rollin and his chief companions found themselves safe on the English side of the Channel. This last and most futile of the popular

insurrections of the middle of the nineteenth century was at least a bloodless one. When Ledru-Rollin was afterwards asked how he came to embark in an open rebellion without any possible chance of success, he replied, "I was the chief of the movement party, and was consequently obliged to follow it." He thus confessed his incapacity to lead it, which indeed abler men might have failed to do. The abortive revolution in Paris was followed by a similar attempt at Lyons. It formed the last scene of the Socialist drama, that in which the remaining chiefs committed moral suicide.

The maxim of Louis-Napoleon seems to have been, when he finally assumed power, to dispose of one enemy at a time. During 1849, he chose as his ministers the lieutenants, if not the active chiefs, of the Monarchic faction. By these means he put down the party of the Republic, both Moderate and Socialist. The Moderate Republicans had indeed already broken the physical force of the Socialist and ultra-Republicans in the days of June. This most arduous and ungrateful task Louis-Napoleon found accomplished to his hand. The next, which was his first, step was to rise upon the shoulders of the victorious Cavaignac party, and become installed president upon their ruin. In 1849, his task was to put down all the Republicans, which was the more easy as their faction remained completely disunited. In May 1849 that was fully achieved.

There remained the necessity of dealing with the Monarchic parties. The fall of the Republicans had rendered the Monarchists not only more confident and presumptuous but more powerful. They dominated in the Assembly. As the star of General Cavaignac grew pale in the regards of the army, that of General Changarnier rose and became brilliant. He, too, had triumphed over an *émeute*, in February and in May. And though those triumphs were bloodless still they effaced those of Cavaignac in the preceding June. The

ministers, whom the President had appointed from the front ranks of the Monarchic faction, treated him as a parliamentary ministry might a constitutional sovereign. Instead of consulting him, they imposed a policy upon him, and this he found a vacillating and distracted one. Thus they had gone to Rome to make a compromise between the Pope and a supposed constitutional party; the latter, however, disappeared amid the violence of events, whilst the Pontiff, who had taken refuge at an ultra-conservative court, was likely to come back imbued with its prejudices rather than with any gratitude to France.

Besides his low estimate of the Monarchic chiefs, of Barrot and Thiers, as politicians, the President soon perceived how inimical they were to himself. They dreaded his popularity, and were resolved to repress it by the parliamentary majority. They had already precluded his immediate re-election after his four years' term of office by an article of the constitution. Had this been done and persevered in with a view to the election of a really Republican president, there would have been little to say against it. But the Monarchists had put down the Republic, had set aside Cavaignac, as they had done Lamartine, and excluded Marrast and Garnier Pagès from the Assembly. It could not be a Republican president they had in view, but a Monarchic one, a general, in fact, such as Changarnier, who would be prepared to play the Monk, and accomplish a restoration of one branch of the Bourbons or the other. Louis-Napoleon could not be expected to sanction or to suffer this, and expressed himself at once very clearly, that, if such was the intention of the Monarchists, he would oppose them. They mocked his threats, and made light of the means at his disposal for realising them. The President had interviews with their chiefs, and did his utmost to gain them, that is, he assured them that, if they behaved true and fair to him, he would

CHAP.
XLVIII.

in the same sense reciprocate. They were, however, not inclined to come into these terms. Nor could they. For whilst some, such as Barrot and Dufaure, were conscientiously prepared to support a republic, others had precipitated themselves into hopes and plans for an Orleanist restoration. It is reported that in a conversation of the President with Messrs. Molé and Thiers they recommended him to follow a purely civilian policy, and in token of it to cut off his mustachios.*

Seeing that he could not trust either the Monarchic chiefs or their lieutenants, the President resolved on changing his ministry. But whom should he name in their place? To which party could he have recourse? He had crushed and exiled the Socialist Republicans, defeated and set aside the Moderate ones. Legitimists and Orleanists were his foes. He had a party in the country composed of the rude and unlettered peasant, who still revered the name and family of Napoleon. But these, although they had elected him President, and would gladly have sent Imperialists to the Chamber, yet knew of none, and had, on the contrary, sent thither men who were anything but Imperialist. His device for ministers was thus limited to men of no party, men in whom he desiered talent, with a certain flexibility, which would admit of their rallying to him personally, as soon as they perceived that he really possessed a future and a following. The list of the ministers named by the President on the 31st October, 1849, were—home department, Ferdinand Barrot; foreign affairs, Rayneval; justice, Rouher; finance, Fould; public instruction, Parieu; public works, Bineau; commerce, Dumas; marine, Roman-Desfosses; war, Hautpoul.

The President accompanied the appointment of this ministry by a message to the Assembly, in which he complained that his experiment of forming a ministry

* Cassaignac.

from the different parties of the parliament had not succeeded. There was no unity of views, no leading spirit. During the hundred days, when the first Napoleon was hampered by the Constitutionalists, he expostulated, and observed that the country remained uncertain and dispirited, because "it did not feel the old arm of the Emperor." Louis-Napoleon now repeated the phrase by saying that "France, amidst the general confusion and inertness of direction, sought for the hand and the will of the elect of the 10th of December." The name of Napoleon, he added, meant order, authority, religion, and the well-being of the people. He said not a word of liberty. Up to this period, such men as Thiers had hoped in the new President.* But the ministry and the manifesto now completely dispelled the illusion.

However discontented the Monarchists might be at the choice of persons which the President had made for the offices of the ministry, they had no reason to complain of the spirit of the government or of the laws introduced. Some of these went to conciliate the clergy, to whom was restored its supremacy especially over primary education. The schoolmasters appointed under the influence of Carnot and his laws were found to have taught Socialist in lieu of religious doctrines. They were got rid of, and teachers were subjected to the approval of the prefect. The judges, who had been declared removable by the Republicans, were restored to the old fixed tenure of place. The laws respecting the appointment of mayors were equally Conservative.

This manifest reaction not only exasperated the Socialists but displeased that now very feeble body, the middle classes and shopkeepers of Paris. These last were disgusted, especially with the new enactments relative to the National Guard, and an opportunity was

* Véron says that a Thiers and Molé ministry formed the prospect of the time, for the appointment of which the President had given hopes. — *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.*

given them, too, for displaying it. The members of the Assembly implicated in the events of June having been expelled, elections were necessary to replace them. Three seats for Paris were vacant. The Parisians returned three decided Socialists, Carnot, Vidal, and De Flotte. The adherence to Socialism was not confined to the middle class; men who had before scouted it now rallied to Socialism, as the strongest auxiliary to the Republic. Michel de Bourges, the orator, Émile de Girardin, the journalist, gave it their support. As did Marrast and Cremieux.

The President was seriously alarmed at this reappearance of Socialism, which not only had gained some of the middle class in the capital but was making progress under the name of communism in rural districts, especially in the poor and ignorant ones. He immediately retraced his steps, and having sought to govern for several months without the parliamentary chiefs, he summoned them to council at the Elysée. The elections were fixed for the 18th of March, 1850. The meeting of political chiefs at the palace took place on the 14th. These were Molé, Berryer, De Broglie, Thiers, and others. "What is to be done to put down Socialism?" asked the President. Montalembert, as the youngest, spoke first, and he proposed a new ministry composed of all the Monarchist chiefs. Molé and Thiers neither approved nor contradicted. But the Duc de Broglie was decidedly against it. Men of such different opinions could never agree, he said. So thought the President. He had merely convoked them to soften their opposition, and get them to pass more stringent laws against Socialism.

There is no event during the three years' tenure of his President's office by Louis-Napoleon which more fully than this proves how little fixed were his plans from the first, and how ready he was to coalesce with any of the great Moderate or Conservative parties that would have

frankly joined him. After breaking with the majority in October 1849, he recurred to it in the March following, and accepted their remedy for Socialism, although it was inimical to his own interests, as well as to his views, if he had any. The remedy proposed by the Monarchist chiefs was a restoration of three years' residence, instead of one of six months, as requisite for the enjoyment of the suffrage. As the lower orders in Paris form a very floating population, it was calculated that the new law would exclude the rabble from the *faubourgs*. Whether it did or not, it certainly swept away, not thousands, but millions, of those rural voters, who knew no other name than Napoleon.

The law was passed by a large majority on the 31st of May, from which date it took its name. The Monarchists and Moderate Republicans did not, however, rally to the President, notwithstanding his appeal and obsequiousness to them. The increase of the dotation from 25,000*l.* a year to 124,000*l.*, demanded by ministers, was only voted by a majority of four. And when the Assembly adjourned, it appointed a standing commission of Monarchists, Changarnier amongst them, to watch over the security of the Republic against any attempts of the executive.

Flung by these acts back into his isolated position, and at the same time in antagonism to the Assembly, Louis-Napoleon resolved on a tour through the provinces. His first reception was at Lyons, where at a banquet he alluded to the rumour that he meditated a *coup d'état*. "He that has been elected by 6,000,000 of votes need make no *coup d'état*. He had but to execute the will of the people, not betray it. Should culpable pretensions, however, threaten to disturb the repose of the country, he should know how to render them powerless." This was an allusion to the new course adopted by the Monarchists. Instead of continuing to waive their old allegiance, they reproclaimed it by the

CHAP.
XLVIII.

Legitimists going to do homage to Henry the Fifth at Wiesbaden, and the Orleanists taking advantage of the death of Louis-Philippe to pay their devoirs at Claremont.

By these antagonistic movements, the chiefs of the parliamentary majority broke with the President so completely that the war between them, it was evident, would break out in a wider field than the four walls of the Assembly. They saw in the President's speeches the threat of dissolving and over-ruling them by an appeal to the people. They therefore rallied round General Changarnier, whom they engaged to defend them. He had authority for this in the command of the National Guard, and the troops around Paris, confided to him by the President. The first open symptom that he gave of his hostility was a prohibition to the troops to cry *Vive Napoléon*. They had done so frequently. The war minister, Hautpoul, did not disapprove of this manifestation; but General Changarnier conceived it as preluding to the Empire. He therefore forbade the troops to utter a word, and they marched past the President in ominous silence. He enquired the cause, learned it, and resolved to dismiss Changarnier.

He took his time, and in the message which opened the session of 1851, some weeks previous to the commencement of that year, he demanded the revision of the constitution. One of its articles forbade the existing president to be re-elected. This he considered unfair at a moment when hostile parties were putting forward the candidature of the Prince de Joinville, and demanding the abrogation of the law of exile, in order to permit that prince to return to France, and to stand candidature for supreme power. The Orleans family was indeed not zealous or decided for such a step. The Duke of Nemours openly deprecated it, and preferred accomplishing a *fusion* with the Legitimists.

But ere this question of the revision of the constitu-

tion could come under the consideration of the Assembly, a circumstance occurred which greatly aggravated the quarrel between the President and his ministers on one side, the Assembly and General Changarnier on the other. By this time had arisen something like an Imperialist party. The few members who at first formed it styled themselves the *Société du 10 Décembre*. A man named Allan, who had enrolled himself in the society, revealed to the questors that a certain number of the members had plotted or proposed to assassinate General Changarnier and M. Dufaure. The questors published this revelation in the newspapers. No one paid attention to so absurd a story save the questors, great enemies of Louis-Napoleon, and who demanded in consequence that the Assembly should have a police force to protect it. No doubt, the story was got up by Allan for the sake of having this force organised, and himself attached to it or placed over it. On his side, the President of the Republic summoned to him on the 8th of January the chief of the Monarchists, Thiers, Berryer, De Broglie, Molé, Barrot, Dupin, and Montalembert. Louis-Napoleon communicated to them his determination to deprive Changarnier of the command of the troops and National Guard of Paris. He could no longer tolerate in such a position an officer who openly assumed the attitude of an enemy. He acquainted the parliamentary chiefs with his determination, adding that, if they would consent to it, he would allow them to form a ministry, and take any additional guarantee they pleaded on behalf of the Republic and its members. Half angry at being so consulted, they declined. Of course, they could not consent to sacrifice Changarnier, whom they had encouraged in his attitude of opposition. The Prince immediately formed another ministry, of which all the members consented to the dismissal of the general. They were Baroche, Rouher, Fould, Drouyn de l'Huys, Ducos. A decree of the next day, June 9,

1851, dismissed General Changarnier, who was replaced by Baraguay d'Hilliers as general of the troops and guard of Paris, and by General Perrot as commander of the National Guard.

Some of the naturally most moderate members of the Chamber were excited to rage by what they considered so unwarrantable a measure. M. de Remusat was especially passionate. He interpellated the government first, and proposed that, if the reply was unsatisfactory, the Assembly should separate into committees to take such measures as the gravity of the circumstance required. This led to fierce debates, not rendered more calm by the declaration of Thiers that, if the Assembly gave way, the Empire was already accomplished. In fact, it did give way by making no mention of the fallen Changarnier, but merely declaring that the new ministry had not its confidence.

Had the Assembly and the political world been divided into compact parties, parliamentary censure inflicted on a ministry would have been an embarrassment. Politicians, however, were but puppets in the hands of the President, who appointed a new ministry, without any delay, of men little known to the Assembly. The names were Royer, Brenier, Randon, Germiny, Vaisse, Vaillant, Magnan, Giraud, and Schneider. This new government the President announced by a message, in which he said that, unable to form a ministry from a majority hostile to him, nor yet from the minority, he was driven to the necessity of making a government of special talent and acquirements without reference to politics. The Assembly replied by rejecting the 1,800,000 francs supplementary dotation for the expenditure of the President. He in rejoinder sold his horses, and assumed the attitude of a sovereign reduced to poverty by the niggardliness of the Assembly. The Imperialists throughout the country proposed subscriptions, which, however, the President declined.

It was impossible not to see that the struggle between the majority of the Assembly and the President must terminate in violence.* It was not to be expected that the representative of the Bonapartes, owing his position to the suffrage of the people, would yield his place and prospects to any princely competitor. The Assembly was determined to force him to do so, and yet they had no competitor whom they could really oppose to him. The country evidently would not have a prince of either branch of the Bourbons. Neither would it have a civilian or a revolutionary celebrity. The people would infallibly re-elect Louis-Napoleon. But this the clause of the constitution forbade. The President besought the Assembly to revise it. He continually made appeals to the Monarchist chiefs to obtain their assent, promising to give any guarantee they required. They refused, and relied on General Changarnier to ward off any danger from violence or from the military. Changarnier himself promised to render the constitution triumphant over every attempt of the President. "No soldier could be got," exclaimed the general, "to march against the Assembly. Therefore ye, the representatives of France, may deliberate in all security."

In April, the President made another appeal to the parties combined against him, and offered the presidency of the council to M. Odilon Barrot if that gentleman could form a ministry and suffer a *révision*. Barrot accepted, and tried, but the other members of the majority refused to listen to him. They demanded unconditional surrender on the part of the President. On this, the President named another ministry, consisting of Baroche and Léon Faucher, one foreign,

* The *Annuaire historique* quotes a passage from the *Daily News* of the time, and which plainly foreshadows the necessity of the Presi-

dent putting down the Assembly, or the Assembly putting down the President. So plain was the inevitable future even to the eyes of foreigners.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

the other home minister; Fould, Buffet, Randon, and Magne were the other names.

This ministry was allowed to supply as far as possible the place of that which Barrot had failed to unite. It was intended to satisfy the moderate men, who had rallied to the Republic, and who sought to continue it by leaving Louis-Napoleon still at the head of it. For this purpose a revision of the constitution was necessary. Some, however, instead of the revision, proposed simply prolonging the powers of the President for a certain number of years. Not only Léon Faucher, but the Duc de Broglie, Baroche and Duruy, saw the impossibility of setting aside Louis-Napoleon. They were therefore for the great compromise of continuing the Republic under him, no other scheme being practicable or possible. Had it prevailed, the great bugbear of the Empire would have been at least adjourned.

But parties were too violent. At the same time, the personal friends and followers of the President greatly increased as they became more active in their efforts. These showed themselves in the number of petitions which flowed in upon the Assembly during the summer for the revision of the constitution. The signatures were so numerous as far to exceed 1,000,000. Supported by this expression of popular opinion, more than 200 members maintained the necessity of a revision. The discussion followed. But it was soon evident that the Montagnards, or ultra-Republicans, united with the Monarchist and Moderate enemies of the President, would prevail. So it proved. There was indeed a majority for the revision, 446 against 278 who rejected it. But a law altering the constitution required three-fourths of the votes. And 446 did not amount to three-fourths of 742, the number of members present. The revision was thus lost on the 19th of July, and the Assembly separated on the 10th of August.

In the course of the same month, M. de Morny, on

the part of the President, made a last effort to bend the chiefs of the majority, and to bring Messrs. Molé, Berryer, and De Broglie to some compromise. De Broglie, indeed, as well as Barrot, voted the revision. But the Orleanists and the Legitimists, fused or separate, would not hear of it. They insisted on another president than Louis-Napoleon being elected. Who was to be that other president? The Republicans spoke of Carnot, the Orleanists of the Prince de Joinville. The Monarchist men of action preferred Changarnier, who, however, shrunk from explaining which branch of Bourbons he preferred. The Legitimists proposed Larochejaquelin.*

It was then that for the first time sprang up the serious project of the *coup d'état*. Carlier, the prefect of police, proposed it. He was for arresting the chief Monarchists, suspending the press, and dissolving the Assembly.† The President would not consent. He determined to await the opening of the Assembly, and to make another appeal to them to do away with the provision which excluded him from re-election, whilst that chance lay open to other and still less Republican candidates. Should the Assembly reject his demand, the President determined to have recourse to ultra-constitutional measures. And indeed he gave warning of some such intention by changing his ministry previous to the opening of the Chamber. Léon Faucher, the home minister in office, however favourable to the President's continued tenure of power, would have been no party to accomplish this by extra legal means. These, however, were not the patent grounds on which the ministers were removed. The President insisted on the repeal of the law of the 31st of May, limiting universal suffrage. Conservatives such as Faucher and Baroche deemed this law the most valuable conquest made by

* Cassagnac, Véron, journals of the time.

† Véron.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

the party of order over the Socialists. The President differed with them. The law of the 31st of May, by demanding three years' domicile as requisite to the franchise, had shut out from the poll three of the ten millions who originally voted, and thus the lower class in such towns as Paris were thereby eliminated. A far greater number of the poor rustic voters were at the same time set aside. The restricted number of voters had returned an Assembly hostile to the President. Moreover, the law of the 31st of May declared that, if less than two millions voted for the election of president, the vote was null, and the election devolved upon the Assembly. When the constitution was decreed, the friends of the Prince argued, two millions of votes were required, these two millions forming one-fifth of the electoral body. But since the law of the 31st of May, two millions formed nearly one-half of the number of voters, and it was against the spirit of the constitution to demand that one-half of the people should vote, under penalty of the election being nullified, and transferred to the Assembly. By manœuvring and raising general obstacles at the time of the election, the Monarchist party might manage to render the majority of the Assembly completely masters of the choice. And in that case Louis-Napoleon had no chance.

Determined on having the law of the 31st of May changed, as well as the obnoxious clause in the constitution removed, the President changed his ministry previous to the meeting of the Assembly. Léon Faucher was replaced by Thorigny; St. Arnaud was appointed minister of war. Fortoul took the marine. Maupas succeeded Carlier in the police. There were but three of the ministers who belonged to the Assembly. The President's message began by stating that the Democratic parties in France and throughout Europe had gained ground, and were in a state of hope and excitement. Nothing encouraged them so much as the probable

ejection of Louis-Napoleon from his post at the head of the French government. He therefore demanded the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, and the return to universal suffrage.

Matters were evidently approaching a crisis. A great meeting of the conservatives who were well inclined to the President took place at the house of M. Daru, on the 7th, three days after the opening of the Chamber. Seven or eight members proposed to put an end to the dispute between the President and the Assembly, by a vote declaring the former re-eligible. Universal suffrage, they thought, might be somewhat restored, ceding to the desire of the government, but to counteract it, the constitution should be altered, by instituting two chambers instead of one assembly. Montalembert spoke very strongly for this compromise, which, however, did not suit the majority. It remained irritated against the President, confident that Changarnier was able to defend them, and resolved in consequence not to grant Louis-Napoleon *ni un écu ni une heure*, “not an additional hour, nor a crownpiece.”*

To sustain this policy of defiance, it was necessary not only to have a general but an army. These the three questors of the assembly, Baze, Leflô, and Panat, undertook to procure. They accordingly gave notice on the 7th of a motion conferring on the president of the Assembly the right of summoning any portion of the military force of the Republic, and appointing a commandant of that force, whom it enjoined all authorities to obey. This decree was to be read to the army, and posted up in every barrack.

The motion, which aimed at no less than depriving the President of the command of the army, and transferring it to the Assembly, was discussed on the 17th and 18th of November, an ominous date, recalling the event

* Véron.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

of the 18th Brumaire, little more than half a century previous. Opened by Lasteyrie, the debate assumed all its gravity, when General St. Arnaud declared that the army and its chiefs were astonished at a legislative attempt to demand from them a divided allegiance. "If accepted," he said, "it would ruin the army, and supersede its traditional discipline by converting it into a club of political disputes." But far more grave than these words was the rumour which ran, that the President, having round him an armed force at the Elysée, was ready to march upon the Assembly, and accomplish an 18th Brumaire. Such, no doubt, was his purpose; and General Changarnier was prepared, it is also said, on the first news of the attempt, to move for the arrest of those seated on the ministerial benches. In prevision of such a contingency, St. Arnaud left the Assembly for the Elysée before the vote, leaving merely Thorigny and his civilian colleagues, whose arrest would not have been of so much importance. As St. Arnaud was leaving the Assembly, he observed to a friend and colleague, "They are making too much noise here, I am going to fetch the guard." There was no need, however, for such an act of violence. For the ultra-Republicans of the left of the Assembly had themselves become terrified at the military power to be conferred on the president of the Assembly, and consequently upon its majority, which they knew to be hostile to them. They accordingly voted against the motion of the questors, which was thrown out by a majority of 408 against 300. The news of the rejection was instantly brought to the Elysée, when the Prince observed that "it was all for the better," counter-ordering the war-horse that was held ready for him to mount.

The scheme of establishing a parliamentary army and government in face of a presidential army having thus failed by the want of concurrence on the part of the ultra-Republicans, a number of plans were set afloat by

the Monarchists for striking down the President. The *Constitutionnel*, which had been for some time in the interest of the President,* did not shrink from narrating the events and the dangers which the capital had escaped on the 18th, and it added a full disclosure of the plans that had been subsequently discussed. It stated with truth that the country had been within an hair's breadth of civil war. The danger still threatened; the Monarchists would at first have had General Changarnier for dictator, but as the Left would not agree in this, the Monarchists were prepared to give the same power to General Cavaignac, a *red* dictator instead of a *white* one—anything to get rid of the President. In order to arrive at this conclusion, a law was proposed to fix the responsibility of the President, which was nothing less than to put him *hors la loi*, and declare him guilty of high treason, if he placed any obstacle in the way of the execution of the thirty-second article of the constitution, giving the president of the Chamber power to require the assistance of the army. Véron says that it was on receiving notice of this motion that Louis Napoleon took the definitive resolution of dissolving the Assembly by force.

He almost, indeed, betrayed himself when addressing the French manufacturers who had been *exposants* at the English Exhibition—"How prosperous," he said, "might not France be if demagogic ideas and monarchic hallucinations did not disturb it. At the present moment, these parties, which were natural enemies, showed themselves the contrary, and were driving on to revolution. Notwithstanding their efforts, tranquillity shall be maintained. The government is equal to its mission, since it possesses the right, which is given by the people, and the power, which is given by God."

The true question lay with the army. Would it support the President, or would it stand by the constitution

* Granier de Cassagnac.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

and the Assembly? General Changarnier had assured his friends that the army would never act against them. M. Berryer declared in the tribune that in attempting to employ force against the Assembly, "the President would not find four men and a corporal to obey him."

On the 26th of November, General Magnan, who commanded the military division of the capital, assembled all the generals within call. He addressed them, and asked, Would they support the President in making another appeal to the people, in other words, would they join in the accomplishment of a *coup d'état*? The twenty-one generals, without hesitation, answered in the affirmative.* After this adhesion of the chiefs of the army, it was merely necessary to fix the day and the mode of execution. M. de Morny, who was eventually to take the home office, was the President's chief confident; General St. Arnaud, already minister of war, made the military preparations. With them, the prefect of police, Maupas, and an aide-de-camp were the only persons in the secret. "I hear that the President is going to sweep out the Assembly," observed a lady to M. de Morny on the evening of the attempt. "In that case," replied he, "I shall endeavour to act handle to the broom that sweeps." And this was precisely the part he acted.

None of the parties threatened considered the *coup d'état* as imminent. They all reckoned that such an attempt was only to be expected when provoked, as was the case on the 18th of November. There was a reception, as usual, at the Élysée on the evening of the 1st of December. M. de Morny showed himself at the opera. At night the President assembled those in the secret. The final resolve was taken, and the decrees prepared. The first step was the arrest of all who might preach or practise resistance. They amounted to seventy-eight, of whom eighteen were deputies.

* Granier de Cassagnac.

Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Bedeau, Messrs. Thiers, Charras, and the questors, Lagrange and Greppo, of the ultra-Republican party. These personages were all conveyed to the new prison of Mazas. Whilst the chiefs of all possible resistance were thus committed to prison, some twenty regiments occupied the important posts of the city.

To the Parisians, who awoke in astonishment on the morning of the 2nd, the following proclamation disclosed the meaning of the movement:—

“Decree.”

“The National Assembly is dissolved. The law of the 31st of May being abrogated, universal suffrage is fully re-established. Re-election of an assembly takes place immediately. Paris is declared in a state of siege, and the council of state dissolved.”

The document was signed by the home minister, De Morny. A proclamation from the President at the same time appeared, giving a public exposure of his intentions.

“Frenchmen,” said the President, “the actual situation could not endure. The Assembly, which ought to have been the mainstay of order, had become a mere *focus* of all kinds of plots. Instead of passing laws for the public good, it employed its time in forging arms for civil war. It attacked me, the elect of the people. In dissolving it, I take the people to judge between the Assembly and myself. The same men who had destroyed two monarchies already were tying my hands to sacrifice me also, in order to put an end to the Republic. I therefore make a loyal appeal to the nation. If it wishes to prolong the present state of anarchy, let it choose another in my place. I will no longer wield a power that is insufficient to accomplish any good. If, on the contrary, the country has confidence in me, let it give me the power to accomplish

my mission. This is to close the era of revolution, and satisfy the real wants of the people, whilst protecting them against subversive passions. The instability of power proceeds from the preponderance of a single Assembly. I therefore propose as the basis of government:

“A responsible chief, chosen for ten years; ministers depending on the executive alone; a Council of State, composed of the most able men, discussing the proposed laws before the Legislative Body; a Legislative Body, discussing and voting the laws, elected by universal suffrage; a Senate.

“Such was the system of the First Consul. If I do not obtain a majority of your suffrages in approval of this system, I will summon another Assembly, and surrender to it the mandate I received from you.”

This was the *Constitution de l'an VIII*, in other words, the Consular Constitution of 1799, emasculated of some of its liberal provisos, but retaining all its dictatorial character. It preserved the election of communal and departmental lists, out of which alone functionaries could be chosen. The Senate filled up itself the vacancies in its body. But that constitution gave the initiative of laws and motions exclusively to the government, withdrew ministers from the jurisdiction or even the influence of the Assembly, and reduced the latter to a mere consultative body. The constitution of 1799 said nothing of the press, but as it was inaugurated by the suppression of opposition journals so was the constitution of 1851.

Such a system of government could only have emanated from a victorious soldier. It could neither have been framed or accepted by any body of civilians. That of 1799 was, however, accepted by the generality of Frenchmen as at least a repose from anarchy, from civil strife, and administrative dilapidation. There was not the same excuse, certainly, in 1851. No foreign war threatened. The Socialists, who had a large following in

the great towns, and who as communists had perverted the sentiments of several remote and indigent rustic districts, formed a danger which a free government might have fully coped with. Their theories and threats, however, filled the proprietorial class with terror. And they thought less of the requirements of a free government than of those of a severe one. If indeed in and out of the Assembly they inclined to the Monarchic parties, it was that they had no faith in the strength or permanency of the President. When the success of the *coup d'état* showed him to possess power and sagacity, not only did a strong party gather around him, but the much larger party of the timid rallied to him also. As to peasant voters, they knew the name of Buonaparte, and could not comprehend the meaning of a *constitution*. It was an invention of the *bourgeoisie*, which never failed to increase their taxation and to lead to revolution.

Whilst the people, or indeed ere the people, considered these things, the members of the Assembly, with the exception of the eighteen arrested, displayed and entered upon different modes of opposition. In the Conservative Club, Léon Faucher proposed a protest, which Baroche deprecated. The Republicans met to proclaim Louis-Napoleon a traitor. Victor Hugo signed a decree in the name of the *Montagne réunie*, declaring him *hors la loi*. De Morny was soon informed of these acts, and a body of police surrounded the meeting of the Republican members, and conveyed them to prison.

The Moderates, after assembling in several places, collected at last in the Mairie of the Rue de Grenelle. They elected a president. The president of the Assembly, M. Dupin, had made his submission, declaring it useless to struggle against force. The deputies, upwards of 200, passed a vote that Louis-Napoleon had forfeited his office. Some of them then tried to force their way into the old hall. But bayonets barred the way, and finally the entire number of the

CHAP.
XLVIII.

deputies was surrounded and brought captive to the barrack of the Quai d'Orsay. There most of them were obliged to pass the night between the 2nd and 3rd. Some were released early, especially M. de Broglie and Dufaure. M. Thiers was sent by rail to Strasbourg, and set free on the other side of the Rhine. The other prisoners of Mazas were sent to Ham.

It was difficult for the remnant of the Democratic Club to bear such a revolution without protesting against it. And the only protest was by arms. The working class of Paris had, however, sufficient experience of *émeutes*, and, save those enrolled in the clubs, none would join it. Hence the insurrection hung fire. It did not show itself on the 2nd, and on the 3rd made a vain attempt to raise the faubourgs. This failing, the Clubbists collected in the old battlefields, the network of narrow streets round St. Méry. There, on the 3rd, they threw up barricades and commenced resistance. There were also rising and strife in the streets abutting on the boulevards on either side. This led to disastrous consequences, for the troops, as they marched up from the Madeleine, began to fire long before any enemy appeared; and as they could not fire straight before them, being in column, they discharged their muskets upon the houses, and into the windows, killing numbers of inoffensive people. It was a most unwarrantable proceeding on the part of some of the officers in command, and is reproached as a sacrifice of innocent persons in order especially to terrify their class. From the citizens, however, the President encountered no resistance whatever. The National Guard had refused to support the deputies in the Assembly when appealed to. And save a few desperadoes in the quarter St. Méry, the *coup d'état* met really with no armed resistance. There were counted 175 killed of the insurgents.

The ministry formed by the President on the success of his *coup d'état* consisted of De Morny, St. Arnaud, Fould, Turgot, Ducos, Rouher, Magne, and Fortoul.

On the 20th and 21st took place the great vote throughout the country. Of 8,000,000 of voters, 7,500,000 received with approbation the revolution effected by the President.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

The constitution was promulgated in January 1852. The members of the Senate were named, and the Legislative Body elected. But with the initiative power taken from it, few persons cared for its existence, or looked into its debates. Parliamentary régime in France was no more. On its ruin rose the Second Empire; for the French require something to worship. Louis-Napoleon tried the pulse of his two great secondary cities, Lyons and Bordeaux. The acclamations of Lyons saluted him Emperor. Bordeaux became eager to do the same, when the President solemnly told them that the new Empire should be Peace. "It was not territories," he said, "but reforms and ameliorations that the new dynasty had to conquer." Again consulted in November 1852, would it sanction the dignity of Emperor as it had already approved of the Imperial system and laws, the country, with its 8,000,000 of voters, saluted the heir of the Emperor Napoleon as Napoleon the Third.

Thus, after thirteen centuries, the monarchy of France returned very nearly to the point from whence it started, subject to a ruler hoisted on their bucklers by his soldiers, and then acclaimed by the people. In that long lapse of time the monarchy suffered many vicissitudes. As long, indeed, as kingship was imperial, which it soon became, Roman ideas of policy and sovereignty prevailing, the majesty of the throne was more nominal than real, its amount of consistence and power mainly dependent upon the personal qualities of the prince. Feudalism soon laid another basis, and gave birth to a new sentiment altogether, and, by making the king the crowning point of a territorial and hereditary aristocracy, caused its roots to commingle with the pride, the prejudices, and the interests of all.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

It would be erroneous, however, to consider the kingship of modern Europe as the mere capital of an aristocratic column. A great portion of its increased strength came from its being looked to, not only by the class in immediate contact with it, but by those lower in the social scale far less fortunately placed. The characteristic of feudalism was, indeed, to create several classes, to recognise them, and endow them with rights, which, however limited at first, were still rights. The ancient world knew but two classes, one the proprietorial and patriciate, the other which gave labour or service for livelihood. The latter had no rights; they were slaves, freedmen, or clients. Feudalism made the serf, and allowed the middle and industrious class to rise, slowly and grudgingly, no doubt, but with the instinctive mistrust that the middle class would one day dethrone it. Church and aristocracy therefore leagued to fetter the middle-class mind, which in time broke or strove to break such fetters. This effort succeeded in England, and failed in France for a time, the revolution of the latter being thus adjourned in order to be more complete. And this forms the difference between the histories of the two countries. The struggle produced the amalgamation of the two classes in England, of their ideas and their wants; whilst in France the victorious privileged classes held their antagonists at bay, till the latter called on the people to rise and accomplish the revolution, which utterly effaced, not only the institutions, but even the social landmarks of feudalism.

That feudalism and territorial constitutions have seen their day, there can be little doubt; as little, that these are already to be succeeded by a return to the old division of patriciate and non-patriciate, the former not based, as was formerly the case, upon narrow or legal privileges, but upon the broad and various claims of wealth, birth, intelligence, esteem, and personal superiority. It will require, indeed, that all these should group together and

stand by one another, if they are to hold their ground as an upper class—the more destitute and uneducated coming to know and to gain daily the advantage of numbers, and not wanting men to teach them that strength gives right. The war of those who inherit nothing, and have nothing, against those more fortunately reared and endowed, we see in England, however disguised, as we have seen it in the latter pages of this history open and undisguised. When it becomes so flagrant and fierce, as was till lately the case in France, the well-to-do class, if unorganised, or unable to defend itself by existing institutions, will, like the upper citizens of the Italian republics, instal a *podestà*, or dictator, or an Emperor: this is, in other words, the sacrifice of liberty to security, which the upper class under urgent circumstances will always be compelled to make; whilst to avoid this necessity seems to be, or ought to be, the first great aim of modern statesmanship.

INDEX.

ABB

ABBAYE, massacre of prisoners confined in the, iv. 524, 530. Massacre of priests in the, 525

Abbeville refuses an aide to John II., i. 456. The citizens bought over by Charles V., 523. Recovered by France, ii. 264. Occupied by French troops after the death of Charles the Rash, 329. The Huguenots of, crushed, iii. 59. Submits to Henry IV., 312

Abd-el-Kader and his campaigns, v. 560. Surrenders, 562. Transported to Toulon, and then imprisoned at Amboise, 562

A'Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, his quarrel with Henry II., i. 144. His cause embraced by Louis VII. of France, 145. Pilgrimages to the shrine of, at Canterbury, 148

Abelard, Peter, his arrival in Paris, and reputation in dispute, i. 135. Condemned by the Synod of Soissons, 135. Opposed by St. Bernard, 135. Refuses to appear before the Council at Sens, 136. Condemned to perpetual silence by the Pope, 136. Danger of his new ideas in theology, ii. 70

Abendsburg, battle of, v. 161

Abercrombie, General, his death, v. 94

Aberdeen, Lord, sends M. de St. Aignan with offers of peace to Napoleon, v. 215. Succeeds in enforcing the right of search, 555. Surprised at the seizure of Otaheite, 556. Refuses his support to Mr. Pritchard, 557. His policy as to the Spanish marriage, 566. Consents to Montpensier's marrying the Queen of Spain's sister, 567. Puts an end to terror of M. Guizot, 568

Aboukir, battle of, v. 48

Abraham, battle of the Heights of, iv. 274

Absolutism, rapid establishment of, of the French monarchs, i. 442. Every salutary element of feudalism destroyed by the growth of absolutism, 450. Causes in the fourteenth century of the retrograde movement from absolutism to federalism, 496. The position of an absolute monarch recovered by Charles V., 538. The weak point of absolute monarchy, ii. 2. The principle of absolutism recurred to by Charles VII., 237, 241. Louis XI.'s views and intentions as to, 343. Paramount at the accession of Francis I., 447, 448.

ADM

Conflicting principles of absolutism and liberty, iii. 2. Absolutism in the south, 2. Henry IV. the great restorer of the monarchic principle, 302. Fatal effect of absolutism on France, iv. 140 *See also* Despotism.

Academy, French, founded, iii. 526

Accounts, Chamber of, established by Philip the Long, i. 376. Regulations as to the election to offices in the, ii. 77

Acre, siege of, by the Crusaders, i. 159. Relieved by Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I., of England), 278. The French siege of, v. 48. Defended by Sir Sydney Smith, 48. Besieged and surrendered to the English, 538

Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, his connection with Hugh Capet, i. 62. His reforms, 62, 63. His endeavours to establish some kind of education, 63. Advises the rejection of the Carolingian princes, 67. Vengeance of the princes, 67. Absolved by Hugh Capet, 68. Represents Charles of Cambrai, the last of the Carolingians, as unworthy of the Crown, 68. His unwillingness to sanction the hereditary succession to the throne, 78. His death, 78

Adalbert, Count of Metz, supports the Emperor, i. 40. Defeated and killed, 41

Adam, Sieur de l'Isle, admitted secretly into Paris, ii. 124. Drives out the Armagnacs, 124. How treated by Henry V. of England, 146. Joins the Constable in expelling the English from Paris, 194. Slain in the streets of Bruges, 238

Addington, Mr., converses with M. Otto on French Peace, v. 107

Adelaide, Madame, consents to the elevation of her brother, the Duke of Orleans, v. 408, 409. Advises concessions, 478. Louis Philippe's best counsellor, 478. Advises reforms of his measures, 581. Her death, 581

Adèle, daughter of the Count of Blois, married to Louis VII., i. 144. Gives birth to Philip Augustus, 144

Adelhard, general of Charles the Bold, at Fontenailles, i. 41

Adige, passage of the, v. 90

Administration, reforms of St. Louis in the i. 259. Louis XI.'s management of the

- affairs of, ii. 348. Reforms of the ordinance of 1413, 97. Spirit of the domestic administration of Charles VII., 241. The administration is pacified under Louis XIII., iii. 418. Several Conseils established, 419. Sketch of Richelieu's, 521-526. *See also under the names of the various Prime Ministers.*
- Administrative Centralisation, commencement of the French system of, i. 170
- Admiral of France, office of, suppressed by Richelieu, iii. 468
- Adolph of Nassau, Emperor of Germany, i. 310. Receives money from Edward I. of England, and misuses it, 310. Joins England and Flanders in war against France, 311. The Allies defeated, and Flanders taken by Philip IV., 314. His death, 315
- Adolph of Gueldres, repulsed from Tournay, and killed, ii. 337
- Adretz, Baron des, Huguenot partisan, his cruelty to the Catholics, iii. 65. Joins the Catholics, 65
- Adrian I., Pope, election of, i. 24. Puts Affiarta to death, 24. Besieged in Rome by the Lombards, 24. Begs aid from Charlemagne, 24. Who relieves Rome, and confirms the donation of the Exarchate to the Pope, 25
- Ægidius, Roman governor of Gaul, defeated by Clovis, i. 4
- Æresburg, capital of the Saxons, taken by Charlemagne, i. 24
- Affiarta, Paul, a Roman, in the interest of the Lombard faction at Rome, i. 24. Put to death by Pope Adrian, 24
- Affre, Archbishop of Paris, endeavouring to stop the effusion of blood in the insurrection, is accidentally shot, v. 628
- Africa, the French trade on the west coast of, destroyed by the English, iv. 274
- Agen, town of, occupied by the French, i. 380. Conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants at, iii. 47. Taken by Montluc, 68
- Aghrim, battle of, iv. 41
- Agincourt, battle of, ii. 112-114
- Agnadello, battle of, ii. 428
- Agosta taken by Robert of Artois, i. 300
- Agoust, Marquis d', arrests two judges of parliament, iv. 398, 399
- Agriculture, state of, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, iv. 157. Condition of French, in the middle of the eighteenth century, 248
- Aguesseau, Chancellor d', exiled, iv. 166, 171. Recalled, 176
- Aides, burdens on the, in 1626, iii. 470. At the end of the seventeenth century, iv. 49
- Aides, the Cour des, abolished, iv. 326
- Aide-toi, society of, v. 389
- Aidie, Odot d', defeated at Bordeaux and Bayonne by Charles VIII., ii. 366
- Aignan, M. de St., sent with messages of peace to Napoleon from Lord Aberdeen, v. 215
- Aigues Mortes, town of, founded, i. 232. Meeting of Francis I. and Charles V. at, ii. 543. The Protestant ministers of, hanged, iii. 17. Given to the Huguenots, 188. Delivered up to Louis XIII. by the Huguenot leader Chatillon, 437
- Aiguillon, Duke d', governor of Brittany, placed in command of an army for the invasion of England, iv. 277. Unable to embark, 278. His quarrel with the parliament and estates of Brittany, 309. Compelled to resign, 312. Demands a trial by his peers, 322. The proceedings quashed by the king, 322. Becomes prime minister, 324. Punishes General Dumouriez and the Count de Broglie, 331. His château burned, 431. His proposition to the nobles for the abandonment of their feudal privileges, 431
- Aiguillon, great siege of, under John, Duke of Normandy, i. 422. Who raises the siege, 432
- Aimery di Paire, governor of Calais, entraps the French under Geoffrey of Charny, i. 438
- Ain, Girod de l', president of the Chambers, v. 446
- Ain, department of the, ceded to France, iii. 350
- Aire besieged by the Flemings, i. 433. Who retire before Philip VI., 433, 434
- Aistulph, King of the Lombards, claims tribute from the Romans, i. 20. His dominions invaded by Pepin the Bref, 21. Lays siege to Rome, 21. Submits to Pepin, and makes restitution to the Pope, 21
- Aix, coronation of Louis the Debonnaire at the assembly at, i. 32. Becomes the capital of the south of France, 216. Occupied by the Emperor Charles V., ii. 539. Persecution of the Protestants of, iii. 18. Cruelties inflicted on them, 47, 65
- Aix-la-Chapelle occupied by the Normans, i. 49. Treaties of, iii. 667; iv. 245. Congress of, 240
- Aladonize, Lieutenant, implicated in Louis Napoleon's conspiracy, v. 536, *et seq.*
- Alais, reduction of the Protestants in, iii. 482
- Alava, escape of, v. 329
- Albany, Duke of, assumes the regency of Scotland, ii. 461. Abandoned by Francis I., 462. Sent by Francis I. to threaten Naples, 482
- Albemarle, Count of, killed at Courtray, i. 327
- Albemarle, Duke of, taken prisoner by Marshal Villars, iv. 114
- Alberg, Duke d', receives the city of Frankfurt, v. 127. Sends M. de Vitrolles to the Allies, 222
- Alberoni, Cardinal, his rise, iv. 146. His influence at the Spanish court, 147, 150. Forms a league against England, 151.

ALB

- Sends an expedition to Sardinia, 151. Endeavours to excite enemies to the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance, 152. Plots against France, 153, 154. Causes war with England and France, 154. Dismissed, 155. Refuses to return to Spain, 189, 190
- Albert I. of Austria, elected Emperor of Germany, i. 315. Concludes peace with France, 315. Assassinated, 345
- Albert, Prince Consort of England, and the Spanish marriages, v. 564, *et seq.*
- Albert, Cardinal and Archduke, objects of his desire for peace, iii. 332. The Low Countries made over to him, 365. The arrangement, how viewed in England, 368. Shelters the Prince and Princess of Condé, 377
- Albert, of Saxe-Teschen, Duke of, bombards Lille, and is defeated at Jemmapes, iv. 546
- Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, joins a league against Charles V., ii. 607. Refuses to lay down his arms at the treaty of Passau, 610. Rallies from the French to the Imperial standard, 611
- Albert, M., propagates his Social views among the workmen of Paris, v. 609
- Albi, Cardinal of, sent by Louis XI. to put down the Count of Armagnac, ii. 307. Kills the Count and Countess, 307
- Albigenses, Philip Augustus' crusade against the, i. 152. Nature of the Albigensian heresy, 173. Envoys sent by Pope Innocent III. to inquire into it, 175. A crusade against the Albigenses proclaimed by the Pope, 176. The massacre at Beziers, 177. Plunder of Carcassonne, 179. The castle of Toulouse given up to De Montfort, 180. Lavaur besieged and taken, 181. Crushed at the battle of Muret, 183. Interference of Prince Louis between the people and their oppressors, 184. A new crusade against them led by Louis VIII., 199. Vastness of the army led against them, 199. The reduction of Toulouse not attempted, 200. Vengeance of the Albigenses on the two chief inquisitors Arnaud and Stephen, 224. Fays, or dispossessed Albigenses, accompany St. Lewis to the Holy Land, 232.
- Albret, Count d', besieged by the English in Tartas, ii. 213. But relieved by Charles VII., 214. Joins a league against Louis XI., 267. Joins the league for restoring the authority of the Estates, 366. Sends 4,000 men to the Duke of Brittany, 367. His hopes of obtaining the duchy of Brittany, 370. Surrenders Nantes to the French, 371. His daughter married to Cæsar Borgia, 404
- Albret, House of, driven from the throne of Navarre, ii. 437
- Albret, Sieur d', joins the French against the King of Navarre, i. 505. His jealousies of the English, 512. Accompanies the Black

ALE

- Prince into Spain, 512. Marries a daughter of Charles V., of France, 519. His daughter married to the son of Montagu, ii. 78. Deprived of the office of Constable, 87. Retires to the south, 89. Commands the French army at Agincourt, 112. Where he is defeated and slain, 114.
- Albuera, battle of, v. 178, 181, 206
- Albuquerque, his division defeated at Rocroy, iii. 558
- Alençon, Duc d', brother of Philip VI., at the battle of Crecy, i. 428. Slain, 428.
- Alençon, Duke of, his efforts to take Henry V. at Agincourt, ii. 113. Slain, 113, 114.
- Alençon, Duke of, defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Verneuil, ii. 150, 151. Joins Jeanne d'Arc on the Loire, 168. And accompanies her on her attack on Paris, 171. Heads a force in the West, 174. Joins the rebellion against the establishment of a standing army, 205. Submits and is pardoned, 207. Regains Niort, 213. Arrested and charged with treason, 242. Pardoned by Louis XI., 253. Joins a league against Louis XI., 267
- Alençon, Duke of (son of the preceding), liberated and restored to his heritage, ii. 352. Appointed to the government of Normandy, 450. Sent to command in the North, 472. At the battle of Pavia, 484. His wife sent to Spain to console and negotiate for her brother Francis I., 489.
- Alençon, Duke d', afterwards Duke of Anjou, youngest son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis, iii. 125. Proposed as a suitor for the hand of Queen Elizabeth, 125, 129. Offers made by Rome to him, 127. Withdrawal of Queen Elizabeth from the proposed marriage, 133. Renewal of his suit, 150. Quarrels with his brother, and leans towards the Protestants, 154. His plot against his mother, 156. Discovery of his plot, 157. Arrested, 158. His submission, 165. His flight from Court, 168. His life sought by his brother, the King, 168. Forgiven by the King, 169. Sends forth a Huguenot manifesto from Dreux, 169. Endeavours of his mother to win him back to loyalty, 169. Conclusion of a truce, 170. Towns given up to him, 170. Concludes the Paix de Monsieur, 173. Receives Touraine and Anjou in apanage, 173. Reconciled to the King, 181. His views at this time, 181, *note*. Styled Duke of Anjou, 185. Placed in command of an army sent against the Huguenots, 185. Takes La Charité, 185. And Issoire, 185. Recalled by the King, 186. His hatred of his brother, the King, 191. His campaign of 1578 in the Netherlands, 194. Withdraws thence in disgrace, 195. Elected Duke of Brabant, 195. His death, 195

ALE

Alençon, Count of (brother of Philip VI.), attacks Xaintonge and burns the Castle of Saintes, i. 392

Alençon, Count of, joins the revival of the alliance of Orleans against Burgundy, ii. 80

Alençon, fortress of, captured by Duke William of Normandy, i. 91. Taken by Louis the Fat, 119. Rebels against the taxes of Louis XI., ii. 256. Captured by the royalists, 289

Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, defeated at Austerlitz, v. 124. Demands an armistice, 125. At Tilsit, 137. Proposal of Napoleon to invade India, 150. His interview with the Emperor at Erfurt, 150, 156. Approves of the installation of Joseph Buonaparte at Madrid, 156. Proposed marriage of Napoleon to his sister, 157, 170. Prince Schwarzenberg's advice to, 161. Breaks the treaty of St. Petersburg, 177. His treaty of Bucharest, 182. Commences hostilities, 183. His military tactics, 183. Gives command of his army to Barclay de Tolly, 183. Battle of Smolensko, 183. Burning of Moscow, 188. Refuses overtures of Napoleon, 189. Offers rewards for French captives, 194. Joins the Prussians and fights the battles of Lutzen and Leipzig, 201, 212. Caulaincourt sent to, as peace envoy, 204. Defeat of Blucher and other generals induces him to join in peace negotiations, 220. Proposes to raise Bernadotte to the throne of France, 222. Enters Paris, 228. Negotiates with Talleyrand to reseat the Bourbons, 229. Hesitates to sacrifice Maria Louisa and her son, 231. Offers Napoleon sovereignty of Elba, 232. Visits Louis XVIII., 235. Prevents the removal of Napoleon to the Azores, 241. Incensed with Talleyrand, 260. Joins Madame de Krudener's prayer-meetings, 267. Conceives the project of the Holy Alliance, 267. Opposes Talleyrand, 268. Visits Louis XVIII. and sanctions his liberal policy, 292. Proposes that the plenipotentiaries meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, 292. His political views and conduct with regard to Spain and the Levant, 323. His death at Taganrog, 348

Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, Spanish general, besieges Antwerp, iii. 199. Besought by the Duke of Mayenne for succour, 258, 259. Proposes to enter France on account of Philip II., 260. Sends 2,000 troops to the aid of the League, 264. Advances to the aid of Paris, 270, 271. Compels Henry IV. to raise the siege of Paris, 273. Enters the capital in triumph, 274. His retreat harassed by Henry, 275. Refuses to receive a deputation from the Sixteen of Paris, 279. Leaves France, 279. Crosses the frontier with an army, 283. Supplies money to the Duke of Guise, 283. Causes the siege of

ALI

Rouen under Henry IV. to be raised, 285, 286. Wounded, 287. Escapes from Henry IV. down the Seine, 287. Dies from his wound, 290

Alexander V., Pope, election of, ii. 76

Alexander VI., Pope, his son married to the daughter of the King of Naples, ii. 384. His envoy to the Sultan Bajazet, 384. His capital city, Rome, entered by Charles VIII., 385. Joins the league of the Italian States formed against the French, 387. Urges Ferdinand of Aragon to invade Naples, 388. Grants a divorce to Louis XII., 396. Receives forty Capuan ladies from his son, Caesar, 412. Proposal for deposing him, 412. His death, ii. 416

Alexander VII., Pope, insulted by the Duke of Crequy, iii. 650. Compelled to ask pardon of Louis XIV., 650

Alexandre the Soldier leads the insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine, iv. 490

Alexandria, destroyed by the King of Cyprus, i. 509. Threatened by Sir Charles Napier, v. 538

Alexandria, in Italy, taken by the French, ii. 405. Taken by Marshal Lautrec, 502. The Austrians and Piedmontese defeated by the French near, iv. 235. Surrendered, v. 19

Alexandrini, Cardinal, his mission to Paris, iii. 127. His endeavours to bring back Charles IX. to the Catholic league, 127

Alexis I., Emperor of the East, transports the First Crusaders to Asia, i. 105. His treatment of those camped outside the walls of Constantinople, 106. Wheedles the chiefs into acknowledging his superiority in the East, 107

Algarves, King of Etruria made monarch of, v. 152

Algiers, expedition of the Emperor Charles V. against, ii. 553. Bombarded by Louis XIV., iv. 27. Expedition to, v. 383, 386. The Dey of, strikes the French Consul with his fan, 368. Taken possession of, by General Bourmont, 387. Reverses in, 507, 508. Its possession a ground of quarrel for England, 559

Alibaud, his attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 503

Alix, Queen of Cyprus, lays claim to the throne of Navarre, i. 216

Alix, Queen Dowager of France, endeavours to exercise influence over her son, Philip Augustus, i. 149. Beseeches the aid of Henry II. of England against her son, 150

Alix, French Princess, betrothed to Richard I. of England, i. 156, 159. Reason why the marriage could not take place, 156, 159

Alix, Countess of Chartres and Blois, territories of, ravaged by Hugh of Le Puiset, i. 116

ALL

Allan, reveals the plot to assassinate Changarnier, v. 651
 Allegre, Ives d', slain at the battle of Ravenna, ii. 436
 Alliance. *See* Holy ; Quadruple ; Triple.
 Allodial property held by the nobles, i. 48
 Almanza, battle of, iv. 98
 Almenara, battle of, iv. 105
 Alphonso, fourth son of Louis VIII., his apanage of Poitou and Auvergne, i. 200. Affianced to Isabella, daughter of the Count de la Marche, 207. Ceremony of his investiture of knighthood and of the dignity of Count of Poitou, 220. Comes to a rupture with the Count de la Marche, 222. Assumes the Cross, 228. Joins the main army at Damietta, 234. Made prisoner by the Saracens, 236. Returns to France, 243. His death, 279
 Alphonso I., Duke of Ferrara, seizes Modena, ii. 499. Marries Renée, daughter of Louis XII., 517. Makes peace with Charles V., 519
 Alphonso II., King of Naples, his daughter married to Galeazo Visconti, ii. 380. Defeat of his son by the French, 382. Abdicates in favour of his son, 385
 Alphonso III., the Beneficent, King of Aragon, i. 300. Liberates Charles II. of Naples, 301. Who prepares to attack Sicily and Naples, 301. Alphonso's death, 301
 Alsace, under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 309. His lieutenant put to death by the people, 310. Campaign of the Duke to avenge his death, 311. League of the towns of Alsace, Suabia, and Switzerland against the Duke, 310. The Burgundians driven out of the country, 312. Acquired by France, iii. 506. Occupied by the French, 511. Invaded by the deposed Duke of Lorraine, 512. Handed over to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 513. Finally becomes French, 516. Defeat of the French in, 569. Ceded to France in full sovereignty, 575. Retreat of the Germans from, 692. The northern part abandoned by the French, 694. The authority of Louis XIV. fully extended in, iv. 23. Again obtained by France in full sovereignty by the peace of Ryswick, 62
 Alva, Ferdinand, Duke of, accompanies Charles V. in his campaign into Lorraine, ii. 611. Sent to the Conference of La Mareq, 616. Succoured by the French, 621. Marches from Naples towards Rome, 621. Acts as proxy for the marriage of Philip II. with Elizabeth of France, 647. Meets Catherine de Medicis at Bayonne, iii. 87. His demand, 87. Marches a Spanish army through the East of France to the Netherlands, 90. Sends reinforcements to Catherine de Medicis, 95, 97. His rigorous policy in the Low Countries, 112. Attempts the recapture of Mons, 129. Defeats and takes Genlis prisoner, 130

AMI

Alviano, General of the Venetian forces, defeated at Agnadello, ii. 428, 429. Taken prisoner, 429. Joins Francis I., 455
 Alvinzi, General, defeated by Buonaparte at Arcola, v. 25, 26 ; retreats, 26
 Amadeus V., Duke of Savoy, joins Philip the Fair against the Flemings, i. 333
 Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, elected Pope as Felix V., ii. 217. Resigns the tiara, 221.
 Amand, St., captured by Louis XI., ii. 269. And by Marshal Villars, iv. 114
 Amar, *trembler* of the Centre, accuses the Girondists, iv. 618
 Amaury of Montreal, besieged in Lavaur, by De Montfort, i. 181. Hanged, 181
 Amboise, Charles d', Grand Master, placed in command of the army of Italy of Louis XII., ii. 405
 Amboise, George d', Archbishop of Rouen, course on which he embarks, ii. 362. Seized by Charles VIII., and imprisoned, 366. Endeavours to obtain the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, 372. Created a cardinal, 396. And appointed first French prime minister, 401. His early administration, 402. Maintains the Pragmatic Sanction, 402. His timidity, 408, 409. His motives for conciliation rather than battles, 404. His hopes of the tiara, 409. Goes on an embassy to the Emperor at Trent, 412. Their discussions, 412. Hastens to Rome on the death of Alexander VI., 417. But fails to obtain the pontifical chair, 417. Returns from the Emperor dissatisfied with his mission, 421. Transcribes a testament for Louis XII., 421. His views as to the empire, 425. Induces Louis XII. to quit Italy, 425. Consents to the League of Cambray, 425. Great ecclesiastical authority arrogated by him as legate, 431. Failure of his Italian policy, 445
 Amboise, conspiracy of, iii. 19. Treaty of, 75. The town given as a *place de sûreté* to the Prince of Condé, 399. Abd-el-Kader at, v. 562
 Ambray, M. d', dismissed, v. 289
 America, the English and French colonists in, iv. 164. War between them, 263. Quarrel of the American colonies of England with the home government, iv. 352. Assisted by France, 355, 356. *See* United States
 Amiens, acquired by Philip Augustus, i. 153. Refusal of the citizens to be handed over to France, and war in consequence, 153. Meeting of the English barons with the French king at, 252. Ordonnance of Philip the Fair as to the levy at, 388 *note*. The people defeated by Edward III. of England, 425. Takes the part of the commonalty, 475. Charles of Navarre repulsed before, 485. Joins the Duke of Burgundy against the Armagnacs, ii. 122. Offered by Charles VII. to the Duke of Burgundy, 188. Ceded to

AMO

Philip III. of Burgundy, 192. Who takes it from the English, 193. Recovered by France, 264. Captured by Louis XI., 298. Taken by the Royalists, 298. Besieged by Charles the Rash, 298. The Huguenots of, crushed, iii. 59. Captured by the Spaniards, 329. Who are besieged and compelled to surrender by Henry IV., 330. Refusal of the citizens to sign the League, 184. Peace of, v. 97

Amour, Loi d', of Peyronnet, v. 357, 360

Amoureux, war of the, iii. 193

Anabaptists, their insurrection and extravagance in Germany, ii. 531

Anarchists, their opposition to the Directory, v. 8. Their excesses create a host of enemies, 10. Babœuf's plot, 12. Conspire against Directory, 13. Conspirators dispersed, 13. See Convention; Directory; Girondists; Mountain

Anastatius, Emperor of Rome, sends the ensigns of the consular dignity to Clovis, King of the Franks, i. 5

Ancenis, town of, besieged by Louis XI., ii. 289. Taken by La Tremouille, General of Charles VIII., 367

Ancients, Council of the, its formation in 1795, v. 7. Terrified at the raising of supplies by the Directory, 7. Quarrel with the Cinq Cents, 33. See Directory; Buonaparte, &c.

Ancona, arrival of the French expedition at, v. 459. Withdrawal of garrison from, 511

Ancre, Maréchal d'. See Concini

Ancy le Franc, château of, pillaged by the mob, iv. 530

Andelot, D', brother of Admiral Coligny, relieves St. Quentin, ii. 625. Escapes, 626. Sent to prison for heresy, 639. Openly inclines to Protestantism, 641. His parentage and connexions, iii. 11. His character, 11. Admitted by Catherine de Medicis to the council, 51. His vigilance in saving Orleans to the Huguenots, 56. Conveys forces into Orleans, 69. At the battle of Dreux, 71, *note*. Left by Coligny to defend Orleans, 73. Attacks the Royalists at Jarnac, 102. Present at the assembly of notables at Rouen, 417

Andelys, taken by Louis the Fat, i. 119. Treaty between Philip Augustus concluded at, 163. The castles of, taken by Philip Augustus, 164, 165. Margaret of Burgundy, Queen of Louis Hutin, strangled in the castle, 353.

André, St., Marshal de, a favourite of Henry II., ii. 593. Leads an embassy to England, 604. Taken prisoner at St. Quentin, 626. Negotiations for his liberation, 632, 633. Won over by the Guises, iii. 13. Threatened by the Provincial Estates, 40. League between him, the Constable, and Guise, 40. Killed at Dreux, 72

ANG

André, St., member of Committee of Public Safety, iv. 609

Andreghen, Maréchal d', in the service of Henry II. of Castille, at Navarrete, i. 513. Taken prisoner there, 514

Angelo, Marquis of St., killed by Francis I., ii. 484

Angers sacked by King John of England, i. 163, 166. Rebellion of, against the taxes of Louis XI., ii. 256. Attempt of the Prince of Condé upon, iii. 206. Massacre of the Huguenots of, 149. Muster of the malcontent nobles in, 424. Where they and the Queen are reduced by Louis XIII., 425. Held by the Duke de Rohan against the Mazarinians, 618. Taken by Marshal Hocquincourt, 618. Captured by the Vendéans, iv. 600

Anglo-Angevin princes, compared with those of the House of Capet, i. 151, 152

Anglo-Saxon royal family, commencement of the relations of the Dukes of Normandy with the, i. 88

Angoulême, Duc d', his discontent excited by Count Dunois, ii. 351, 352

Angoulême, Duke of (afterwards Duke of Orleans), youngest son of Francis I., proposal to marry him to Mary of England, ii. 533. And subsequently to her sister Elizabeth, 533. Proposal to give him the Duchy of Milan, 536. Sent against Luxemburg, which is taken, 553, 554. His appeal to the German Protestants, 554. Proposal to marry him to a Spanish princess, 564, 565. Protests against it, 565, *note*. His death, 568. Joins the league for restoring the authority of the Three Estates, 366

Angoulême, Duc d', natural son of Charles IX., iii. 160

Angoulême, Duc de (formerly Count d'Auvergne, *which see*), sent on a mission to Germany, iii. 427

Angoulême, Duc d', declares himself at Bordeaux, v. 226. Taken prisoner at Bordeaux, 246. Heads the army for the invasion of Spain, 323. Defends Guilleminot, 327. Crosses the Bidassoa, 328. His policy in Spain, 328. His conciliatory policy in Spain, 329. Restored to his title of Dauphin, 342. His *merins*, or whipping boys, 342. Quarrels with Marmont, and orders his arrest, 413. Fails in his efforts to command the army, 413, 414. Joined by the Duchess, 413. Signs abdication of the King in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux, 414. His flight, 415, *et seq.* Embarks for England at Cherbourg, 416, 417

Angoulême, Duchess d', M. de Montmorency her chevalier d'honneur, v. 320. Restored to her title, 342. Her remark on the proceedings of the Royal Courts, 382

Angoulême, Francis, Count d'. See Francis I.

Angoulême, Count d', given by his brother, the

ANG

- Duke of Orleans, in pledge to the English, ii. 88
- Angoulême, Bastard of, ordered by Charles IX. to slay Guise, iii. 110. Joins in the St. Bartholomew massacre, 141
- Angoulême, county of, brought to her husband by the Countess de la Marche, i. 207. Captured by Lord Derby, 420. But recovered by the Duke of Normandy, 422. Surrenders to the French, 530. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, iii. 170
- Anjou, Duke of, youngest son of Henry II. of France. *See* Alençon, Duke of
- Anjou, Henry, Duke of. *See* Henry, Duke of Anjou
- Anjou, Philip, Duke of. *See* Philip V., King of Spain
- Anjou, Louis, Count or Duke of. *See* Louis, Count of Anjou
- Anjou, under Henry, eldest son of Henry II. of England, i. 146. An apanage in, given by Henry II. to his son John, 146. Motives of policy which actuated the English princes of, 150. The difference between the Angevin and the Capetian monarchs, 151. Given by Louis VIII. to his son Charles, 200. Ceded by the English to René d'Anjou, ii. 215. Confiscated by Louis XI. at the death of René I., 342. The duchy granted to Frederic, ex-King of Naples, 412. Given in apanage to the Duke d'Alençon, iii. 173. Given to Marie de Medicis, 423
- Annates, amount of the, at the time of the Council of Constance, ii. 107. Abolished by the Council of Basle, 218
- Anne, Queen of England, withdraws her favour from the Marlboroughs, iv. 99. Takes the Tories into her ministry, 107. Her death, 131
- Anne of Austria, affianced to Louis XIII., iii. 396. Her marriage, 408. Her treatment of the son of the Maréchal d'Ancre, 415. Neglected by her husband, and snubbed by Richelieu, 457. Receives the addresses of the Duke of Buckingham, 457. Joins a plot against the King, 465. Severity of Richelieu to her, 527, 528. Discovery of her letters to Spain and the Cardinal's enemies, 530. Birth of her son, Louis XIV., 531. Illness of the King, 542. Who proclaims her regent, 542. Her court, after the death of the King, 553. Her journey with her son, Louis XIV., to Paris, 554. Becomes absolute regent, 555. Recalls and recompenses her friends, 555. Appoints Cardinal Mazarin chief of the council, 556. Exploits of Condé and Turenne, 569, 570. The Queen insulted in the streets of Paris, 584, 589. Her perplexity as to Mazarin, 584. Conflict between the troops and the judges, 587. Arrest of the President Broussel and commencement of the Fronde,

ANN

- 587, 588. The Queen liberates Broussel, 589. And makes concessions to the judges and Parisians, 590, 591. Flies with the King from Paris to St. Germain, 592. Termination of the first war of the Fronde, 597. The Queen returns to Paris, 598. Insulted by the Prince of Condé, 600. Goes with Mazarin into Normandy, 601. And into Burgundy, 601. Kept a prisoner in Paris, 605, 606. Liberates Condé and the princes, 606. Her offers to Condé, 606. Her proposed reconciliation prevented by Mazarin, 607, 609. Gives Condé the government of Guyenne, 609. Gives orders for his arrest, but refuses to slay him, 609. Her supposed marriage with Cardinal Mazarin, 614. Who does his utmost to diminish her influence with her son, 643, 644. Her denunciation of heretics, iv. 6
- Anne, Empress of Russia, supports Frederic Augustus of Saxony on the throne of Poland, iv. 203
- Anne, daughter of the Czar Jaroslaw, married to Henry I., i. 92
- Anne, Duchess of Brittany, ii. 365. Her hand offered by her father to the Count d'Albret and to Maximilian I., 367. Becomes Duchess of Bourbon, 367. Compelled to refrain from assuming the title of Duchess, 369. War made upon her by France and by her own nobles, 369, 370. Betrothed to Maximilian I., 371. Loses Nantes, 371. Married to Charles VIII. of France, 374. Death of her husband, 393. Marries Louis XII., 396. Her preference for marriage treaties to battles, 409. Her aversion for Louise of Savoy, 419. Her jewels seized by Marshal Gié, 420. Concludes a treaty with Austria for the marriage and settlement of her daughter Claude, 420. Which is broken off, 421. Her death, ii. 442
- Anne of Burgundy, married to John, Duke of Bedford, ii. 147. Her kindness to Jeanne d'Arc, 182 *note*. Her death, 186
- Anne of Cleves, niece of Philip III. of Burgundy, married to the Duke of Orleans, ii. 208
- Anne of Esté, Duchess of Guise, present at the execution of the Huguenots, iii. 22
- Anne, Lady of Beaujeu, daughter of Louis XI., ii. 351. Her regency during the minority of Charles VIII., 351. Convoques the States-General, 352. Grievances of the Commons, 358. Her dread of the influence of the Duke of Orleans, 363. To whom she raises up a rival in René of Lorraine, 363. Dissembles her project for uniting Brittany to the Crown, 366. Chief objects of French policy during her regency, 363-365. Complaints of the Duke of Orleans against her and her husband, 364. Her determination to reduce

ANN

Brittany by force of arms, 367. Defeats the Bretons at the battle of St. Aubin, 368. Concludes the treaty of Sablé, 369. But again advances into the duchy, 369. Concludes a peace with Maximilian at Frankfort, 369. Magnanimity of Louis XII. to her, 395. Her daughter married to the son of Gilbert of Montpensier, 395. The succession to the Duchy of Bourbon settled upon them, 395. Encourages her son-in-law, Bourbon, to rebel, 476. Her death, 476

Annebaut, Admiral, trusted by Francis I. with the military organisation, ii. 550. Sent to invade Roussillon, 553. Escapes from Italy over Mont Cenis, 559. Sent on a mission to Charles V., 568. Appointed coadjutor to the regent, Catherine of Medicis, 608

Annuities, terminable, Colbert's, iv. 52. By tontine, created, 203

Anon, garrison of, taken by the French and put to the sword, ii. 405

Antioch besieged and taken by the first Crusaders, i. 108. Failure of the Turks to relieve it, 109. Boemond declared prince of, 110. Raymond becomes prince of, 139

Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme and King of Navarre, openly favours the Huguenots, ii. 643; iii. 10. Marries Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarre, ii. 643, 644; iii. 10. His intrigue with Spain, ii. 644; iii. 10. His estrangement from Henry II. and from the Guises, ii. 644; iii. 10. His character, 10. His conduct at the accession of Francis II., 10. Advised to claim his authority at court, 10, 12. Sent on an errand to Spain, 13. Declines to attend the assembly of notables at Fontainebleau, 27. Goes to court with his brother, who is arrested, 31. Reconciled to Catherine de Medicis, 33. Insulted by President Le Maître, 38. His opposition to the court, 39. Conciliated with the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, 40. His hesitation between the confession of Augsburg and the tenets of Calvin, 42. Results of his treachery and folly, 50, 51. Becomes the foe of Catherine of Medicis, 50. Won over by the triumvirate, 51. Takes up Guise's quarrel as his own, 54. Killed before Rouen, 69. His plans for the reformation of the Roman, and liberation of the Gallican, Churches, 79, 80

Antoine, Faubourg St., fight between Condé and Turenne in the, iii. 623. The King warned of the insurrection brewing in, iv. 489. Proceedings of the insurrection, 490 *et seq.* The mob enter the National Assembly, 491. Enter the Tuilleries, and insult and threaten the King and Queen, 493, 494. Péton harangues and expels them, 494

Antonia, St., capture of, by the royalists, iii. 435

ARG

Antwerp besieged by the Prince of Parma, iii. 199. Retained by France, v. 223. Siege of, 476, 477

Aquæ, complaints of the clerics of, against Edward I. of England, i. 305

Aquileia, duchy of, incorporated into Charlemagne's empire, i. 28

Aquinas, Thomas, the friend and companion of St. Louis, i. 273

Aquitaine, conquest of, by Clovis, i. 5. Becomes almost independent under Eudes, 14. Who checks the advance of the Saracens, 14. Passes under Frank domination, 16, 17. Entirely reduced by Pepin the Bref, 20. The Aquitan mode of defences, 20. The duchy abolished by Charlemagne, 26. The government entrusted by Charlemagne to his son, 31. Subjugated by Louis the Fat, 126, 127. The daughter of the last Duke married to Louis VII., 128. Goes with Queen Eleanor to Henry II. of England, 140. Rebellion in, against Henry, 145. Causes of this, 145. Homage done by Richard, son of Henry II. of England, to Louis VII. for, 146. Misgovernment of Richard, 155. Given by Richard I. of England to Otho of Saxony, 162. War of invasion and conquest carried into, by Philip II., Duke of Burgundy, 526. Taken from the English, 532. The duchy acquired by Louis, Duke of Orleans, ii. 53. The English driven from, by Charles V. of France, 109. Restoration of the duchy promised, but delayed, 109

Arabs, introduction of their learning from Spain into Toulouse, i. 172. *See* Saracens

Arago, M., his testimony against Polignac, v. 429. His benevolent endeavours to save Polignac, 430. Urges Marmont to suspend hostilities, 398. Waits on Louis Philippe with recommendations, 471. His rudeness, 471. One of the Provisional Government, 596. Minister of Marine, 605. Becomes one of the New Republican ministry, 618. Heads the insurrection of the 13th of June, 1849, 642

Aranda, Count d', commands the Spanish Army sent against Portugal, iv. 286

Arche, Pont de l', taken from the English, ii. 225

Archers, English, at the battle of Crecy, i. 427, 428

Archers, franc, ii. 223. Abolished, 340

Archevêché, proceedings at the, iv. 577, *et seq.*

Arcis, battle of, v. 226

Arcola, battle of, v. 25

Arceuil, burned by Sir Robert Knollis, i. 526

Ardennes, a French army led through the, ii. 39

Ardres burnt by the English, ii. 477

Arena, conspirator, arrested and executed, v. 98, 99

Arenberg, Count d', commands reinforcements sent by the Duke of Alva into France, iii. 97

Argenson, Count d', becomes chancellor and

ARG

finance minister, iv. 166, 171. His robbery of the national creditors, 176. Arrests Law, 176. But ejected by him, 176. Introduced by Fleury into the council, 225. Deprecates conquest, 235. His foreign policy, 235. Displaced, 244. The 'Encyclopédie' dedicated to, 258. Endeavours to provoke hostilities to England, 261. Dismissed, 268.

Argenson, M. d', his conciliatory policy denounced, v. 272. Elected a deputy, 283. Joins the conspirators of Befort, 315, *et seq.*

Argonne, forests and defiles of, occupied by Dumouriez, iv. 533

Argout, M. d', minister of finance, v. 499

Argyle, Duke of, at Malplaquet, iv. 103

Arish, El, fortress, taken by Buonaparte, v. 48. Peace of, 93

Aristocracy of the Franks, i. 10, *et seq.* Rise of a landed and feudal, under the Carolingians, 33. The power of the noblesse undermined, 304. Recovery of their influence and power, 305. *See* Nobility.

Arles, rebels against Charles of Anjou, i. 243. But submits to him again, 243. The Bishop of, murdered at the Carmes, iv. 526

Arlington, Lord, sent on a mission to Louis XIV. in Holland, iii. 682

Armagnac, Louis d', Duke of Nemours. *See* Nemours.

Armagnac, Count of, defends Toulouse against the Black Prince, i. 455. Allows the Black Prince to ravage the country, 455

Armagnac, Count of, his enmity to De Foix, governor of Languedoc, ii. 11. Joins the Orleans alliance against the Duke of Burgundy, 80. His influence over the Gascons, 80. Chosen chief of the Orleans party, 80. Marches towards Paris, 81. Conclusion of the peace of Bicêtre, 82. Which is immediately ruptured, 83. March of Armagnac into the north, and ravages of his followers, 83. Peace concluded between the Orleanists and the Burgundians, 88. Armagnac retires to the south, 89

Armagnac, Count of, joins Charles VI. on his journey from Rouen to Paris, ii. 117. Girded with the sword of Constable of France, 118. His vigorous administration of his office, 118. Attacks the English garrison of Harfleur, 119. Defeated by them at Cany, 119. Returns to Paris, 119. And puts down a Burgundian conspiracy, 119. His oppression of the people of Paris, 119. Sends an allied French and Castilian fleet to blockade Harfleur, 120. His fleet defeated by the Duke of Bedford, 120. Charges the Queen with dissoluteness, and causes her arrest, 121. Sends the French vessels to ravage the English coast, 122. War declared by Henry V. of England and John, Duke of Burgundy, 122. Armagnac's obstinate courage, 123. Straits

ARM

to which his party were reduced, 123. His resistance to peace, 123. Determination of the Parisians to shake off his tyranny, 124. Thrown into captivity, 124. Dragged out and murdered by the populace, 125. Treatment of his body, 125. His character, 142.

Armagnac, Count of, his dispute with the Count of Faix, respecting the county of Comminges, ii. 214. Offers to hand his sovereignty over to Henry VI. of England, 214. His rebellion overcome by the Dauphin, who takes him prisoner, 219. Attacked and driven across the Pyrenees by Charles VII., 242. Pardoned by Louis XI., 253. Joins a league against Louis XI., 267. Engages in treason against Louis XI., 296. Compelled to fly into Spain, 296. He and his countess murdered by Louis XI., ii. 307

Armagnac, a follower of Henry of Navarre, iii. 171

Armagnac, Bastard of, has the county of Comminges from Louis XI., ii. 253

Armagnacs, the, ii. 80-82. Their ravages in Picardy, 85. Driven out by the Duke of Burgundy, 85. Taken at St. Cloud, and put to death, 85. Rise of the Languedocians against them, 86. Endeavours of the King to come to peace with them, 100. Their return to power, 101. Masters of Paris, 102. March with the King against the Duke of Burgundy, 102. Besiege and sack Soissons, 102, 103. Lay siege to Arras, but make peace with the Duke of Burgundy, 103. Stipulate with the King of England to restore him Aquitaine, 109. Their losses on the field of Agincourt, 117. Charged by the Duke of Burgundy with the death of the Dauphin, John, 121. Straits to which the party was reduced in 1418, 123. Massacred in Paris, 124, 125. The last of the family drowned in blood, 337

Armies, character of the, of the twelfth century, i. 152. The cottereaux, or mercenaries, of that period, 155. Mode of raising feudal armies, 264. Military regulations of St. Louis, 264

Army, the first French regular, formed, i. 539

Army, French, military expenses in the time of Philip of Valois, i. 417. Employment of foreign mercenaries, 417. The French army compared with the English, 418, 431. Composition of the French army at the time of the battle of Crecy, 430. Regulations of John II. of the mode of French war services against the enemy, 447. Establishment of a standing, in France, ii. 204, 205. Resistance of the nobles to the tax levied for its maintenance, 205. Demands of the nobles as to its management, 209. Charles VII.'s reforms, 222. A standing army established by Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, 308. The franc archers abolished, 340. The

ARN

fatal consequence of standing armies understood at the time of Louis XI., 350. Demand of the French nobility to command regiments and garrisons, 359. Military arrangements of Louis XII., 399. Difference between the French and Spanish armies at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 409, 418. The army of the time of Francis I., 570. Improvements of Admiral Coligny, iii. 11, *note*. Ordonnance of Henry IV. to check the disorganisation of the army, 320. Remodelled by Henry IV., 373. Decline of the importance of the cavalry and corps d'élite, iv. 38. Tactics adopted at the end of the sixteenth century, 44. The French infantry compared with others, 44. The army of 1701-2, 85. Forçats enrolled, 85. Reductions of the Duke de Noailles, 160. Condition of it, in the seventeenth century, 304. Improvements in the army in 1775, 348. Alienation of the military noblesse, 349. Repugnance of the soldiers in 1788 to engage in combat with the people, 401. Not to be depended on, 411. Under Dumouriez, invade Austria and Belgium, 484. Coalesce with the insurgents to overawe the court, 487, *et seq.* Massacres committed by the army of Vaucluse at Avignon, 498. For campaigns of, under BUONAPARTE and his generals, refer to their names. Refuse to obey Duc d'Angoulême, 413. For later campaigns *see* Louis Philippe, Napoleon, Louis.

Arnaud, Abbott of Citeaux, Papal legate, ordered by Pope Innocent III. to proclaim a crusade against the Albigenses, i. 176. His cruelty at Beziers, 178. His treatment of Raymond of Toulouse, 180. Put to death by the Albigenses, 224.

Arnaud, Père, dissuades violence against Marie de Medicis, iii. 423.

Arnaud, pastor of the Waldenses, leads his flock back to their valleys, iv. 40

Arnaud, St., minister of war, v. 656. Opposes measures for apportioning the army, 658

Armey le Duc, engagement between the Huguenots and Catholics at, iii. 109

Arnold of Brescia, condemned by the Pope to perpetual silence, i. 136

Arnoux, Father, Jesuit confessor to Louis XIII., iii. 432

Arnulph, St., Bishop of Metz, father of Pepin of Heristal, i. 13

Arnulph, assumes the imperial dignity in Germany, i. 51. Destroys the Norman entrenchment on the Dyle, 51

Arnulph, Count of Flanders, causes of his quarrel with the Normans, i. 57. Assassinate Duke William of the Long Sword, 57

Arnulph, a kinsman of the last Carolingian, betrays Laon, i. 77. Elected Archbishop of Rheims, 78. Hands the town over to his

ART

kinsman, 78. Seized by Hugh Capet, 78. Appeals to the Pope, as his only judge, 79. Language in which his plea was rebutted, 79. Deposed from his see and imprisoned, 80. Released by Robert Capet, 80

Arona, endeavours of Bonnivet to take, ii. 480.

Arques surrendered to the French, ii. 226. Battle of, iii. 257

Arragon, the French driven out of, iv. 106

Arras, combatants of, in the time of Philip Augustus, i. 153. Muster of Philip the Fair's army at, 328. Opposition of the people of, to the fiscal measures of John II., 456. Suburbs of, burned by Sir R. Knollis, 526. Besieged by the royalists and Armagnacs, ii. 103. But peace concluded, 103. Meeting of the English and Burgundian plenipotentiaries at, 135. Negotiations at, between Charles VII. of France and the Duke of Burgundy, 188. Appearance of the town at this time, 189, 190. Terms of the treaty concluded at, 192. Breaches in the treaty repaired, 222. The town refuses, after the death of Charles the Rash, to admit a French garrison, 329. The city, but not the town, handed over to him, 331. The envoys from the town put to death by him, 335. His cruelty to the townsmen, 335. The town in the hands of the Spaniards, iii. 328. Besieged, and surrenders to Richelieu, 520. Besieged by Condé and the Spaniards, 635. The siege raised, 635

Arrière-ban, feudal levy of, re-organised, ii. 223

Arteveld, James, Froissart's account of, i. 400. Rise of Ghent under him, 400. His reception of the envoys from Edward III. of England, 401. His father-in-law murdered by the French, 401. Joins Edward III. with 40,000 men in invading France, 409. Murdered by the people of Ghent, 421

Arteveld, John van, sent by Edward III. with an army to Bayonne, i. 415

Arteveld, Philip van, elected chief of the insurgent citizens of Ghent, ii. 18. His vigour and severity, 19. Besieged in Ghent, 19. His advice to the beleaguered citizens, 20. His defeat of the Count, and capture of Bruges, 21. Assumes the Flemish title of ruler or regent, 25. And lays siege to Oudenarde, 25. An army marched by Charles VI. of France against him, 26. Arteveld offers to acknowledge English suzerainty, 26. Invasion and ravages of the French, 27. Arteveld raises the siege of Oudenarde, 27. And marches to Roosebecque, 27. Where he is defeated and slain, 28

Arthur, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, his claim to the Dukedom of Brittany, Maine, and Anjou, i. 163. His claim disputed by his uncle, King John of England, 163. Sent by his mother to the keeping of Philip Augustus,

ART

163. Brittany given to him, 163. Lays siege to Mirabeau, 164. Surprised and made prisoner by his uncle, King John, 164. Who causes him to be murdered, 164

Arthur, Count of Richmond (brother of the Duke of Brittany), taken prisoner at Agincourt, ii. 114. Married to a sister of the Duke of Burgundy, 147. Causes of his dislike of the English court, 152. Rallies to Charles VII., 152. Created Constable of France, 153. His activity, 153. Defeated by the English at St. Jacques de Beauvoir, 153. Puts the King's favourites, Giac and Camus, to death, 153. His political and military exploits, 154. Forbidden the court, 154, 155. Takes Bourges, 155. Joins Jeanne d'Arc on the Loire, 168. Compelled to absent himself from the coronation at Rheims, 169. Arranges the assassination of La Tremouille, 187. Invests the English in Paris, which opens its gates to the Royalists, 194. Levies a subsidy on the people, and adulterates the coin, 195. Rides on the King's right hand into Paris, 195. Levies aids and subsidies on the Parisians, 202. Drives the English from Meaux, 203. Summoned to court to advise the King as to the suppression of the Praguerie, 206. Brings reinforcements to the French in South Normandy, 227. And defeats the English at Formigny, 228

Articles, General, of the Huguenots, granted by Charles IX., iii. 117

Artillery gradually being introduced into France, i. 414. Used by the Spaniards and Italians, 414. And by the English under Lord Derby, 420. Cannon first used at Crecy, 427. Again at the siege of Calais, 433. John Bureau's improvements in, ii. 201. At Caen and Castillon, 228, 230. The immense bombard of Charles the Rash, 319. His 113 cannon lost at Granson, 321

Artois, Count d', brother of Louis XVI., startled by Lafayette, iv. 389. His unpopularity, 391. Demands Brienne's dismissal, 402. Lands at Isle Dieu, and raises the revolt in La Vendée, v. 14. Deserts the Vendéans, 15. His character, 237. Demands the dismissal of Decazes, 301. *See* Charles X.

Artois, county of, made over to the King of France, i. 149. Given by Louis VIII. to his son Robert, 200. Opposition of the people of, to the fiscal measures of John II., 456. Reverts to the Dowager Duchess of Flanders, 500. Ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Its loyalty to the Duchess of Burgundy, 337. Brought in dowry to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII., 341. Army collected by Maximilian I. for the conquest of, 365. Restored, 375. Conquered by Richelieu, iii. 520. Acquired

ASS

by Louis XIV. in the treaty of the Pyrenees, 643

Arts in France, the school and era of the Renaissance, ii. 509

Arundel, Duke of, sent by Henry IV. of England to the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 85

Arundel, Earl of, governor of Rouen, escapes from the city, ii. 186. Placed in command of an army, 188. Killed, 188

Arundel, John, lost in an expedition against Brittany, i. 550

Aspern, battle of, v. 163, 164

Assas, Captain d', his self-sacrifice, iv. 280, *note*

Assassination practised by Guise's followers, iii. 192

Assassins, the, of the Old Man of the Mountain, iii. 198

Assembly, Legislative, detail of its proceedings: its origin, iv. 466. Fear, its characteristic, 466. Its composition, 467. Character and ability of its members, 467. Formed principally of the Gironde, 467, 468. Its first acts show fear of losing public respect, 468. Their disrespect to Louis XVI., 469. Their differences with the King, 469. Send commissioners to La Vendée, 470. Their debates at first limited to the *émigrés*, nonjuring priests, finance, and the colonies, 470. Repeal the gabelle, &c., 470. Their colonial policy, and the Slave question, 471. Their decrees against *émigrés* and priests, 472. Its moderate members guide the King, 472. Resisted by the Court, which determines to do without it, 473. Influence of Count Narbonne on, 473. Influence of Brissot on, 474, *et seq.* Advocate a war policy, 474-477. Concoct the Austrian despatch, 477. Establish their high court of justice, 478. Prosecution of the King's ministers, 478. Narbonne disagrees with, but does not lose its confidence, 479. Decree the imprisonment of Brissac and the breaking up of the King's constitutional guard, 480. The Gironde ministry, 481. Influence of parties, 482. Their disunion fatal to the revolution, 483. War declared against Austria, and Belgium invaded, 484. Unsuccessful termination of this campaign, 484. Suspicions of the King, 485. Liberation of the Swiss soldiers, of the Châteaueux regiment, 485, 486. Popular leaders plot to terrify the king, who dismisses Gironde ministers and Dumouriez, 486. Roland's letter to the King, 487. Adopt Servan's proposition for a camp of 20,000 to overawe the King and Court, 487, 488. Insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine, 489, *et seq.* Declare Avignon united to France, 498. Army of Vacluse, and massacres committed by, at Avignon,

ASS

498. Louis arraigned by the Girondists, 499. Reconciliation of parties, 500. Dethronement of the King demanded, 500-503. The camp of the Federals at Paris, 502. Order all the troops out of Paris, and break the King's guard, 503. Intrigues of the Gironde, 504. Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, 505. Hypocritical conduct of the King warrants his suspension, 506. Uncertain conduct of, 506. Arrival of the second batch of *Fédérés*, 506. Sections press for the King's dethronement, 507. Vote the acquittal of Lafayette, 508. Interrupted in their deliberations, 508. Insurrection of August 9, 508, *et seq.* King presents himself to, seeking their protection, 513, 514. They depose the King, and commit him to the Temple, 514, 515. Their measures for government, and humane treatment of the King, counteracted by the Jacobins, 518, 519. Appoint a ministry, 518. Overawed by Robespierre and Marat, 519. Massacres at the prisons, 524, 525. Merge into the 'Convention,' 518-535

Assembly, National, opening of the, in 1789, iv. 413, 415. Shut out from the great hall, 417. Their oath in the ball-court, 417. Assemble in the church of St. Louis, 417. Their defiance of the King, 419. Joined by the nobles, 420. Take the part of the mutineer guards, 421. Visit of the King to the Assembly, 426. Proposals of the nobility for self-spoilation, 431. Attempts of Barnave and Mounier to coalesce, 433. Confiscation of church property, 446. Judges declared elective, 448. Reforms in the army, 448. Civil constitution of the clergy, 449. The executive power declared by the Assembly to be in their own hands, 459. The *Feuillants* and Jacobins, 461. Accession of the Royalists, and dissolution of the Assembly, 465

Assembly, the New, proclaim a republic, and appoint a new government, v. 617. List of the ministry, 618. Warned by Lamartine on the exclusion of the Socialists, 619. Propose a national fête, but defeated, 619. Warned of a tumult, 620. Their measures lead to a new revolution, and to their dissolution, 620-622. Reinstated by the Garde Mobile, 622. Majority of the Assembly dissatisfied with a Republican government, and the madness of the Clubbists, look out for a new ruler, 623. Their eyes turned towards the heir of Napoleon, 623. Reject demand for his exile, 624. Their measures respecting the workmen, 624, 625; insurrection of the *Ateliers*, 626. Invest General Cavaignac with dictatorial power, 627. The insurrection put down, 628-630. Declare General Cavaignac chief of the execu-

AUB

tive, 630. Cavaignac's cabinet, 630. Their measures towards Socialist journals and prisoners, 630-633. Shall the Assembly govern? 633. In these discussions of the 'presidency,' Louis Napoleon accepts candidateship for that office, 635. Elected president, 635. Aim of the new president to get rid of, 637. Message of the president to, 646. Revival of Socialism, 648. Appoint a commission to watch over the Republic, 649. The chiefs rally round Changarnier, 650. Required to revise the constitution, 650. Oppose the president, and reject the supplementary dotation, 651, 652. Intend to coerce Louis Napoleon in the matter of the presidentship, 653. Appeal to Changarnier for protection, 653. Again appealed to by the president, 653. Petitions to, in favour of the re-election of the president, 654. Project of the *coup d'état*, 655. Message of the president, 656. Divided counsels in the, 657. Majority resolve not to grant the president, *ni un écu ni une heure*, 657. Proposal to summon army to its support, 657. Opposed by St. Arnaud, 658. Declare the president *hors la loi*, 659. The *coup d'état*, 660. Its prominent members arrested, 661. Decree of the president, 661. Adopt different modes of opposing him, 663. Republican members arrested by De Morny, 663. Two hundred members of, pass a vote that Louis Napoleon had forfeited his office, 663. Arrest of members of, 663, 664. The Assembly dissolved, and the Second Empire rises on its ruins, 661-665, *et seq.* See also Deputies, Chamber of; Lamartine; Napoleon, Louis; Republicans.

Assiento, the, obtained by England, iv. 117

Assignats, issue of, by the Directory, v. 6.

Association, National, rise of the, v. 443

Associations, Secret, attempt to put down, v. 481

Asti given by Charles V. to the Duke of Savoy, ii. 519. Formally demanded of the Emperor by Francis I., ii. 533

Ateliers, State-, their abolition proposed, v. 625. Their insurrection, 626-630. The prisoners déportés, 632

Atheism of the middle of the eighteenth century, iv. 289

Auberoche, fortress of, taken by Lord Derby, but besieged again by the French, i. 420. Who are routed by Derby and Sir W. Manny, 420

Aubiers, Les, victory of, iv. 599

Aubigné, D', follower of Henry of Navarre, iii. 171

Aubigny, M. d', seizes and imprisons Mr. Pritchard, v. 557

Aubin des Cormiers, St., battle of, ii. 367

Aubin, St., truce of, i. 215

Aubriot, Hugh, provost of Paris, his improvements in the city, ii. 14. Charged with heresy,

AUD

14. Imprisoned for life, 15. Released in an insurrection, and escapes to Burgundy, 23
 Audemer et la Rivière, Pont St., taken from the English by the French, ii. 226
 Auerstadt, battle of, v. 130
 Augereau, General, defeats the Piedmontese at Millesimo, v. 18. Sent by Buonaparte to command the *coup d'état* at Paris, 36. *See* Buonaparte.
 Augsburg, league of, iv. 28
 Aumale, Duke of, slain at the battle of Verneuil, ii. 150
 Aumale, Francis, Duke of, his revenue, ii. 573. Accused of having caused the death of the Duke d'Enghien, 587. His ejaculation on the death-bed of Francis I., 592. His influence over Henry II. 593. *See* Francis, Duke of Guise
 Aumale, Duke of, brother of the preceding, taken prisoner by Albert of Brandenburg, ii. 611. Accompanies the French army into Italy, 623. At the siege of Calais, 629. Marries the daughter of Diana of Poitiers, iii. 7. Governor of Champagne, iii. 86. His scene with Pithon, 86
 Aumale, Duke of, son of Francis, Duke of Guise, endeavours to intercept the Duke of Deux Ponts, iii. 104. Joins in the St. Bartholomew massacre, 141. Shot at the siege of La Rochelle, 153
 Aumale, Duke of, refuses to deliver up Picardy to Condé, iii. 179. Ordered to his government, 214. Makes an attempt upon Boulogne, 214. Disapproves of the extreme measures of his brother, Guise, 227. Chosen chief of the Paris bands, 235. Routed by the Duke of Longueville, 246. Ham taken from him by D'Humières, 316. In the Spanish army, 317
 Aumale, Duc d', made Prince of Condé's heir, v. 435. Surprises an encampment of Abd-el-Kader, 560. His promise to Abd-el-Kader, 562
 Aumale, Chevalier d', partisan of the League, slain, iii. 279
 Aumont, Maréchal d', attends the council for the murder of the Duke of Guise, iii. 229. Sent to secure Orleans, but too late, 234. Announces to Henry IV. the adhesion of gentlemen of Champagne, 251. Fails to aid Lagny, 273. Wavers in his allegiance to Henry IV., 288. His ill treatment of the English allies in France, 321. Invades maritime Flanders, 662
 Auneau, defeat of the Germans at, iii. 213
 Auray, battle of, i. 506
 Aurillac, rebellion of, against the taxes of Louis XI., ii. 256
 Austerlitz, battle of, v. 122, 124
 Austrasia, formation of the kingdom of, i. 8. Difference in its habits and laws as compared with Neustria, 8. Joined to the Empire by Clothaire II., 11. Again separates,

AVI

12. Antagonism of the Neustrians and Austrasians, 12. Defeat of the Austrasians by the Neustrians at the battle of Loixi, 12. Subjugation of the Neustrians by the Austrasians under Pepin, 13. Gradual formation of a kind of aristocratic republic, or chivalry, in, 15. Social condition of Austrasia under the Carolingians, 15, 16
 Austria, an alliance of, with the Swiss, promoted by Louis XI., ii. 310. Its dominions swollen by the acquisition of the Duchy of Burgundy, 334. Alliance between the houses of Austria and France, 412. Plan of a league for humbling, iii. 449. Alliance of Austria with Spain, iv. 191, 193. The Austrian dominions secured to Maria Theresa by the Pragmatic Sanction, 193. Failure of the Austro-Spanish alliance, 198. Peace with France and England, 199. At war with France, Prussia, and Bavaria, 216. Makes peace with Frederick, 221. Political ingratitude of, 261. Enters into an alliance with France, 262. War with, v. 161. *See* Assembly; Buonaparte; Directory.
 Auvergne subjugated by Louis, the Fat, i. 126. Ceded by Henry II. of England to Philip Augustus, 157. Given by Louis VIII. to his son Alphonso, 200. Refusal of St. Hérem to allow the murder of the Huguenots in, iii. 149
 Auvergne, Count d', natural son of Charles IX., iii. 352. Accompanies Biron to England, 354. Joins Biron's conspiracy, 354. Arrested, 356. Pardoned, 357. Released from the Bastille, 413. And sent against the rebellious nobles in Soissons, 413. *See also* Angoulême.
 Auxerre, Count of, killed at Crecy, i. 428. Burned by mercenary free corps, 486. Treaty of, ii. 88. The county ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, 192. Brought in dowry to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII., 341. Submits to Henry IV., iii. 319
 Avain, defeat of the Spaniards at, iii. 512
 Avars, a Hunnish tribe, attack the Austrasians, but are beaten by Sigebert, i. 8. Necessity for uniting the Christian world against the, 19
 Avesnes given by Spain to France, iii. 642
 Avignon, besieged and taken by Louis VIII., i. 199. Rebels against Charles of Anjou, 243. Submits to him again, 243. The Papal Court at, 336. Vassalage of the Popes there, 398. Their anxiety to escape, 398. Depopulated by the plague, 439. Threatened by the free companies, 499. Visit of John II. to the Pope at, 501. March of the military companies to receive the Papal blessing, 510. Visit of Charles VI. to, ii. 41. Pope Benedict XIII. besieged by Marshal Boucicaut in, 72. The Constable Montmorency's camp near, 539. Seized by Louis XIV., iv. 29. Declared by the Assembly united to France, 498. Army of

AVI

Vauluse enter and massacre its principal citizens, 498
 Arignonet pillaged by the Black Prince, i. 455
 Aymard, General, reduces the insurrection at Lyons, v. 483, 484
 Azores, proposed removal of Napoleon to the, v. 241

BABEUF, conspires against the Directory, v. 11, 12. Taken and executed, 13
 Bacon, the brigand, sells Combourn to Philip VI., i. 437
 Badajoz, siege of, v. 181. Battle of, 206
 Bagration, General, unites his forces with Barclay, and is killed at battle of Borodino, v. 185-187
 Bahairiz slaves, the, of the Sultan of Egypt, i. 235
 Baillet, treasurer of the regent of France, stabbed by Perrin Marc, i. 473
 Baillis, or royal governors of districts, appointed by Philip Augustus, i. 170
 Baillot, M., shot by the troops, v. 484
 Bailly, appointed mayor of Paris, iv. 427. His dubious compliment to the King, 428. Joins Lafayette in the attack of the mob in the Champs de Mars, 463. Superseded by Pétion, 464. Executed, 622
 Bajazet, Sultan, formation of a crusade against him, ii. 45. Defeats the King of Hungary and the Crusaders at Nicopolis, 46. His answer to Pope Alexander VI., 384
 Balagny (son of Montluc, Bishop of Valence), driven out of Cambray by the Spaniards, iii. 317. His tyranny, 317
 Baldwin, of Boulogne, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Marches into Cilicia and takes Tarsus, 108
 Baldwin of Hainault, at the Crusades, i. 110. Dies on his journey from Antioch to Constantinople, 110
 Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, musters forces in Northern Europe, i. 219
 Baldwin V., King of Jerusalem, afflicted with leprosy, i. 155. Marries his daughter Sybille to Guy de Lusignan, 155
 Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders, his country invaded by Philip Augustus, i. 162. Whom he surrounds with water, and compels to surrender the Flemish towns he had taken, 162
 Balue, Cardinal, recommends Louis XI. to visit the Duke of Burgundy at Peronne, ii. 290. And accompanies his monarch, 290. His treason and its punishment, 295
 Ban and Arrière-ban, feudal levy of, reorganised, ii. 223
 Bank, a, established by Law, iv. 162. Its transactions, 168
 Bank of England grants a loan to Louis Philippe, v. 577

BAR

Bankok, offer of, to Louis XIV., iv. 27
 Bar, Duc de, joins a crusade against the Turks, ii. 45. Joins a plot to carry off Charles VI. from Paris, 93. Arrested by the Paris butchers, 94. Slain at Agincourt, 114
 Bar, Count of, attempts of Philip the Fair to deprive him of his territories, i. 309. His submission to Philip the Fair, 315
 Bar, country of, bequeathed to René of Anjou, ii. 185. Cruelties inflicted on the Protestants of, iii. 64
 Baradas, friend of Louis XIII., iii. 529
 Baraguay d'Hilliers, resignation of, v. 624. Appointed commander of the troops in place of Changarnier, 652
 Barbarossa, Turkish admiral, incited by Francis I. to ravage Italy, ii. 532. Beseeched by Francis to aid him, 532. His expedition against Nice, 557. At Toulon, 558
 Barbaroux, the Marsellais, introduced to Mad. Roland's circle, iv. 496. Proposes the Fédérés should come to Paris, 496. Excuses massacres at Avignon, 498. Brings a second batch of Fédérés to Paris, 506. Proposes to march on the Assembly, and compel them to dethrone the King, 507. His declaration before Robespierre as to the dictatorship, 509. His trial and execution, 619, 620
 Barbavere, Genoese admiral, defeated by the English at L'Ecluse, i. 409
 Barbé Marbois, member of Anti-Jacobin Club, v. 9. Expatriation of, 37. His dismissal, 147. His conversation with Napoleon, 147
 Barbès, M., discovery of his conspiracy, v. 516, 517. A powerful auxiliary of the Provincial Government, defeats the plot of Blanqui, 616. Leader of the Socialist insurrection, 621. Confined in Vincennes, 622, 624
 Barbette, Stephen, his house in Paris destroyed, i. 338
 Barbin, Secretary, promoted to the chancellorship, iii. 413. Request of the Queen to spare him, 416. His trial and exile, 422
 Barbons, their influence, iii. 397. Determination of D'Ancre to be rid of them, 409
 Barcelona fortified by Peter III. of Aragon, i. 295. Saved from the Spaniards by the French, 519. Treaty of, ii. 376. Insurrection of 1640 in, iii. 518. Captured by the Duke of Vendôme, iv. 63. Restored to Spain, 63. Failure to capture it in 1704, 93. But taken in 1705 by Lord Peterborough, 93. Establishment of the court of the Archduke Charles at, 93
 Barclay de Tolly commands Russian army, v. 183. Superseded by Kutusoff, 186
 Barentin, Chancellor, his speech to the National Assembly, iv. 414
 Barère refuses the appeal to the people on behalf of the King, iv. 553. Defends Du-

BAR

mouriez, 565. Proposes annulling the Committee of Twelve, 585. Member of the Committee of Public Safety, 609. His observations on Robespierre and his proceedings, 651. Arrested, 668. Exiled, 671. *See* Convention; Directory

Barillon, President, pays homage to young Louis XIV., iii. 554. Arrested, 568. Dies in Pignerol, 569

Baring, house of, contracts for loan to pay the Allies, v. 294

Bar le Duc, meeting of Francis I. and the Landgrave of Hesse at, ii. 529

Barletta, the Spaniards besieged by the French in, ii. 413

Barnave, his speech to the Estates of Dauphiny, iv. 401. His attempts to coalesce with Mounier, 433. Becomes a secret councillor of Louis XVII., 472. Executed, 636

Barons, League of the. *See* Barons.

Barras, his atrocities at Marseilles, iv. 623, 625. And at Toulon, 625. One of the five directors, v. 5. Sentenced to deportation, 37

Barre, La, execution of, iv. 292

Barriades, the, thrown up in Paris, iii. 218, 588; v. 365

Barrier Treaty, the, iv. 104. Capture of the barrier towns by the French, 229, 231

Barrot, Odillon, elected a deputy, v. 288. Accompanies the Royal Family to Cherbourg, 417. Becomes prefect of police, and his dismissal proposed, 424. Saves Polignac and other ministers from death, 430. Suspended from office, 437. Dismissal of, by Perier, 444. Publishes the 'Compte rendu,' 467. Waits on Louis Philippe with recommendations, 471. Praises the government of M. Thiers, 528. Stigmatises the ministry of M. Guizot as worse than Polignac's, 583. Agrees to De Morny's compromise as to the banquets, 583. Sanctions public procession of parties, 584. Impeaches M. Guizot, 585. Appointed to the ministry, 591. Endeavours to pacify the people, but fails, 592. Appointed president of the council, 593. Prefers the regency to a provisional government, 596. Imprisoned in Vincennes, 622. Named president of his council by Louis Napoleon, 637, 653

Barrot, Ferdinand, home minister, v. 646

Barry, Madame du, her rise, iv. 318. Her hatred of parliaments, 326. Death of the King, 332. Her subsequent life and death, 332, 636

Bar-sur-Seine ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Brought in dowry to the dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII., ii. 341

Barthélemy, arrested at the Luxembourg, v. 37. Sentenced to deportation, 37

Bartholomew, St., massacre of the eve of, was it premeditated? iii. 121. Walsingham's

BAT

anticipation of it, 124. The council preceding the massacre, 138. The order given by the King, 139. The massacre, 140. Opinions of Europe, 147. Vasari's picture, 147

Bascule, a party in Chamber of Deputies, v. 283

Basin, Bishop, the historian, his character of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, ii. 225. Joins Charles VII., 225. His views as to the injurious consequence of standing armies, 350

Basle, Council of, endeavours of the, to remedy the religious disorders of Europe, ii. 189. Convoked, 217. Elects Pope Felix V., 217. Its decrees adopted by Charles VII. of France, 217. Dispersion of the prelates by war in Switzerland, 220

Bassano, Duke of, president and home minister, v. 487

Bassano, battle of, v. 23

Bassompierre, Marshal, sent on a mission to Madrid, iii. 428. His operations in the Valteline, 463. Sent to England, but his treaty disavowed, 472. His fear of the success of the siege of La Rochelle, 477. At the affair of Montserrat, 481. Sent to the Bastille, iii. 502

Bastide, M., minister of foreign affairs, v. 618, 630

Bastille, erection of the, i. 527. Seized by the Provost des Essarts, 93. Who is besieged by the people in it, 93. Keys given up by the Duke of Burgundy, 101. Threatened by the Parisians in 1418, 126. Captured by the revolutionary mob, iv. 425, 426.

Batteries, floating, in the fifteenth century, ii. 228

Battle, trial by, recommenced by Louis X., i. 365

Battles:—Abendsburg, v. 161. Aboukir, v. 38, 48, 94. Abraham, Heights of, iv. 272. Acre, v. 48, 538. Aghrim, iv. 41. Agincourt, ii. 112-114. Agnadello, ii. 428. Albuera, 178, 181, 206. Alexandria, v. 538. Almanza, iv. 98. Auerstadt, v. 130. Antwerp, v. 476. Arcis, v. 226. Arcola, v. 25, 26. Arques, iii. 257. Aspern, v. 163. Aubiers, Les, iv. 599. Aubin, St., ii. 367. Auray, i. 506. Austerlitz, v. 122, 124. Badajoz, v. 181, 206. Baylen, v. 155. Bassano, v. 23. Bautzen, v. 202, 203. Beachey Head, iv. 37. Beaugé, ii. 138. Beresina, v. 192. Beyrout, v. 537. Blenheim, iv. 90. Bober, v. 210. Borodino, v. 186. Bovines, i. 190. Breda, iv. 562. Brenneville, i. 119; ii. 186. Brest, Bay of, ii. 440. Brienne, v. 219. Brunau, iv. 226. Busaco, v. 180. Caldiero, v. 25. Cambray, iv. 615. Cany, ii. 119. Cassaro, v. 58. Cassel, i. 391. Castelnauary, iii. 509. Castiglione, v. 22. Catania, iii. 695. Cerignola, ii. 415. Cerissoles, ii. 560, 561. Champ-Aubert, v. 220. Charleroi, iv. 661. Chiari, iv. 84. Chollet, iv. 602. Closter Camp, iv.

BAT

280. Cocherel, i. 505. Condé, iv. 602. Conquêt, Bay of, ii. 441. Constantine, v. 507, 508, 511. Copenhagen, v. 93, 94. Corunna, v. 157. Courtray, i. 326. Contrás, iii. 210. Creecy, i. 427. Crevaut, ii. 149. Crevelt, iv. 278. Czaslau, or Chotusitz, iv. 221. Dego, on the, v. 18. Denain, iv. 114. Denis, St., iii. 96. Demewitz, v. 211. Dettingen, iv. 227. Dresden, v. 209. Dreux, iii. 71. Dunkirk, ii. 32; iv. 615. Eckmühl, v. 161. Essling, v. 163. Etampes, iii. 621. Evreux, iv. 594. Eylau, v. 134. Fehrbelin, iii. 692. Fere Champenoise, v. 226. Finistère, Cape, iv. 240. Fleurus, iv. 38, 661. Fontaine Française, La, iii. 315. Fontenailles, i. 41. Fontenay, iv. 599. Formigny, ii. 228. Fornova, ii. 389. Frankfort, iv. 563. Friedland, v. 137. Fuentes, v. 178, 206. Gavre, ii. 240. Gaza, i. 227. Gothard, St., on the Danube, iii. 650. Grandella, i. 256. Granson, ii. 319. Gravelines, ii. 632. Guignes, v. 221. Guinegate, ii. 339. Hanau, v. 214. Hasbain, ii. 61. Hase, on the, i. 27. Hastenbeck, iv. 270. Heilsberg, v. 136. Hennecourt, iii. 538. Herrings, ii. 158. Hirschberg, v. 210. Hochstedt, iv. 87. Hogue, La, iv. 41. Hohenlinden, v. 89. Hondschote, iv. 615, 616. Ivry, iii. 264. Jacques, St., ii. 220. Jägerndorf, iv. 270. Jarnac, iii. 102. Jean d'Acre, St., v. 48, 538. Jean d'Ulloa, St., v. 511. Jemmapes, iv. 546. Jena, v. 129. Katzbach, v. 210. Kollin, iv. 269. Konieh, v. 529. Königstein, v. 210. Kunersdorf, iv. 280. Lagos, iv. 277. Lauffeldt, iv. 239. Lavaur, near, ii. 11. Leck, on the, i. 20. L'Ecluse, i. 409. Leipzig, iii. 505, 515; v. 201, 212, 214. Lens, iii. 574. Leuthen, iv. 272. Ligny, v. 252. Lille, iv. 546. Lincoln, Fair of, i. 193. Lobositz, iv. 267. Lodi, Bridge of, v. 20. Loix, i. 12. Lonato, v. 22. Longwy, iv. 523. Lutterberg, iv. 278. Lutzen, iii. 510; v. 201. Lyons, iv. 596, *et seq.* Maestricht, iv. 563. Magnano, v. 57. Maida, v. 135. Malo-Zaroslavietz, v. 191. Malplaquet, iv. 103. Mansourah, i. 235. Mantua, v. 27. Marengo, v. 85. Marfée, La, iii. 533. Marsaglia, iv. 47. Marseilles, iv. 597. Mayence, iv. 601. Meau, i. 118. Moeskirch, v. 83. Mogadore, v. 561. Mollwitz, iv. 216. Moncontour, iii. 106. Mons, iii. 702. Mons en Puelle, i. 334. Montereau, v. 221. Monthabor, v. 49. Montmirail, v. 220. Montebello, v. 84, 85. Monthéry, ii. 270. Montenotte, v. 18. Morat, ii. 322. Morgarten, i. 373. Minden, iv. 279. Muret, i. 183. Muhlberg, ii. 597. Nantes, iv. 600. Naples, Bay of, i. 300. Naumbourg, v. 129. Navarino, v. 368. Nazareth, v. 49. Neresheim, v. 24. Neerwinden, iv. 40, 563. Neumark, v. 31. Nezib, v. 530. Nicopolis, ii. 46. Nordlingen, iii. 511, 569. Novara, ii.

BAV

438. Novi, heights of, v. 63. Olmutz, v. 123. Ouche, on the, i. 5. Oudenarde, iv. 100. Pavia, ii. 484. Paris, v. 227. Parma, iv. 204. Patay, ii. 168. Peene, iii. 696. Plassy, iv. 275. Poitiers, i. 16, 463. Polotsk, v. 186. Pontleroi, i. 82. Prague, iv. 269. Pyramids, v. 48. Quatre Bras, v. 252. Quentin, St., ii. 625, 626. Quiberon, iv. 674. Quistello, iv. 204. Raab, v. 165. Ramilies, iv. 95. Raucoux, iv. 234. Ravenna, ii. 435. Rheinfeld, iii. 515. Rhethel, iii. 603. Rio Seco, v. 155. Rivoli, v. 26. Rocroy, iii. 557. Roliça, v. 156. Roosebecque, ii. 27. Rosbach, iv. 271. Rothière, La, v. 219. Roveredo, v. 23. Roncesvaux, i. 27. Rouvray, ii. 158. Salamanca, v. 185, 206. Saumur, iv. 599. Secchia, La, iv. 204. Seminara, ii. 391, 414. Seneffe, iii. 689. Shrewsbury, ii. 49. Sidon, v. 538. Sinzheim, iii. 688. Smolensko, or Witepsk, v. 183-185. Soissons, i. 4. Solferino, v. 22, 23. Spurs, ii. 440. Steinkirk, iv. 43. Stochach, v. 55. Tagliacozzo, i. 256. Tagliamento, v. 30, 162. Taillebourg, i. 224. Talavera, v. 167, 169, 179. Tangiers, v. 561. Testri, i. 13. Theotmel, i. 27. Thouars, iv. 599. Tinchebray, i. 117. Tolbiac, i. 4. Torfou, iv. 602. Torgau, iv. 280. Toulon, iv. 228, 623. Trafalgar, v. 125. Trebia, on the, v. 59. Turin, iv. 96. Turvis, Col de, v. 30. Tyberiad, i. 155. Ulm, v. 122. Unzmark, v. 31. Ushant, iv. 356. Valenciennes, iv. 602. Valmy, iv. 533. Vauchamps, v. 220. Veillane, iii. 491. Verdun, iv. 523. Verneuil, ii. 150. Verona, v. 21, 23, 26. Vienna, v. 123, 162. Vincennes, i. 15. Vimiera, v. 156. Vittoria, v. 204, 207. Vouglé, i. 5. Wagram, v. 165. Warsaw, v. 449, 450. Waterloo, v. 252, *et seq.* Wattignies, iv. 615, 616. White Mountain, iii. 433. Wilhelmstadt, iv. 287. Wurzburg, v. 24. Zenta, iv. 84. Zumars-hausen, iii. 574. Zurich, v. 65.

Baude, M., suspended from office, v. 437. Baudricourt, Robert de, commander at Vaucouleurs, visits of Jeanne d'Arc to, ii. 162. Sends her to the King, 162. Bautzen, battle of, v. 202, 203. Bavaria, Tassilo, Duke of, crushed by Pepin the Brev, i. 19. Who overcomes a league of Bavaria and Suabia at a battle on the Leck, 20. Abolition of the duchy by Charlemagne, 26. Government of, given by Louis the Debonnaire to his younger son Louis, 38. The defeat at Nordlingen, iii. 569. Invaded and devastated by Marlborough, iv. 89, 90. And its capital threatened, 90. Subjugated by the defeat of Blenheim, 91. State of the country in 1740, 214. Overrun by the Croats and Pandours, 219. Occupied by the Austrians, 228. Abject condition of the country under the influence of the Jesuits,

BAY

299. Endeavour of Joseph II. to obtain it, iv. 373. Treaty with, v. 121
- Bayard, Le Chevalier, fails to induce the Swiss to fight, ii. 407. Released by Ludovico Sforza, 407. At the surrender of Genoa, 424. Crosses the Alps into Italy, 453. At the battle of Marignano, 455. Knights Francis I., 455. Endeavours to carry Cremona by assault, 479. His death, 480
- Bayeux occupied by Hugh the Great, i. 59
- Bayle, Pierre, expelled from his chair and the University of Sedan, iv. 20. Erects a church of doubt and infidelity, 20
- Baylen, battle of, v. 155
- Bayonet, Vaughan's invention of the present mode of fixing the, iv. 45
- Bayonne taken by Philip the Fair from the English, i. 308. Retaken by the English, 309. The English besieged and blockaded in, by a Castilian fleet, 545. Saved, 546. Surrenders to the French, 229. The citadel reduced by Charles VIII., 366. Interview between Catherine de Medicis and Alva at, iii. 87. Refusal of the inhabitants and soldiers to murder the Huguenots of, 149
- Bazire, M., demands instant judgment on Louis XVI., iv. 551. His trial and execution, 642, 644
- Beachy Head, battle of, iv. 37
- Bearn, Count of, crushed by Edward I. of England, i. 305
- Bearn, determination of Louis XIII. to deprive the Huguenots of their ecclesiastical property, iii. 420. Louis XIII. pressed to march to the reduction of, 426. Atrocities of the Intendant Foucault on the Protestants of, iv. 16, 17
- Beatrice, daughter of Raymond Berenger, of Provence, i. 216. Proposal to marry her to the Count of Toulouse, 229, 230. Left by her father heiress of Provence, 230. Married to Charles of Anjou, 230. Her regret at having given her daughters to the King of England and his brother Richard, 231
- Beaucaire, failure of Monsieur and Montmorency to hold, iii. 508
- Beaufort, Duke of, undertakes the guardianship of the children of Louis XIII., iii. 544. Re-compensated by Queen Anne for his loyalty to her, 555. Prepares an ambuscade for the assassination of Cardinal Mazarin, 561. Arrested, 561. Escapes from the Bastille and rallies the Importants, 584. Hastens to Paris, 592. Demands the exile of Mazarin, 595. His quarrel with the courtiers in Paris, 598. His attack on the Bridge of Jargeau, 619. Summons his followers to meet him in the Palais Royal, 622. Puts an end to the massacre in the Hotel de Ville, 627. Appointed governor of Paris, iii. 627. Kills a relative of the Duke of Nevers in a duel, 629.

BED

- Banished from Paris, 632. Fails to effect a landing on the Algerine coast, 650. His death, 676, *note*
- Beaugé, battle of, ii, 138
- Beauegency surrendered by the English to Jeanne d'Arc, ii. 168. Surrender of the Duke of Orleans at, 363. Taken by storm by the Prince of Condé, iii. 63
- Beauharnais, General, relieves the army at Mayence, iv. 601. Executed, 610
- Beauharnais, Prince Eugene, defeated by Archduke John, v. 162. Defeats the Archduke John at Raab, 165. Considered heir of Napoleon, 170. Crosses the Vop, but loses his baggage, 192.
- Beaujeu, Sire de, governor of Guyenne, imprisoned by Count Armagnac, ii. 307.
- Beaujeu, Sire de, son-in-law of Louis XI. of France, ii. 357. Urges the Estates to seize a portion of the executive power, 358. *See* Anne of Beaujeu
- Beaujeu, Sir Inibert de, afterwards Constable of France at the investiture of the Count of Poitou, i. 221
- Beaulieu, General, defeated by Buonaparte at Montenotte, v. 18. Defends the Bridge of Lodi, 19. Succeeded by Wurmser, 21
- Beaumanoir leads the Bretons in the resistance to Charles V.'s proposed absorption of Brittany, i. 547
- Beaumarchais, his exposure of the judges of the eighteenth century, iv. 292. His quarrel with the Chancellor Maupeou, 327. Escapes from the Abbaye, 524
- Beaumont, De, Archbishop of Paris, refuses the sacraments to the Jansenists, iv. 257
- Beaune admits the troops of Henry IV., iii. 314
- Beaurocracy, the, in the time of Louis XIV., iv. 2
- Beauté, court of Charles, Duke of Berry, in the castle of, ii. 273
- Beauvais, incursions of the Normans into, i. 46. Municipal privileges of, 121. A royal charter granted to, 122. The military bishop of, taken prisoner by Richard I., 161, 162. Rout of the militia of, by the English, 429. Takes the part of the commonalty, 475. Joins the Duke of Burgundy against the Armagnacs, ii. 122. Punished by the Duke of Bedford, 186. Occupied by Louis XI., 298. The Duke of Burgundy's attempt to take the town, 301
- Beauvilliers, Duc de, chief of the council of finance, his desire for peace, iv. 46, 47
- Beauvoir De, governor of Henry of Navarre, murdered, iii. 145
- Beck, imperial general, defeated at Lens, iii. 575
- Beda, denounces Fabre and Erasmus, ii. 516
- Bedeau, General, leads his troops against the

BED

- people, v. 591. Obligated to abandon his guns, 592. Arrested, 661
- Bedford, John, Duke of. *See* John, Duke of Bedford
- Beetroot, cultivation of, in France, for sugar, v. 544
- Befort, military conspiracy at, v. 315
- Begga, mother of Pepin of Heristal, i. 13
- Beggars, treatment of, in France, iv. 336
- Beguinas, decrees issued against the, i. 374
- Behuchet, Admiral, defeated at L'Ecluse, i. 409
- Belgians, Queen of the, her dowry, v. 509
- Belgium, the Normans in, i. 49. Opposition of the people to the proposed reforms of Joseph II., iv. 374. Invaded by Lafayette and other French generals, 484. Proposed conquest of, 544, 546. Conquered by Dumouriez, 561. Conduct of the French commissaries in, 562. Renewed campaign, 661. Once more in French possession, 662. Insurrection in, v. 425, *et seq.* Duke of Nemours elected king of, 434. M. Surlat de Chokier, regent of, 446. Leopold of Saxe Gotha accepts crown, 447. War declared against, 476. War with Holland, 448. *See* Assembly; Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe
- Belin, governor of Paris, replaced by Cossé-Brissac, iii. 307
- Bellay, Cardinal du, brings the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce before the University of Paris, ii. 523. Sent by Francis I. on a mission to the German Protestants, 535. Short of forces and funds in Italy, 559
- Bellegarde, Duke de, governor of Burgundy, goes into Flanders with the King's brother, iii. 502. Condemned to death as *contumace*, 504
- Bellegarde captured by the royalists, iii. 601
- Belleisle, Marshal Count de, one of the Marmousets, iv. 207. Advocates war, 214. Sent on a mission to Frankfort, 214. His proposals to Frederick the Great, 216. Left by the Prussians and Saxons in Prague, 221. Which he stealthily evacuates, 222. Sent to defend Provence, 237
- Belleisle, Chevalier de (brother of the Count), advocates war with Maria Theresa, iv. 214. Defeated and killed by the Piedmontese, 238
- Belleisle, exchanged for Minorca by the English, iv. 288
- Bellesme, castle of, reduced by Blanche of Castille, i. 209
- Bellune, Duke de, war minister, v. 314. Dismissed, 330. *See* Victor, Marshal
- Benedict, St., rule of, introduced into France, i. 7
- Benedict XII., Pope, his anxiety to escape from Avignon, i. 398
- Benedict XIII., Pope, besieged by Marshal Boucaut in Avignon, ii. 72. Taken prisoner,

BER

- but released by the Duke of Orleans, 72.
- Deposed by the Council of Pisa, but refuses to resign, 76. Deposed, 107
- Benedict XIV., Pope, supported by France, 48. Election of, 332. Recalls the excommunication against the King of France, 332. Restores the Colonna to their property and position, 332. His death, 332
- Benedictines, rules and organisation of the, i. 7. Causes of their prosperity and increase, 7
- Benefices, question of hereditary right in, i. 48. The right to confer, upon foreigners, forbidden in France, ii. 217. Amount of money received by Rome for vacant benefices after the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, 358
- Beneventum taken by the Normans, i. 86
- Benningesen, General, defeated by Napoleon at Eylau, v. 134. Successfully encounters Napoleon at Heilsberg, 136. Defeated at Friedland, 137
- Béranger, the poet, mocks at the court, v. 313
- Bérard, M., proposes alterations in the Charter, v. 416
- Berengaria of Navarre, married to Richard I. of England, i. 159
- Berenger, assumes the regal dignity in Italy, i. 51
- Berenger of Tours, denies Christ's bodily presence in the Holy Sacrament, i. 99
- Beresina, passage of the, v. 192, *et seq.*
- Berg, grand duchy of, given to Prince Louis Buonaparte, v. 172
- Bergamo taken by the French, ii. 429
- Bergara, convention of, v. 520
- Bergen-op-Zoom, besieged by Marshal Saxe, iv. 239. And carried by storm, 239
- Bergerac, peace of, iii. 188
- Bergeron, attempts to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 475
- Berlin ransomed by the Russians, iv. 280
- Bernard, uncle of Charlemagne, marches into Italy, i. 24
- Bernard, King of Italy, ordered by his uncle, Louis the Debonnaire, but refuses, to pay respect and make presents, i. 38. Murdered, 39
- Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, defeated at Nordlingen, iii. 511. Alsace handed over to him, 511. Defeats the Imperialists at Rheinfeld, 515. His death, 515
- Bernard, St., his unworthy manœuvre, i. 134. His opposition to Abelard, 135, 136. Denounces him to the Pope, 136. Challenged by Abelard to a public disputation, 136. Preaches a new crusade, 137. His death, 140. His persecution of the sects opposed to the Church of Rome, 140
- Bernard, General, minister of war, v. 487, 504. Resigns, 510
- Bernard, Martin, conspirator, discovered, v. 516, 517. Escapes to England, 643

BER

Bernard, Mont St., Buonaparte crosses the, v. 84
 Bernadotte, Charles, his imprudent conduct at Vienna, breaks off peace relations with Austria, v. 46. Narrowly escapes maltreatment, 46. His views on Egypt, 47. Offered command of army in Italy, but refuses, 54. Chosen heir apparent of King of Sweden, 173. Joins the Grand Alliance with his Swedes, 208. Defeats Oudinot and Ney, 211. Napoleon marches against, 211. At battles of Leipzig, 213. Invades France, 216. Proposal to place him on the throne of France, 222

Berne, invasion and seizure of, by Directory, v. 45

Bernis, Cardinal, becomes minister for foreign affairs, iv. 269. His administration, 269. His negligence and defiance, 277

Berquin, Louis, imprisoned for his Protestantism, ii. 515, 516. Enters the service of Margaret of Navarre, 517. Executed, 518

Berry, Duke of, brother of Charles V., leads the forces of Auvergne against the Black Prince, i. 524. Summoned to his brother's death-bed, ii. 5. One of the guardians of Charles VI., 6. Has the government of the south, 9. Marches to Languedoc, 10. Lays siege to Lavaur, ii. 11. Defeated by the Count de Foix, 11. Who is persuaded by the Pope to desist, 11. The Duke's cruelty to the people, 12. His quarrel with the Count of Flanders, 32. Meets the Duke of Lancaster at Calais, to arrange peace, 34. Advises the relinquishment of the expedition to England, 37. Dismissed to his provinces by his nephew, the King, 40. Complaints of his administration made to the King, 40. Partakes of the Duke of Burgundy's dislike of the Marmousets, 77. Elected captain of the chiefs of quarters of Paris, 79. Causes which alienated him from the party of Burgundy, 80. Carries on the government in the name of the Duke of Guienne, 82. His treasonable appeal to the King of England, 87. Besieged by the royal forces at Bourges, 87. Concludes peace at Auxerre, 88. His palace of the Bicêtre burned by the Cabochians, 98. His self-complacent answer to the Parisians, 108. Advises the Dauphin to send an embassy to Henry V. of England, 110. His death, 120

Berry, Duke of (third grandson of Louis XIV.), his death, iv. 128

Berry, Duke of, his marriage, v. 280. Assassinated, 300. Anniversary of his death, celebrated by the Legitimists, 436. Riots occasioned by, 436

Berry, Duchess of, her reception by the National Guards, v. 361. Welcomed in La Vendée, 374. Her machinations in the Italian courts, 461. Travels in disguise in France,

BEZ

to head Royalist rising in La Vendée, 464. Lands in Provence, 465. Fails in her expedition, 465. Takes refuge in Nantes, 466. Betrayed by Deutz, 473. Arrested, and confined in the Castle of Blaye, 475. Announces her marriage with Count Lucchesi Palli, 478. Her indiscreet marriage nullifies her claims on France, 478

Berry, Duchy of, invaded by Louis the Fat, i. 116. King John's possessions in, given up to the son of Philip Augustus, 163. Henry II. of England extends his sway over, 147. Ceded by Henry II. to Philip Augustus, 157. Devastated by the Black Prince, 460. The duchy granted to the divorced wife of Louis XII., ii. 396. Given by Francis I. to his sister Renée, 451. The government given to the Prince of Condé, iii. 409. Meeting of the provincial assembly, iv. 363. Its condition as compared with that of other provinces, 363

Berryer, M., sent to the Duchess of Berry in La Vendée with means for her escape, v. 465. Arrested, 472

Bertha, Queen of King Robert Capet, divorced, i. 81

Bertha of Holland, Queen of Philip I., repudiated by the King, i. 98

Berthier de Sauvigny, murder of, iv. 429

Bertin, M., expatriation of, v. 37. Prosecuted, 381, 382

Berton, General, heads conspiracy at La Rochelle, v. 316. Tried, 317. Death of, 326

Bertrade, Countess of Anjou, carried off from her husband, and married, by Philip I., i. 98. Her attempts on the life of her stepson, Louis the Fat, 113

Bertrand, General, offers terms of peace to Prussia, v. 136

Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, elected Pope, i. 335

Bertrandi, Chancellor, appointed by the Guises, ii. 642. His condemnation of heretics, 643. Removed by Catherine de Medicis, iii. 8

Berwick, Duke of. *See* James Fitzjames

Besançon compelled to submit to Louis XI., ii. 339. The fortress taken by Louis XIV., iii. 666

Bessières, Marshal, defeats General Cuesta, v. 155. His death, 200

Bethune given by treaty to France, i. 335. Redemanded by the Flemings, 354, 364, 372. Captured by Marlborough and Eugene, iv. 105. Retaken by Marshal Villars, 114

Betizac, treasurer to the Duke of Berry, burned, ii. 41

Beuil, De, joins the league against Louis XI., ii. 267. Has a command in the regular army, 275

Beyrouth, bombardment of, v. 537

Beza, Theodore, at the Colloquy of Poissy, iii.

BEZ

44. Heads the inhabitants of Geneva to witness the blowing up of Fort St. Catherine, 349
- Beziers, massacre of the people of, i. 177, 178. Cruelties of the Duke of Berry in, ii. 12
- Beziers, Viscount of, claim of his son to the viscounty, i. 220
- Bianchi, the, expelled from Florence by Charles of Valois, i. 317
- Bible, the, proscribed by the founders of the Inquisition, i. 213. The Vaudois' translation of the, ii. 582. Burned by the parliament of Bordeaux, iii. 338
- Bicêtre, palace of the, burned by Sir Robert Knollis, i. 526. And by the Cabochians, ii. 98. Massacres at the, iv. 528
- Bicêtre, peace of, ii. 82. Rupture of the, 83
- Biococca, repulse of the French at the, ii. 473
- Biez, Marshal de, condemned and unmarshalled, ii. 596
- Bignon, M., minister of state, v. 421
- Bilbao captured by Sir De Lacy Evans, v. 519
- Billaud, M., returned member of the Convention, iv. 535. His sanguinary measures against the Lyonese, 619. Arrested, 668. Exiled, 671
- Billault, M., under-secretary, v. 525. Advocates slave trade, 554
- Bineau, M., minister of public works, v. 646
- Birague, the Chancellor, his views of a war against the Huguenots, iii. 183
- Biron, Marshal, recognises Henry IV. as king, iii. 255. Captured but escapes from Arques, 258. Commands the reserve at Ivry, 265, 266. Feels neglected by Henry IV., 280. His operations against Rouen, 282, 284. Wounded there, 285. Slain at Epervy, 289
- Biron, Baron de, commands the light cavalry at Ivry, iii. 265. Routs the Leaguers before Rouen, 287. Sent by Henry IV. into Burgundy, 314. Wounded by the Spaniards, 315. His wilfulness, 316. His part in Henry IV.'s siege of Amiens, 330. Takes La Bresse and Bugey from the Duke of Savoy, 349, 350. His treason, 353. Which he confesses, and is pardoned, 353. His conspiracy against the King, 354. His interview with the King, 355. Arrested and executed, 356.
- Biron, Marshal, disperses the rioters in Paris, iv. 347
- Biron, General, invades Belgium, but unsuccessful, iv. 484. Executed, 601.
- Biroteau, welcomed by the Lyonese, iv. 596. Defeated by the Convention troops, is obliged to fly from Lyons, 597
- Bixio, minister of commerce, but resigns, v. 637
- Black Prince. *See* Edward Prince of Wales.
- Blake, Admiral, defeats the Duke of Vendôme, iii. 638
- Blanc, Louis, his history of the times of Louis

BLA

- Philippe, v. 468. Claims a share in the Republican government, 605. His measure for employing the working classes, 609. Propagates his Social views, 609. Demands a dictatorship and prorogation of the elections, 613. Objects to measure for expelling the Moderates, 613. Forms a committee to sift the elections, 617. His Socialist views and aims gain him the hearts and hands of thousands of workmen, 619. Hopes for a ministry of progress, but his hopes blighted, 619. Leader of the Socialists, who chair and carry him through the Hall of Assembly, 621, 622. His conduct investigated, 623. Defends the Socialist prisoners, 632
- Blanchard, Alain, heads an insurrection of the citizens of Rouen, ii. 122. Executed by Henry V. of England, 129. Blanchard's cruelties to his English prisoners, 129
- Blanche of Castille urges her husband to attempt the Conquest of England, i. 192. Her activity in sending succours to her husband in England, 193. Her regency during the minority of her son, St. Louis, 205. Devotion of Thibaud, Count of Champagne, to her, 205. League of the barons against her, 206. Comes to terms with the League, 207. Loses the support of the King's uncle, Philip, 207. Her mode of dealing with the disaffected nobles in 1230, 214. Left by her son St. Louis to govern the kingdom during his absence in the East, 232. Her complaints of the conduct of Innocent III., 239. Stops the Crusade in France against the Emperor Conrad IV., 239. Takes possession of Toulouse on the death of Raymond VII., 243. Her death, 240
- Blanche of Franche Comté, married to the Count de la Marche, i. 353. Her dissolute life, 353. Imprisoned, and subsequently takes the veil, 353
- Blanche, wife of Charles IV., divorced, i. 378
- Blanche of Bourbon, married to Peter the Cruel of Castille, i. 509. Said to have been put to death by him, 509
- Blanche Taque, passage of the English, under Edward III., at, i. 425
- Blanqui, M., his conspiracy discovered, v. 516, 517. His ferocity, 615. His intrigues disclosed, 615. His plot defeated, 615. Leads another Socialist insurrection, 621
- Blavet, fortifications of, captured by the Spaniards, iii. 275. Fortified by the Duke of Vendôme, 399. Formation of a fleet at, for the subjugation of the Huguenots, 454. Capture of the fleet by Soubise, 455
- Blaye, castle of, taken by the English, i. 308. Failure of the Duke of Orleans to capture, ii. 52. Besieged and captured by the French, 228. Confinement of Duchess of Berry in, v. 475

BLE

- Bleneau, defeat of Hocquincourt's cavalry at, iii. 619
- Blenheim, battle of, iv. 90, 91. Cavalry engagement at, v. 88
- Blois, Cardinal, confined in the oubliettes of the castle of Blois, iii. 231
- Blois, treaties of, ii. 420. Iconoclast fury of the Huguenots at, iii. 57. Recaptured by the Prince of Condé, 97. Given up by him, 99. The States-general convoked at, 179, 182, 221. The castle of, as altered by Henry III., iii. 228, *note*
- Blucher, Marshal, defeated by Napoleon at Dresden, v. 209. Defeats Macdonald, 210. Defeated by Napoleon at Brienne, 219. Defeated by Napoleon at Vauchamps, 220. Driven by Napoleon over the Aisne, 224. Captures heights of Paris, 228. Defeated at Ligny, 252. Joins Wellington at Waterloo, 253. His rashness tempts French generals to attack him at St. Cloud, 258. Spoils the Louvre, 261
- Boccanegra, Admiral, assists in destroying the English fleet at La Rochelle, i. 529. The town taken from the English by stratagem, 530
- Bodin, John, opposes war against the Huguenots, iii. 183
- Boëme, the murderer of Admiral Coligny, iii. 141. Pensioned by Philip II., 148
- Boemond, son of Robert Guiscard, King of Naples, joins the First Crusade, i. 106. Efficiency of his army, 106. His valour at the siege of Nicea, 107. At Antioch, 109. Where he is declared Prince of Antioch, 110. His stratagem for capturing Antioch, 108. Declared Prince of Antioch, 110.
- Bohain, given by Louis XI. to the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 316
- Bohemia, government of, given by Louis the Debonnaire to his younger son Louis, i. 38. Rapid and fierce expansion of the doctrines of Wicliffe in, ii. 74. Rise of Huss, 74. Defeat of the Bohemians at the battle of the White Mountain, iii. 433. Invaded by the French and Bavarians, iv. 218. Charles Albert, of Bavaria, crowned King of, 219
- Boileau, Stephen, the first stipendiary magistrate of Paris, i. 268. His collection of the usages of Paris, 268
- Boisredon, courtier of Queen Isabella, put to death by Charles VI., ii. 121
- Boissy, Gouffier, Sire de, created grand master by Francis I., ii. 450. His ascendancy, 450. His meeting with Chièvres at Montpellier, 467. His death, 467
- Boissy, Cardinal de, his property seized by Francis I., ii. 551
- Boissy d'Anglas, expatriation of, v. 37
- Boleyn, Anne, married to Henry VIII., ii. 526
- Bolingbroke, St. John, Lord, his negotiations

BON

- with Louis XIV., iv. 112, 113. His *sine quâ non* to France, 115
- Bologna taken by Pope Julius II., ii. 423. An army sent by Louis XII. against, 432. Taken by Trivulzio, 432. Besieged by the Spaniards, but succoured by Gaston de Foix, 434. Regained by Pope Julius II., 437. Treaty of, 456
- 'Bombards' used at the battle of Crecy, i. 427
- Bonchamps, Marquis de, Vendean general, his death, iv. 601
- Boniface, St., his mission to the Germans, i. 18. Founds the German church, and establishes himself as metropolitan of Mayntz, 18. Assisted by Charles Martel, 18. Crowns Pepin II. King of France 19
- Boniface, Lord of Castellane, leads the people of Marseilles into rebellion, i. 244. His castle besieged and taken by Charles of Anjou, 244
- Boniface VIII., Pope, his quarrel with Philip IV. of France, i. 312. His bull of excommunication, 312, 313. Submits to Philip, 313. Arbitrates between the Kings of England and France, as to the duchy of Guienne, 315. His offers to Charles of Valois, 316. Showers favours upon the royal family of France, 317. His fresh quarrel with Philip IV., 318. His overweening ideas of papal supremacy, 319. Takes the part of the Bishop of Pamiers, and issues a bull against Philip the Fair, 320, 321. Who burns the bull, 322. Addresses of the Three Estates to Rome, 323. Boniface's answer, 324. Threatens to dethrone Philip, 324. Calls council of French prelates at Rome, 328. The prelates not allowed by Philip the Fair to leave France, 329. A legate sent by the Pope to Philip, 329. Launches forth another bull, 329. Charged by the Chancellor Nogaret with enormous crimes, 329, 330. Taken prisoner at Anagni, 331. His death, 332.
- Bonn taken by Montecuculli, iii. 686. Captured by Marlborough, iv. 88
- Bonnet-rouge and Red Flag raised by the Red Republicans, v. 469. The Bonnet-rouge of the Chateauxvieux regiment, adopted by the Parisians as a republican badge, iv. 486
- Bonnets-rouges, their slaughter of the Huguenots at Bordeaux, iii. 149
- Bonnier, French plenipotentiary, murdered, v. 58
- Bonnivet, De, his mission to Henry VIII., ii. 462. Sent by Francis I. to defend Navarre, 472. Sent with an army into Italy, 479. Lays siege to Milan, 479. His reverses, 480. Escapes to Suza, 480. Advises Francis I. to continue the siege of Pavia, 483. Shot in the battle before the city, 484
- Bon Sens*, newspaper, disturbances about, v. 481

- Book-hawkers of the eighteenth century, iv. 294
- Bordeaux taken by Philip the Fair from the English, i. 308. Who unsuccessfully attempt its recapture, 309. Flings off the French yoke, 328. The English in, threatened by the Duke of Anjou, 545. Saved, 546. Besieged and taken by the French, ii. 228, 229, 231. Its franchises restored by Louis XI., 255. The citadel of, taken by Charles VIII., 366. Arrest of the English merchants in, 477. Insurrection of the populace, 601. Montmorency's punishment, 601. Massacre of the Huguenots at, iii. 149. Refuses to admit the King of Navarre, 179. Struggle between the Leaguers and Loyalists at, 237. The Bible burned by the Parliament of, 338. Its quarrels with Mazarin, 601. And with the Duke d'Epernon, 601. Rebellion of, 601. The Court before the town, which it enters, 601, 602. The suburb of St. Suaire taken by Meilleraye, 602. Holds out for the Fronde, 633. Obligated to capitulate to the Court, 633. Insurrection of 1676, 695. Atrocities of Talbien at, iv. 623, 625
- Bordeaux, Duke of, his birth, v. 307. Placed under tuition of Bishop Tharin, 354. Proposed for king, 407. Charles X. abdicates in favour of, 414. His flight, 415
- Bordelais, hide themselves in caves of St. Emilion, iv. 595
- Borgia, Caesar, son of Pope Alexander VI., promised the hand of the Princess Charlotte of Naples, ii. 396. Carries to France a papal dispensation to Louis XII., and a cardinal's hat to George d'Amboise, 396. Cheated of his marriage, 397. But obtains a daughter of the house of D'Albret, 404. Reduces the Romagna, by aid of the French, 406, 411. Marches into Naples under the French standard, 411. Sends forty Capuan ladies to his father, 411. Strangles the leaders of the Mercenaries at Sinigaglia, 416. His armed faction in Rome, 417
- Born, Bertrand de, and Henry II., story of, i. 154
- Borodino, battle of, v. 186
- Boscawen, Admiral, his captures of French men-of-war, iv. 264. Takes Louisburg, 273. And defeats the French fleet off Lagos, 277
- Bosch, Van der, magistrate of Ghent, leads the White Capes, ii. 17, 18. Proposes to elect Philip von Arteveld as chief, 18. Defeated at Commines by the Constable Clisson, 27. Aids the English in reducing Ypres, 32
- Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, his statement of the Catholic faith, iv. 8. His disputation with Claude, 8. His quarrel with Fénelon, 66
- Bouchain captured by Marlborough, iv. 109
- Bouchard of Montmorency, his efforts to rescue the French prisoners at Brenneville, i. 119
- Bouchard, Lord of Avesnes, married to Margaret, Duchess of Flanders, i. 231. Divorced from his wife by the Pope, i. 231
- Boucicaut, Marshal, recovers Mantes from Charles of Navarre by a trick, i. 505. Taken prisoner by the Turks, but redeemed, ii. 46. His siege of Pope Benedict in Avignon, 72. Taken prisoner at Agincourt, 114.
- Boufflers, Marshal, his secret conference with the Duke of Portland, iv. 61. Baffles Marlborough in Flanders, 86. Surrenders Lille to Prince Eugène, 101. Serves as a volunteer at Malplaquet, 103
- Bouillé, Count de, commands in Lorraine, iv. 453. Mutiny in his ranks, 454. His notion of liberating the King from his thralldom, 454
- Bouillon, Duke of, leads a German army into France, iii. 212. Defeated and escapes to Geneva, 213. Attacked by the Duke of Guise, 214. Raises German troops for Henry IV., 279. Marries the heiress of Bouillon, and becomes a marshal, 280. Shows himself little trustworthy, 316. Marches against the Spanish army, but retreats, 316. Sent on a mission to England, 324. His complicity in a plot against the King, 354, 357. Goes to Geneva, 358. Fortifies Sedan, 361. Which he surrenders to the King, 363. Encourages the mistrust of the Huguenots after the death of Henry IV., 395. Unable to influence the Huguenot assembly at Saumur, 395. But succeeds in breaking it up, 396. Joins the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Nevers in seizing Mezières, 398. Conclusion of the peace of St. Meneshould, 399. Retires to his strongholds, and prepares for resistance, 407. Repairs to Soissons, 413. Refuses his participation in the Queen's schemes, 422. Shrinks from a fresh civil war, 430
- Bouillon, Duke of, joins a league formed against Richelieu, iii. 535. Submits, and is pardoned, 536. Obtains the command of an army in Italy, 536. Joins the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, 536. Arrested, 539. Surrenders Sedan, and saves his life, 540. Joins the rebels in Bordeaux, 602. Has an interview with Mazarin in the camp, 602
- Bouillon, Duchess of, secured by De Retz, iii. 592. Demands Mazarin's exile, 593
- Boulogne, Count of, regulations of Philip the Long as to the, i. 376
- Boulogne burned by the English, i. 424. Surrender to Louis XI., ii. 331. Who makes it over to the Virgin Mary, 331. Treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII. at, 525. Captured by Henry VIII., 562. Endeavours of the Dauphin to retake it, 566. Failure of the French again to take it, 603. The town given up by the English, 604. The heights of, fortified, v. 113. Attempt of Louis Napoleon on, 536

BOU

- Boulonnais, the Duke of Burgundy's claim to the, admitted by Charles VII. of France, ii. 192. Secured by the Burgundians, 275
- Bourbette, nominated on committee of government, iv. 678. Arrested and attempts suicide, 681
- Bourbon. *See* Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme
- Bourbon, suzerainty of Louis the Fat in, i. 117.
- The duchy of, settled upon the son of De Montpensier and daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, ii. 395
- Bourbon, Isle of, proposed as place of banishment for the suspected, v. 509
- Bourbon, royal family, founder of the, i. 272
- Bourbon, Duke of, induced by Philip VI. to assume the Cross, i. 395
- Bourbon, Charles, Duke of, the Constable, killed at Poitiers, i. 464
- Bourbon, Duke of, taken prisoner at Agincourt, ii. 114
- Bourbon, Duke of (previously Count of Clermont), his armed bands, ii. 202. Joins the rebellion of the nobles against a standing army, 205. Submits and is pardoned, 207. Restored to his annual pension, 213. Stays away from the court of Charles VII., 233. Deprived of the government of Guyenne, ii. 255. Joins a league against Louis XI., 267, 268. Has a command in the regular army, 275. Accompanies Louis XI. to the Duke of Burgundy at Peronne, 290
- Bourbon, Duke of, brother-in-law of Anne of Beaujeu, appointed constable, ii. 352. Commences attaches himself to him, 362
- Bourbon, Duke of (brother of the last), the Sire de Beaujeu, succeeds to the title of, ii. 367. Appointed constable, ii. 450. Injustice of Francis I. to him, 475, 476. His rebellion, 476. His offers to Charles V., 476. His negotiations with Henry VIII., 477. Escapes into Italy, 478. Commands the Imperialists there, 479. Invades Provence, and besieges Marseilles, 480. Raises the siege, and retreats to Nice, 481. Abandoned by the English, 481. Raises a force in Germany, 482. And advances towards the French army in Italy, 483. Attacks the camp of Francis I. before Pavia, 483. Defeat of the French, 484, 485. Proposals of the Emperor on his behalf, 488. Pressed in Milan by the Venetians and Papalists, 495. Sacrificed by the Emperor to his enemy, 496. Promised the duchy of Milan, 497. His difficulties in Italy, 497. Marches against Rome, 498. Where he is killed, 498
- Bourbon, Duke de (*temp.* Louis XV.), causes the degradation of the Duke de Maine, iv. 154, 167. Carries off twenty-five millions of specie from Law's bank, 172. His quarrel with the Regent at the council, 179. Suc-

BOU

- ceeds the Duke of Orleans as regent, 187. His life and character, 187. His mistress, Madame de Prye, 187. Character of his regency, 188, 189. His intrigues with the Spanish Court, 189. His rupture with Spain, 192, 193. Insurrection against him and his measures, 194, 195. Exiled, 195. His character and capacity, 195. His re-enactment of the severe laws against the Huguenots, 255
- Bourbon, Cardinal of, appointed a grand inquisitor in France, ii. 630, 643. Present at the resuscitated League, iii. 199. Declared heir to the French throne, 199. Publishes his manifesto at Peronne, 201. Obtains Soissons as a place of surety, 204. Arrested, 231. Declared presumptive heir to the throne by the League, 256. Imprisoned at Fontenay, 259. Declared king by the Parliament and Council, 262. His death, 267
- Bourbon, Sir Archibald de, at the investiture of the Court of Poitou, i. 221
- Bourbon, Bastard of, his quarrels with the Parisian lower orders, ii. 89. Surrenders to Charles VII., 211. His atrocities, 211. Executed, 211. Created admiral, and sent by Louis XI. against the Bretons, 288, 289. Saves the life of Charles VIII. at Fornova, 390
- Bourbon family withdraws in disgust on the execution of Montagu, ii. 80. Join the Orleans alliance against the Duke of Burgundy, 80. Their combination with the Guises, iii. 91. Proposal to reseat on throne of France, v. 222, 229. Their flight from Paris, 245. Their return, 257. Their government in Spain and Naples, 308. Revolutions on account of, 308, 309
- Bourbourg captured by the English Crusaders under the Bishop of Norwich, ii. 32. Besieged by Charles VI., 32
- Bourdaloue exposes the vices of his age, iii. 651
- Bourdonnaye, M. de la, his retaliatory measures, v. 276. Opposes M. de Serres and liberal measures, 296, 304. Denounces Manuel, 325. Opposes Villèle in his endeavours to gag the press, 355, 356. Opposes the Loi d'Amour, 357. Retires from office, 382
- Bourg, town of, taken by Biron, iii. 349
- Bourges, council convened at, i. 199. Louis VIII.'s army assembled at, 199. The Duke of Berry besieged by the royal forces in, ii. 87. Advance of the English to the succour of, 88. Taken by the Constable Richmont, 155. Promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction from, 217. Surrender of the Huguenots in, to the Royalists, iii. 67. Massacre of the Huguenots in, 148. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, 170. Louis XIV.'s entry into, 615. Destruction of the "tower" of, 616

BOU

- Bourges, Archbishop of, sent on an embassy to Henry V. of England, ii. 110
- Bourg-la-Reine burned by the English, i. 424
- Bourmont, Marshal de, minister of war, v. 380. His testimony against Ney, 381. His unpopularity, 381. Heads an expedition against Algeria, 386. Paralyzes the rising in La Vendée, 465
- Bournonville, French deputy, exchanged for daughter of Louis XVI., v. 8
- Bourqueney, M., arranges boundaries of Turkey, v. 530, 531
- Bourré, conferrer of offices under Louis XI., ii. 253
- Boves, castle of, besieged by Philip Augustus, i. 153
- Boves, Hugh de, at the battle of Bovines, i. 190
- Bovines, battle of, i. 190. Rivalry between it and Dinant, ii. 280
- Brabançons, their valour at Bovines, i. 190. Licentiousness of the, of the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 82
- Brabant, reaction against the French in, i. 327. Claimed by the Count of Nevers at the instance of Louis XI. of France, 284. Claimed by Louis XIV. by right of *evolution*, iii. 659
- Brabant, Duke of, slain at Agincourt, ii. 114. Married to Jacqueline of Holland, 151. Divorced, 152
- Braddock, General, sent against the French in America, iv. 263. His defeat, 263
- Braganza, House of, embark for the Brazils on invasion of Portugal by Junot, v. 153
- Brandenburg eaten up by Wallenstein's army, iii. 494. Erected into the kingdom of Prussia, iv. 81. The Russians driven out of, 279
- Braun, Marshal, defeated by Frederick the Great at Labositz, iv. 267
- Braunau, battle of, iv. 226
- Brazil, Admiral Coligny's scheme for founding a French colony in, ii. 641
- Bréa, General, unsuccessful in his efforts to persuade the insurgents to surrender, is taken prisoner and brutally murdered, v. 628
- Bread riots in Paris, iv. 346, 668, 676, *et seq.*
- Breda, fall of, iii. 453. Captured, iv. 562
- Brenneville, battles of, i. 119; ii. 186
- Brescia taken by the French, ii. 421. Besieged by the Emperor Maximilian, 461
- Breslau, occupied by Frederick the Great, iv. 215. Peace of, iv. 221
- Bressan, the, held by Francis I., ii. 542
- Bresson, M., minister for foreign affairs, v. 487. Commits suicide, 568
- Brest taken by John of Montfort, i. 412. Besieged by Du Guesclin, 534. Reinforced by the Earl of Salisbury, 535. Garrisoned by English soldiers, ii. 10. Taken by the French from the Bretons, 369
- Brest, Bay of, naval engagement in the, ii. 440
- Breteuil, besieged by John, King of France, i.

BRI

460. Who offers terms, which are accepted, 460
- Bretigny, peace of, i. 490, 491. Difficulties in the way of executing the treaty, 490, 491. True causes of the want of solidity in the treaty, 515. Broken by Charles V., ii. 109
- Breton, Cape, taken by the English, iv. 240. Restored to France, 246. Again taken by the English, 273
- Bretons, the, join the Normans in their incursions, i. 46. *See* Brittany.
- Brezé, De, favourite of Charles VII., ii. 221. Sent to besiege Metz, 221. Obligated to fly on the accession of Louis XI., 253. Placed in command of an expedition to support the Lancasters in England, 261. His subsequent career, 261, *note*. The King's distrust of him at Montlhéry, 270. Where he is slain, 271. The castle of Rouen delivered up by his widow to the League, 274. Recovers the good-will of the King, ii. 277
- Brezé, Marshal, defeats the Spaniards at Avain, iii. 512
- Bricconnet, abets Charles VIII.'s proposal to invade Italy, ii. 380. Created a cardinal, 385
- Bricconnet, Bishop of Meaux, favours the first Protestants, ii. 515. Partly retracts, 515
- Bricquemaut, sent by the Huguenots from La Rochelle to the court, iii. 115. His trial and execution, iii. 150
- Bride, Jean, the Flemish butcher, thrown into prison by the French, i. 324.
- Bridport, Lord, defeats Admiral Villaret, iv. 674
- Brie, given by Louis XI. to his brother Charles, ii. 292
- Brienne, Count de, taken prisoner by Loria, i. 300
- Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, becomes controller-general, iv. 388. His character and financial administration, 388, 389. His mode of dealing with Calonne's scheme, 389. Results of his policy, 393. His illness, 397. His plan for doing away with parliament, 397. His inability to raise money, 402. Promises the convocation of the States-general for the following year, 402. Resigns, 402, 403. Fills his pockets on leaving, 403
- Brienne, battle of, v. 219
- Brigands, the, or foot soldiers, in France, i. 437. Their raids, 437, 438
- Brignais, battle of, i. 499
- Brill, capture of, iii. 129
- Brion, Admiral de, taken prisoner at Pavia, ii. 485. Sent with a French army to invade Savoy, 536. Occupies Turin, 538. Disgraced by Francis I., 549
- Brisgau, the, ceded to France, iii. 576
- Brissac, Duke de, *décroté*, iv. 480. Sent to

BRI

prison, 480. Killed in the Versailles massacre, 530

Brissac, French general in Piedmont, his successes against the Imperialists, ii. 612. Arrested, iii. 231. Routed in Normandy, 246

Brisson, first president of parlement, beheaded, iii. 281.

Brissot, becomes member of the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. Expresses his opinion that Louis XVI. could not be king of the revolution, 474. Draws up first petition of the Jacobins against the re-installation of the King, 475. Declares war to be necessary, 475. Carries the Assembly and the Jacobins on the war question, 476. Moves the accusation of Delessert, 479. Votes the adjournment of the King's déchéance, 504. Robespierre's proposed arrest of, 523. Moves the commission on the state of Paris, &c., 538. Imprisoned, 618. His trial and death, 620

Brittany reduced to subjection by Charles Martel, i. 20. Given by Charles the Simple to Duke Rollo for pillage, 53. Homage done by Geoffrey, son of Henry II. of England, to Louis VII., for, 146. The dukedom claimed by Arthur, nephew of King John of England, 163. Invaded by Henry III. of England, 214. Philip VI.'s endeavour to secure the reversion of, 398. Disputed succession to the dukedom, 411. Struggle between Charles of Blois and John de Montfort for the duchy, 506. Death of Charles in the battle of Auray, and recognition of De Montfort as duke, 507. Invasion of, by Du Guesclin, 533, 534. Flight of the duke, John de Montfort, 546. Resolution of Charles V. to annex the duchy to the crown of France, 547. Resistance of the Bretons to this absorption, 547. Return of De Montfort, 547. The expedition for the succour of the duchy sent from England under the Duke of Buckingham, 551. Seizure of the Duke of, by the party of the Dauphin, ii. 135. Who are compelled to liberate him, 135. At war with France, 285. The Admiral Bourbon sent into, 289. Activity of the royal generals in, 289. Question of the succession in 1486, 365. Convention of the rebel Breton nobles with the King of France, 365. Project of Anne of Beaujeu for uniting Brittany to the crown of France, 366. Determination of Lady Anne to reduce Brittany by force of arms, 367. Defeat of the Bretons at St. Aubin, 368. Conclusion of the treaty of Sablé, 369. War recommenced by France, 369. Assistance sent to Brittany from England and Spain, 369. Condition of the duchy at this period, 370. Refusal of the Bretons to murder the Huguenots, iii. 149. The Spaniards masters on the coasts and in the towns, 322. Quarrel of

BRU

the court of Louis XV. with the Parliament and Estates, iv. 309-312. Resistance of the province to the abolition of its parliament, 400 *See* Assembly, Legislative, &c.

Brittany, Duke of (grandson of Louis XIV.), his death, iv. 111

Brittany, Duchess of, taken by Philip Augustus, i. 166

Brogie, Duc de, minister of public instruction, v. 421. Resigns, 424. Minister for foreign affairs, 473. His irritation at being shelved by Louis Philippe, 504

Brogie, Count de, punished by D'Aiguillon, iv. 331

Brogie, Marshal, left in command in Prague, iv. 221. Besieged there by Prince Lobkowitz, 222. Which he stealthily evacuated, 222. Driven from Bavaria, 226. Appointed lieutenant to Marshal Contades, 279. Assumes the command, 279. Commands the troops concentrated round Paris, 421. Retreats to Sèvres, 424.

Brogie, General, defeated at La Secchia, iv. 204

Broke, Lord, commands an army to assist the Bretons against the French, ii. 369

Brosse, Peter de la, made a confidant of, by Philip the Hardy, i. 297. Makes an enemy of Queen Maria, 297. Found guilty of treason, and hanged, 297, 298

Brouages, siege of, by the Catholics under Mayenne, iii. 186. Besieged by the Prince of Condé, 206

Broussel, president of parliament, arrested, iii. 587. Liberated, 589. Elected provost of the Marchands of Paris, 627

Bruat, Captain, governor of French possessions in the Pacific, v. 557

Bruges, armed combatants of, in the time of Philip Augustus, i. 153. Reduced by Philip Augustus, 188. The citizens of, at the battle of Bovines, 189, 190. Submits to the French under Philip IV., 314. Insurrection against the French, who are defeated at Courtray, 324-326. Supports Robert III. of Flanders against France, 372. Opposition to Count Louis in, 390. Permission given to the town to open a canal to the Lys, ii. 16. The party of the Count defeated by John Yoens and his *white capes*, 17. Taken by the people of Ghent under Philip von Arteveld, 21. Redeems itself from French yoke by a heavy war contribution, 29. Maximilian's court of the Golden Fleece held at, 339. Declares against France, iv. 96. Surprised by the French, 100. Taken by the Duke of Ormond, 115. Reduced by the French, 238.

Brühl, Henry, Count, Saxon minister, forms an anti-Prussian anti-English league, iv. 262, 266. Punished by Frederick the Great, 266.

Brularts, their Spanish policy, iii. 440. Their foreign intrigues, 441. Dismissed, 441

BRU

- Brumaire, 18th, revolution of the, v. 68, 69.
 Repetition of, suggested by Buonaparte, 103
 Brune, General, forces passage of the Adige, v. 90. Murdered by the Royalists, 264
 Brunehild, daughter of the Gothic King of Spain, married to Sigebert, King of Austrasia, i. 8. Court at Metz formed under her influence, 8. Causes of the quarrel between her and the Austrasian aristocracy, 8-10. Invades Austrasia, 11. Her death, 11.
 Brunet, M., executed, iv. 636
 Brünn reduced by Frederick the Great, iv. 220
 Brunnov, Baron, his intrigues as to the Spanish marriages, v. 567
 Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, brother of the Emperor Otho I., his government of Lorraine, i. 61. His vindication of the King's rights against the lesser barons or chiefs, 62. Places Odalric in the archiepiscopal chair of Rheims, 62. His death, 63
 Brunswick, Frederick William, Duke of, his manifesto to the Assembly, iv. 505. Purposes restoration of the King, who protests against his menaces and measures, 505, 506. Captures Longwy, 523. Fails to march on Paris, 523, 524. Defeats the coalition of European powers, 532, 533. Admires the revolution and its leaders, 533. Lingering on his road to Paris, enables Dumouriez to occupy roads and defiles, 533. Engages the French at Valmy, 533. Gives up the cause of monarchy, and the hopes of saving the royal family, 534. Shrinks from attacking Dumouriez at Valmy, 543. Advises Prussia to abandon the Austrian alliance, 544. Besieges Mayence, 601, 603. Defeated by Davoust, v. 129, 130
 Brussels, magnificence of Charles the Rash's receptions at, ii. 282 *note*. Claims of the people at this duke's accession, 284. Meeting of the States of Flanders, Brabant, and the North at, in 1468, 287. Occupied by the French, iv. 234, 661. Insurrection in, v. 426. *See* Belgium; Assembly, Legislative; Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe, &c.
 Buch, John de Grailly, Captal de, saves the ladies at Meaux from the Jacques, i. 478. Who are annihilated, 478. His rules of warfare, 504. Leads an army against the partisans of France at Cocherel, 505. Taken prisoner, 506. Wealth and honours heaped upon him by Charles V. of France, 517. Again taken prisoner, 528, 530
 Buchan, Duke of, joins Charles the Dauphin with four thousand Scotch, ii. 138. Appointed constable by Charles VII., 148. Defeated by Lords Salisbury and Suffolk at Crevant, 149. Loses an eye there, 149. Defeated and slain at Verneuil, 150
 Bucharest, treaty of, v. 182
 Buckingham, Thomas, Earl of (uncle of Richard

BUO

- II.), conducts an expedition to succour Brittany, i. 551. His march through France, 551. Besieges Nantes, and retires to Vannes, 10. Returns to England, 10
 Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of; his trouble before Calais, iii. 452. His journey to Paris, 457. His amorous homage to the Queen of France, 457. His conversation with Cardinal Richelieu, 457. Concludes a treaty with Holland, and subsidises Denmark, 461. Quarrels with Lord Holland, 473. Not allowed to go to Paris, 473. His plan of operations against France, 473. Conducts an expedition to the Isle of Rhé, 474. Abandons the enterprise, 475. His letter to Cardinal Richelieu, 551
 Buckingham, Villiers, Duke of (son of the preceding), his part in the Triple Alliance, iii. 665. Sent on a mission to Louis XIV. in Holland, 682
 Buda, occupied by the Turks, ii. 505
 Budæus, sent by Francis I. to Pope Leo X., ii. 456. His services to learning, 461. On the trial of Berquin, 518
 Buenos Ayres, French successes at, v. 511
 Bugeaud, Marshal, heads a French force against Don Carlos, v. 501. His campaign against Morocco, 559, *et seq.* Commands the troops and endeavours to put down the revolution, 590, 591. Suspends hostilities at the demand of M. Thiers, and the monarchy is lost, 391. Objects to abdication, 594. Commands the army of the Alps, 637
 'Bulletin des Loix,' establishment of the, iv. 639
 Bull-fights, Spanish, introduced into France, iii. 123
 Bülow, General, defeats Oudinot and Hey, v. 211
 Bulwer, Sir Henry, his propositions as to the Spanish Marriages, v. 568
 Buonaparte, Eliza, Tuscany given to, v. 149
 Buonaparte, Jerome, proposed transfer of duchy of Warsaw to, v. 138. Becomes king of Westphalia, 143. Enthroned at Cassel, 143. Warns Napoleon of the discontent of his German provinces, 182. Driven from his capital by the Cossacks, 211. His wife arrested and robbed by a Royalist emissary, 241. Sent ambassador to Italy, 42. His instructions to respect the Pope, 42, 43. Nominated king of Italy, 126
 Buonaparte, Joseph, his installation at Madrid approved of by the Emperor Alexander, v. 156. Made king of Spain, 157, 179. Appointed to defend Paris, 227
 Buonaparte, Louis, becomes king of Holland, iv. 143. His disagreements with Hortense, 172. Abdicates in favour of his son, 172
 Buonaparte, Lucien, opposes the salt tax, v. 60. Resigns his ministry of police, 80. Refused as president, 250. Presses Napoleon to re-enact the 18th Brumaire, 256

BUO

Buonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon I.
 Buonapartists, Buonapartism, procession of, at funeral of General Lamarque, v. 468, 469
 Buonarrotti, Jacobin conspirator, writes history of Babeuf's conspiracy, v. 12.
 Burchard, Baron of Montmorency, sets the claims of the abbey of St. Denis at naught, i. 114. Compelled by Louis the Fat to submit, 114.
 Bureau, John, his improvement in cannon and the art of undermining fortifications, ii. 201. Effect of his artillery on the walls of Caen, 228. And at Castillon, 230
 Bureaucracy, formation of the, iii. 580
 Burgh, Hubert de, holds Dover Castle for King John, i. 192. Gained over by Blanche of Castille, i. 214
 Burgoyne, General, his surrender, iv. 355
 Burgundians, their forced hospitality and division of the land of their hosts, i. 3. Defeated by Clovis on the Ouche, 5. Slightness of the hold of Clovis over them, 5. Struggle between them and the Armagnacs, ii. 101. The siege and sack of Soissons, 103. The siege and peace of Arras, 103. Their losses on the field of Agincourt, ii. 117. A conspiracy among their partisans discovered, 119
 Burgundy, the regal dignity assumed by Conrad in Alpine Burgundy, i. 51. Aversion of the people of Burgundy to both the French and German races, 55. King Robert's war in, 81. The county acquired by the Count of Nevers, who marries King Robert's sister, 81. Robert's son Henry (afterwards Henry I.) recognised as duke of the province, 81. The duchy obtained by Robert, son of Robert II., 87. Submits to Philip Augustus, 154. Louis X.'s concessions to the county of, 365. Pillaged by mercenary free corps, 486. War contribution levied by Edward III. of England, 488. The dukedom given by John II. to his son Philip, who founds a brilliant house, 500, 501. Extent and condition of the duchy at the commencement of the fifteenth century, ii. 81. Fall of its last prince on the field of Nancy, 324, 325. Condition of the duchy at this period, 326. Seized by Louis XI., 327, 328. Who purchases and pensions the nobles, 332. Becomes part of the dominions of Austria, 334. Invaded by the Swiss, 439. The duchy demanded by the Emperor Charles V., 488, 489. Ceded to Charles by Francis I., 490. Who refuses when liberated, to surrender it, 492. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots of, iii. 64. Attempt of Richelieu to abolish the Estates of, 503. Insurrection in consequence, 503. The government taken from the Prince of Condé, and given to the Duke of Vendôme, 601

CAI

Busaco, battle of, v. 180
 Bussy, d'Amboise, falls at Pavia, ii. 485
 Butchers of Paris. *See* Cabochiens.
 Bute, John Stuart, Earl of, his peace policy, iv. 283. Becomes prime minister, 284. Makes overtures to Austria, 286. His efforts to restore the negotiations for peace, 287
 Byng, Admiral, destroys the Spanish fleet, iv. 152. Attacks La Galissonnière, but abandons Minorca, iv. 264
 CABET, M., republican, heavy fine inflicted on, v. 482, 483
 Caboché, the Paris tanner, one of the leaders of the Paris butchers, ii. 84. Forces his way into the palace, and insults the Dauphin, 94
 Cabochiens, or Butchers of Paris, their ascendancy and cruelties, ii. 84. Fall into an ambuscade, 85. Jacquemille appointed their captain, 93. Their forcible entry into the palace, 94. Collect the taxes, 98. Burn the palace of the Bicêtre, 98. Their dislike of the fine arts, 98. Execute Des Essarts, 99. Their opposition to peace with the Armagnacs, 100. Put down, and some of them executed, 101. Return with the Duke of Burgundy towards Paris, 117. The butcher corporation broken up, 119
 Cabrières, massacre of the people of, ii. 584
 Cadets, rise of the military school of the, iv. 294
 Cadiz, an expedition sent to, by Queen Elizabeth, iii. 325. Failure of an English attempt against, iv. 92. Storming of, v. 328
 Cadiz, Duke of, proposed as husband for Queen of Spain, v. 568. Why negatived, 569
 Cadoudal, Georges, joins the royalist army at Quiberon, iv. 674. Conspires against First Consul, v. 99. His second attempt, 113. Arrested and tried, 114, 116
 Cadoudal, William, defends Rennes for John of Montfort, i. 413. Capitulates, 413, 414
 Cadsand, Island of, taken from the Flemings by Edward III., i. 400
 Caen, taken by Edward III., i. 423, 424. Besieged by Henry V. of England, ii. 122. Taken from the English, 228. Declares for the Huguenots, iii. 57. Taken by Louis XIII., 424. Riot in, iv. 430. Fugitive Girondists meet at, to organize an insurrection, 593
 Cagliostro, his acquaintance with the Cardinal de Rohan, iv. 377.
 Cahors, atrocities committed upon the Huguenots of, iii. 47. Besieged and taken by Henry of Navarre, 194
 Caietan, Cardinal, sent as nuncio to Paris, iii. 262. Leaves Paris, 268
 Cairo seized by Buonaparte, v. 48. Abandoned by French, 95

CAL

- Calabria, Duke of, son of René of Anjou, joins a league against Louis XI., ii. 267. Territories ceded by Louis to him, 275
- Calais, naval expedition fitted out at, against England, by Philip of Valois, i. 392. Besieged and taken by Edward III., 430-436. Story of the six citizens of, 435. Edward's arrangements for ordering and fortifying the town, 436, 437. Fixes the staple of tin, lead, and woollen cloth at, 437. Demanded by Edward in direct sovereignty, 486. The demand rejected by the French, 487. Besieged unsuccessfully by John Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, ii. 52. Besieged by Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, 193. Who raises the siege, 193, 194. Promise of Margaret of Anjou to cede Calais to France for aid against the Yorkists, 261. Landing of Henry VII. with the army at, 375. Besieged by the Duke of Guise, 628, 629. Surrenders to the French 629. Restoration of, demanded by Queen Elizabeth, iii. 126. Besieged and taken by the Spaniards, 322. Offered by Henry IV. to Queen Elizabeth, 331. Recovered by the treaty of Vervins, 345. Refusal of Richelieu to allow an English army to land at, 452. The town threatened by Spinola, 453. Conspiracy to seize the port, 508.
- Calas, Jean, his death on the rack, iv. 291
- Calder, Admiral, watches Villeneuve, v. 121.
- Caldiero, battle of, v. 25
- Caldé, Charles, provost of the merchants of Paris, leads the citizens into the presence of the Regent, ii. 8, 79. Flies from the cruelties of the Cabochiens, 84
- Calixtus II. elected pope, i. 124. Calls a council at Rheims, 124. Peace between the Emperor and the Church effected by the treaty of Wurtzburg, 124. Calixtus orders Henry I. of England and Louis VI. of France to keep the truce of God, 125
- Calonne, Charles Alexander de, appointed intendant of Metz, iv. 322. Appointed controller-general, 368. His first act, 368. His administration, 369. His prodigality, 370, 371. Supported by the King, 371. Proposes an Assembly of Notables, 371. His proposals to the Assembly of the Notables, 383. Becomes, unknown to himself, the tool of the Economists, 384. Rejection of his proposals, 386. His quarrel with Necker, 387. Dismissed, 387. Adoption of his scheme by the King and the Chancellor, 389
- Calverley, Sir Hugh, commands the reserve at the battle of Auray, i. 507. Joins an expedition against Peter the Cruel, 510. Joins an expedition to relieve Brittany, 550. Joins the crusade into Flanders under the Bishop of Norwich, ii. 32
- Calvin, John, flies from the Sorbonne to Geneva, ii. 535, *note*. Invited to Ferrara by the

CAN

- Duchess Renée, 535, *note*. Notice of him, ii. 576. In Paris, 576. Escapes to Switzerland, 577
- Calvinism, how represented by the envoys from the Emperor Frederic II. to Louis XIII., iii. 427
- Cambacérés, John James R. de, accuses Tallien, iv. 665. Nominated as a director but not chosen, v. 6. Becomes consul, 78. Dissuades Buonaparte from a repetition of 18th Brumaire, 103. Created archchancellor, 118. Appointed minister of justice, 245
- Canbon, arrested and exiled, iv. 672. Conspires against the First Consul, v. 95
- Cambray, efforts of the people of, to shake off the rule of the archbishop, i. 84. Municipality of, founded, 99. Taken but abandoned by Louis XI., ii. 339. League of, against Venice, formed, 427. Treaty of, or Lady's Peace, 506. Meeting of the French and Imperialists at, 631. Taken by the Spaniards under the Count of Fuentes, iii. 317. Attempt of Count Harcourt to take, 598. Taken by the French, 696. Congress of, iv. 182, 190. Reduced by Louis XV., 229. Besieged by the Duke of Coburg, 615
- Cambridge, Earl of, sent to the relief of Aquitaine, i. 524. Sails with an army to the support of the Duke of Brittany, 526. Takes St. Pol de Leon, and shuts up De Clisson in Quimperlé, 536
- Cambrils taken by Los Velez, iii. 519
- Cambronne, General, trial of, v. 281
- Campan, Madame, her miraculous escape, iv. 517
- Campobasso, Count of, his treachery to Duke Charles of Burgundy, ii. 324
- Campo Formio, treaty of, v. 40, 87
- Camus de Beaulieu, favourite of Charles VII., put to death by the Constable Richmond, ii. 153, 154
- Camus, French commissioner, deposes Dumouriez, iv. 564. Exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI., v. 8
- Canada, French colony of, iv. 27. The French at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, 164. Hostilities between the English and French in, 258. Conquest of, by the English, 274, 275
- Canclaux, General, defends Nantes against the Vendéans, iv. 600. Refuses promotion, 602
- Candale, Jean de Foix, Count of, the command of Calais proposed to be given to, ii. 261
- Cang, combat of, ii. 119
- Canning, Right Hon. George, defied by Chateaubriand, v. 329. Sympathises with the Hellenes, 349. Despatches troops to Lisbon, 350. His conduct approved by Villèle, 350
- Cannon, first use of, in battle, i. 428. At the

CAN

siege of Calais, 433. Bureau's improvements in, ii. 200
 Canterbury, treaty of, ii. 468
 Canute the Dane, in England, i. 88. Expedition of Robert the Devil against, 88
 Capelle, fortress of, captured by the Spaniards, iii. 513
 Capeluche, the executioner, one of the leaders of a riot of the Parisians, ii. 126. Put to death by the Duke of Burgundy, 126
 Capet, origin of the name of, i. 61. Establishment of the House of, 69. Political condition of the early Capets, 74. Difference between the Angevin and Capetian monarchs, and their policy, 150, 151
 Capital, investments for, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, iv. 157
 Capitation tax introduced by Pontchartrain, iv. 56. Repealed, 470
 Capponi, Niccolò, the Florentine, and Charles VIII., ii. 383. Proclaimed gonfalonière of Florence, 499
 Capua stormed by the French, ii. 411
 Caraffa, Cardinal, sent on a mission to Henry II. of France, ii. 621. Induces the French court to break the truce of Vaucelles, 621
 Carbonari, secret society of the, v. 308, 309. Their proceedings in France, 314, *et seq.*
 Carcassonne, town of, besieged by the crusaders against the Albigenses, i. 178. Taken and plundered, 179. Relieved by Amaury de Montfort, 197. Claimed by Roger Trencavel, 220. Severity of Philip the Fair to the town of, 338. Pillaged by the Black Prince, 455. Protestants put to death by the Catholics at, iii. 47
 Cardona, Spanish general, taken at Cerisolles, ii. 561
 Carignan besieged by the Imperialists, ii. 560
 Carinthia, government of, given by Louis the Debonnaire to his younger son Louis, i. 38
 Carlier, prefect of police, proposes a *coup d'état*, v. 655. Succeeded by Maupas, 656
 Carloman, son of Charles Martel, refuses the crown, and retires to a cloister, i. 19
 Carloman, son of Pepin the Bref, his share of his father's dominions, i. 22. Refusal of his Burgundian barons to assist the Austrasians in crushing the South, 22. Efforts of his mother Bertha to keep peace between him and his brother Charles (Charlemagne), 23. His death, 24. His widow and children captured at Verona by Charlemagne, 25
 Carlos, Don, son of Philip II. of Spain, proposal to marry him to the Princess Elizabeth of England, ii. 616
 Carlos, Don, son of Elizabeth Farnese, his mother's plans for him, iv. 150, 190. Tuscany and Parma given to him, 155, 191. Betrothed to a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, 183. Marries her, 183. Assent of

CAS

the Emperor obtained, 193. Refused an archduchess for his wife, 199. Goes to Italy to take possession of his dominions, 205. Marches south, and conquers Naples, 205. And Sicily, 205. Secured by the peace of Vienna, 206. Forced to neutrality by a British fleet, 228. Becomes king of Spain, 282. *See* Charles III., King of Spain
 Carlos, Don, brother of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, set aside by the will of the King, v. 489. Disputes the succession, 489. Surrender of, 500. His intrigues when set at liberty, 500. Army sent against, 501. His army being dispersed, he is expelled from Spain, 519. Keeps court at Navarre, 519. His son proposed for a husband for Queen Isabella, 566
 Carlovingsians, reign of the, i. 15, *et seq.* The last of the, 69, 72, 78
 Carlowitz, peace of, iv. 81
 Carmagnola, taken by the Duke of Savoy, iii. 225
 Carnes, massacre of priests in the, iv. 525
 Carnatic, war in the, iv. 259
 Carnot, General, nominated member for Public Safety, iv. 612. His military plans, 615, 616. Gains the battle of Wattignies, 617. Succeeds in recapturing Toulon, 624. His account of Robespierre, 630. Threatened by St. Just, 651. One of the five directors, chosen in place of Siéyes, v. 6. Discovers plot of Babeuf and the Jacobins, 12. Recommends invasion of Piedmont, 16. Concludes treaty of peace with Piedmont, 20. Supports views of Buonaparte, 34. Opposes the philanthropy of Reveillère, 35. Sentenced to deportation, 37. Superseded in his office, 38. On Napoleon's return appointed home minister, 245. His honest character, 259. Becomes minister of public instruction in Second Republic, 605, 618, 630. Resigns, 630. Replaced by Vaulabelle, 630
 Caron, Colonel, executed for conspiracy, v. 315
 Carrickfergus, descent of the French near, iv. 277
 Carrière, returned member of the Convention, iv. 535. His atrocities at Nantes, 623. Invents the Noyades, 623. Executed, 666
 Carteau, General, being sent against Lyons, isolates the surrounding towns, iv. 597. Forces his way into Marseilles, 597
 Cartouche, the robber, iv. 171
 Casale besieged by Spinola, iii. 476, 480. Siege raised, 481. Relieved by Count Harcourt, 517. Purchased from the Duke of Mantua by France, iv. 24, 32. Restored to Savoy, 59
 Casimir, Prince, son of the Count Palatine, joins Condé, iii. 97
 Cassano, battle of, v. 58
 Cassel, town of, taken by Philip Augustus, and

CAS

retaken by the Flemings, i. 188. Taken by Count Robert of Artois, 314. Defeat of the Flemings by Philip VI. at, 391. Taken by the English crusaders under the Bishop of Norwich, ii. 32. Captured by Ferdinand of Brunswick, iv. 287

Castanos, General, defeats Dupont at Baylen, v. 155

Caste, horror of the Greeks of, i. 34

Castelnau, Baron, leads the Huguenots, iii. 19. Besieged in the castle of Noisay, 20. Surrenders, and thrown into prison, 20. Put to the torture, 21. Executed, 22

Castelnau, Peter of, the papal envoy, killed, i. 176

Castelnaudari pillaged by the Black Prince, i. 455

Castelnaudary, battle of, iii. 509

Castel Rodrigo, Marquis of, negotiates the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, iii. 667

Castiglione, battle of, v. 22

Castile, joins France in blockading the English in Harfleur, ii. 120. Defeat of their fleet there, 120

Castillon, besieged by the English, who are defeated, and their commander, Talbot, killed, ii. 230, 231

Castlereagh, Lord, sent on an embassy of peace to France, v. 216. Swayed by successes of Lord Wellington, insists on France confining herself to limits of 1790, 219. Reinforces Blücher, and continues offensive operations against Buonaparte, 223. Insists on frontier of 1790, 223. Prevents spoliation of the Louvre, 261

Castles, great numbers of, built, i. 82. The castles round Paris reduced by Louis the Fat, 115. Regulations of Philip the Long as to the, 376. The fortified castles of the noblesse dismantled by Richelieu, iii. 471, *note*

Castries, Marquis de, attacked by the Prince of Brunswick at Closter-Camp, iv. 280. Appointed minister of marine, 358, 365

Catalonia, insurrection of 1640 in, iii. 518. Handed over to France, 519. A French general viceroy of, 519. Successes of the French in, 570. Reduced by Lord Peterborough, and occupied by the Archduke Charles, iv. 93. Failure of the Duke of Orleans to take it, 99

Cateau Cambresis, conferences of, ii. 633. Peace of, 635

Catelet, town of, taken by the Imperialists, ii. 626

Catelet, Le, fortress of, captured by the Spaniards, iii. 513. And by Turenne, 602

Cathelineau, the waggoner, iv. 572. Commands the Vendean army, 600. Captures Nantes and is killed, 600

Catherine of Aragon, married to Henry VIII.

CAT

of England, ii. 442. Favours an alliance between England and the Emperor, 468. Divorced from Henry, 522

Catherine of Medicis, ii. 526. Proposal to marry her to the Duke of Orleans, 526. Conclusion of the marriage, 528. Appointed regent by her husband, 608. Her character, iii. 7. Her personal appearance, 8. Leans to Protestantism, 9. Her importance at court, 9. Her answer to the Huguenots, 14, 15. At the execution of heretics, 22. Death of her son, Francis II., 32. Accession of her son, Charles IX., 33. Assumes supreme power, 33. Reconciled to the King of Navarre, 33. Her endeavours to lull discontent, 33. Her foreign policy, 33. Her conciliation of Elizabeth of England, 34. Her financial difficulties, 39. Summons the provincial estates, 39. Conciliates the King of Navarre and the Constable, 40. Steers between the Catholics and Protestants, 40, 41. Failure of the Colloquy of Poissy, 44, 45. Her aims set aside by her requirement of money, 45. Her concessions to Rome, 46. Her dismay at the conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants, 48. Enmity of the Constable and Condé, 50. Catherine falls back upon Coligny and D'Andelot, 51. Seized by the triumvirate, and forcibly removed, with the King, to the Louvre, 56. Opens negotiations with the Prince of Condé, 57. Which result in nothing, 63. Forced to accompany the army operating against the Catholics, 67. Saves Bourges from pillage, 67. Arranges the treaty of Amboise, 74, 75. Treaty between France and England, 81. Causes the King to be declared of age, 84. Her council, 84. Proceeds with the court to Champagne, 85. Her motives for favouring the Catholics and intimidating the Protestants, 86. Meets the Queen of Spain and the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, 87. Plots to circumvent and arrest Condé, 92. Applies to Alva for assistance against the Huguenots, 94, 97. Sends an army under the Constable against the Huguenots, 95. Their successes, 96, 97. Her negotiations with Condé, 97. Obtains succours from the Duke of Saxony, 98. Concludes the treaty of Longjumeau, 99. Her perplexity at the perseverance of the Protestant faction, 108. Opens negotiations with the Huguenots, 109. Her vacillating policy, 109. Opposes the marriage of her son, Anjou, with Queen Elizabeth, 113. Her eagerness for war in Flanders, 118. Her arrangements for the campaign, 118. Quarrel between her and Coligny, 118, 119. Lends money to aid the invasion of Flanders, 119. Considered by Montpensier to be alone responsible for the policy of the time, 120, *note*. Her religion, 122. Her greed of power, 123.

CAT

Her policy, 124. Her opposition to a war with Spain, 124. Becomes hostile to Coligny, 125. Dissuades the King from the war with Spain, 131, 132. Persuades her son to give the order for the massacre on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 138. Acknowledges her complicity in the attempted assassination of Coligny, 138. Gives the signal for the massacre herself, 140. Witnesses the murders, 143. Her conversation with Sir F. Walsingham, 151. Plot of her son, the Duke d'Alençon, against her, 156. Summons an assembly of notables at St. Germain's, 156. Her scheme for securing La Rochelle discovered, 157. Discovery of her son's plot, 157. Causes his arrest, 158. Becomes regent on the death of Charles IX., 160, 161. Her vigorous policy, 161. Concludes a two months' truce with the Huguenots, 161. Her cruelty, 162. Her plot to arrest Damville, 164. Her advice to her son, Henry, 164. Her endeavours to win back her son Alençon to loyalty, 169. Her boasted policy, 174. Result of this, 175-179. Presses for war against the Huguenots, 183. Her religious indifference, 190. Sends Marshal Strozzi to Portugal, 195. Her negotiations with the chiefs of the League, 204. Meets Henry of Navarre at Cognac, 208. Her jealousy of the influence of the Duke of Epemon, 214. Carried over the barricades to negotiate with the Duke of Guise, 219. Her illness, 231. And death, 232. Her life and character, 233. Catherine II., Empress of Russia, her accession, iv. 286. Her part in the partition of Poland, 316. Her league of armed neutrality, v. 93. Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. of France, promised in marriage to Henry V. of England, ii. 109. Amount of her proposed dowry, 110. Sees Henry V. for the first time at Meulan, 129. Married to him, 136. Catherine, sister of Henry IV. of France, project to marry her to the Count of Soissons, iii. 276. Catholics, the League of, called the 'Triumvirate,' iii. 40. Riots against the Huguenots, 40, 41. Estates of Paris clamorous against them also, 42. Colloquy of Poissy, 44. Collisions between Catholics and Protestants, 47. Riot of St. Médard, 49. Edict of January promulgated, 49, 50. Civil war between Catholics and Protestants, 56, 57. Causes of Huguenot success at first, and of Catholic resuscitation, 59, 60. The Catholic colours, 63, *note*. Progress of the civil war, 64-75. Impossibility of accord between the creeds, 77. The Cardinal of Lorraine's views of reforming the Roman Church, 79. Non-execution by the Catholics of the treaty of Amboise, 83. Their victory at Jarnac, 104. Fail to take Cognac, 104. Defeat the Hugue-

CAU

nots at Moncontour, 105-107. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, 121, 140. Endeavours of Rome to bring back Charles IX. to the terms of the Catholic League, 127. Formation of the party called the 'Politiques,' 161. Discontent of the Catholics with Henry III., 167. Formation of the League, 175. Conclusion of the peace of Bergerac, 188. Resuscitation of the League, 200. And renewal of civil war, 202. Battle of Contras, 210. Alliance between the Huguenots and Royalists against the League, 244. Battle of Arques, 257. And of Ivry, 264-266. Edict of Tours issued, 277. Recantation of Henry IV., 300. Rally of the chief leaguers, with the exception of Mayenne, to Henry IV., 307. Termination of the contest between the Catholics and Protestants, 371. View of the whole struggle, 372. Fear and anger of the ultra-Catholics at Henry IV.'s league against Spain, 378. The line of demarcation between the two religions pushed northwards by Louis XIV., iv. 64. Reaction of the educated classes against the Roman Catholics, 289, 290. Catholic sacerdotalism struck by Napoleon, v. 91. *See also* Church of Rome; Napoleon I. Catinat, Marshal, cruelties of the French under his orders to the Waldenses, iv. 39. Captures Nice and occupies the coast of Piedmont, 41. Driven beyond the Alps, 42. Defeats the Piedmontese at Marsaglia, 47, 48. Associated in command with the Duke of Savoy, 83. Baffled by Prince Eugène, 84. Replaced by Villeroi, 84. Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, claims Jeanne d'Arc for trial, ii. 175. Presides at the trial, 177. Shrinks from putting her to death, 178. Caudebec surrendered to the French, ii. 226. Caulaincourt, Grand Chamberlain, accompanies Napoleon on his return to Paris, v. 195. Sent as peace ambassador to Alexander, 202. Succeeds in gaining an armistice, 204. Proposes treaty at Prague with Metternich, but his offers refused, 205. Sent to meet the Allies at Chatillon with renewed offers, 219. Again meets the Allies on negotiations for peace, 220. Sent to Paris to negotiate, 229, 230. Returns with proposals for complete abdication, 232. Signs the treaty of Paris, and thus consummates the abdication of Buonaparte, 232. Appointed foreign minister, 245. Caussidière forms a regiment of reckless characters, v. 607. Becomes minister of police, 618. Takes part with the Socialist insurrection, 620. Caux, De, minister of war, v. 366. Remarkable conversation as to the allegiance of the army, 379.

CAV

Cavagnes, sent by the Huguenots from La Rochelle to the court, iii. 115. His trial and execution, 150

Cavaignac, General, prosecuted by Périer, v. 444. Trial of, 492. Recovers his freedom, 493. Amnestied and returns to France, 521. Becomes minister of war, 621. Seeks to exile Louis Napoleon, 623. Champion of the Assembly, 624. Exerts his authority, 624. His republican principles, 624. Commands the troops against the insurrection of the workmen, 624. His measures for putting it down, and their complete success, 624-630. Invested with dictatorial power, 627. President of the executive government, 630. Chooses a new government, 630. His difficulty with regard to the prisoners of the insurrection, 632. Refuses to arrest the journalists, except Girardin, 632. Louis Napoleon elected president instead of him, 635. Sends an army to Rome, 639, 640. Quells the Socialist insurrection of June 13, 1849, 644. Louis Napoleon's endeavours to crush both him and his party, 644. His star declines in the army, 644. Arrested, 661

Cavalry, formation of, by Charles Martel, i. 16

Caylus, Madame du, becomes mistress of Louis XVIII., v. 298. And confidential adviser of the King, 337. Forces upon the dying king the appointment of a minister of ecclesiastical affairs, 339. Rouses the King by her blandishments to receive last rites of the Church, 338. Burns the testamentary papers of the old King, 338. Pensioned by Charles X., 338

Cazotte, Mademoiselle, saves her father, but only to send him to the guillotine, iv. 527

Cé, Pont du, fortress of, given to Queen Marie de Medicis, iii. 423

Cecil, Lord Burleigh, joins the Duke d'Alençon's plot against the Queen Mother, iii. 156

Cecil, Sir Robert, sent on a mission to Henry IV., iii. 344

Celestin III., Pope, forbids Philip Augustus to marry Mary of Meran, i. 161. Excommunicates Philip, 161

Cellamare, Prince, envoy from Spain to France, iv. 138. His conspiracy against the Duke of Orleans, 153, 154. Discovered and arrested, 154

Cens, or Rent, serfage abolished on payment of, i. 494, 496, *note*

Centralisation, commencement of the French system of administrative and judicial, i. 170. Rapid establishment of, in France, 440. Retrograde movement from absolutism to federalism, 496. Louis XI.'s views and intentions as to, ii. 343

Centre, a party in Chamber of Deputies, v. 283

Cerdagne acquired by Louis XI., ii. 259. Ceded to Ferdinand V. of Spain, 376

CHA

Cerignola, battle of, ii. 413

Cerisolles, battle of, ii. 560

Cernolles, the archpriest, leads the vanguard at the battle of Brignais, i. 499. Wounded and taken prisoner, 499. Marches to the Rhine, but returns home to pillage, 509

Cerrachi, conspirator, arrested and executed, v. 98, 99

Ceuillote, the, of the Flemish towns, ii. 283

Cevennes, reduction of the Protestants of the, iii. 482. Rising of the Huguenots in the, iv. 87. The chiefs of the Protestants bought off, 94. The Protestants massacred by the Royalists, v. 264

Ceva, surrendered, v. 19

Ceylon, the French in, iv. 27

Chabannes, falls at Pavia, ii. 485.

Chabot, Francis, denounces the new constitution, iv. 607. Tried and executed, 642-644

Chabrol, Count de, forms a new administration, v. 366. Becomes minister of finance, 381. His resignation, 386

Chagau of the Hans, killed by Eric, Duke of Aquileia, i. 28

Chaise, Père la, confessor to Louis XIV., iv. 67. His view of the proper mode of life for the King, 67. His influence over Louis XIV., 123. His death, 123

Chalais, Count de, heads a conspiracy to murder Cardinal Richelieu, iii. 465. Arrested and executed, 466

Châlier, chief of the Jacobins, heads insurrection at Lyons, for which he is tried and executed, iv. 196

Chalons, the famous tournament at, i. 298. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots in, iii. 64

Chalotais, La, procureur-general of Brittany, iv. 309. Arrested, 310. But set at liberty, 312

Chamber of Deputies. *See* Deputies

Chambery held by Francis I., ii. 542

Chambre, Ardente, the, ii. 642, 645. Established, 158

Chamillard, Michael, appointed minister of finance, iv. 84. His financial measures, 85. His taxes in 1706, 97, 98. His difficulties, 99. Succeeded by Desmarets, 99

Champ-Aubert, battle of, v. 220

Champagne, aversion of the people of, to both the French and German races, i. 55. Disputes Swiss Burgundy with the Emperor Conrad II., 90. The Champaigners defeated by Geoffrey Martel, 91. Condition of the country of, in the thirteenth century, 206. Insulted by Philip, Count of Boulogne, and joins the League of the barons, 206. The tax levied by Philip of Valois on the fairs of, 418. The estates summoned by Charles the regent, 476. The country pillaged by mercenary free corps, 486. Muster of the

CHA

Tardvenus in, 498. Ravaged by Sir R. Knollis, 526. Condition of, under Charles VII., ii. 175. Invaded by Charles VII. of France, 211. Given by Louis XI. to his brother Charles, 292. Advance of Coligny into, iii. 109. Poverty of the gentry of, in 1591, 283, *note*. The government given to the Prince of Conti, 598

Championnet, General, defeats General Mack, v. 54. Dismissed by the Directory, 56

Champs de Mars, and Champs de Mai, of the Franks, i. 24, *note*

Chandos, Sir John, at the battle of Poitiers, i. 463. Allowed by the Black Prince to go to the aid of De Montfort, 506. Gains the battle of Auray, 507. Ransom paid to him for the liberation of Bertrand du Guesclin, 510. Refuses to join a crusade against Peter the Cruel, of Castile, 510. His escape at the battle of Navarrete, 513. Again takes Du Guesclin prisoner, 514. Killed in a skirmish, 525

Changarnier, General, suppresses the insurrection of June 13, v. 643. Appointed to watch over the republic by the Assembly, 649. Anticipates the re-establishment of the empire, 650. President determines to dismiss him, 650, 652. Plot to assassinate him, 651. Guarantees to the Assembly that the constitution shall triumph over the president, 653. Arrested by the president, 661

Chantelaube, draws up the ordonnances, v. 391. Arrested and tried, 422, 429. Condemned, 430

Chantilly, estate of, willed to Duc d'Aumale, v. 435

Chantocé, town of, captured by the Royalists, ii. 289

Chantoeaux besieged and taken by Charles of Blois, i. 412

Chapelle, La, executed for duelling, iii. 471

Charenton attacked by the Prince of Condé, iii. 592

Charette, leader of the Vendéans, iv. 572. Besieges Nantes, 600. Raises the royalist standard in La Vendée, but unsuccessful, and executed at Nantes, v. 14, 15

Charité, La, taken by Charles the Dauphin, ii. 139. Taken by the Huguenots, iii. 108. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, 170. Who subsequently besieges it, 185

Charlemagne conducts the Pope, Stephen II., into France, i. 21. His share of the empire at the death of his father, Pepin, 22. His defeat of Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, 22. Repairs the castle of Fronsac, 23. Efforts of his mother to keep peace between him and his brother Carloman, 23. Marries the daughter of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, 23. Death of his brother Carloman, 24. Becomes in consequence sole monarch,

CHA

24. Sends his wife back to her friends, 24. Embassy from the Pope, who is besieged in Rome, 24. Charlemagne's first expedition against the Saxons, 24. Takes Æresburg, and burns the idol Irmensul, 24. Marches into Italy against Desiderius, 24. Takes Verona, and lays siege to Pavia, 24, 25. Visits Rome, 25. Confirms Pepin's donation of the exarchate to the Pope, 25. Takes Pavia and throws Desiderius into captivity, 25. His policy in the organisation of empire, 26. His dukes and missi, 26. His revenues, and how they were collected, 26. His expedition against the Pagan Saxons, who received baptism at Paderborn, 27. His expedition beyond the Pyrenees, and defeat at Roncevaux, 27. His execution of 5,000 Saxons, 27. His complete overthrow of them as a nation, 27. His conquest of the Huns, 28. His second visit to Rome, where he is crowned emperor by the pope, 28, 29. His life and sports, 29. Nature of his rule, 29. His judicial arrangements, 29. His struggle with the Paganism of the East and the Mohammedanism of the South, 30. Entrusts his outlying provinces to counts or dukes, 31. His mode of warfare, 30, 31. His testamentary division of his dominions to his three sons, 32. Death of his sons Pepin and Charles, 32. Places the imperial crown on the head of his surviving son Louis, 32. His death and character, 32. Similarity between Clovis and Charlemagne, 44. Weight of his crown, iv. 219, *note*

Charleroi, taken by Louis XIV., iii. 662. Reduced by the French, iv. 234. Besieged by Jourdan, 661.

Charles V., Emperor of Germany (see also Charles of Luxemburg), his first minister, De Chièvres, i. 451. Betrothed to Renée, daughter of Louis XII., 442, 451. Ascends the throne of Spain, 461. Meets Francis I. at Noyon, 462. His competition with Francis for the succession to the empire, 463. His character, 463. Elected emperor, 466. Disturbed state of Spain and Germany, 467. Charles concludes a treaty with Henry VIII. at Canterbury, 468. Promised aid by the Pope, 470. Entices Wolsey to Bruges, and gains over England against France, 471, 472. At war with France, 472. Invades France, 472. Gives the command of his armies in Italy to Prosper Colonna, 479. Capture of his enemy Francis, 485. Charles's demands, 488. Refused by Francis, 489. Who is removed to Madrid, 489. Conclusion of the treaty of Madrid, 490. And liberation of Francis, 491. Who refuses to perform the conditions of the treaty, or surrender Burgundy, ii. 492. Formation of a league against Charles, 492. His coolness to Henry VIII., 492. Who with-

CHA

draws from the Emperor and signs a treaty with France, 493, 494. Charles's indigence, 494. Formation of a league against him, 500. Charles's offers to Francis, 501. Whom he challenges, 501. Defeat of Francis's soldiers by Charles's army, 504. Conclusion of peace with France, 506. Charles paramount in Italy, 519. Crowned by the Pope at Bologna, 519. Marriage of his sister Eleonora to Francis I., 520. Creates his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, 521. His policy and aims compared with those of Francis I. and Henry VIII., 521. His reverence for the Popedom, 522. Preparations of Sultan Solymán against him, 524. Charles attempts to stop the Turk's march, 525. Abandoned by the Pope, 526. Collects forces for an expedition against Tunis, 532. Milan, Genoa, and Asti formally demanded of him by Francis I., 533, 536. Their negotiations, 536. Charles's outburst against Francis, 537. Invades Provence, 539. But abandons his expedition, and retreats, 540. His idea of a great expedition against the Turks, 543. Meets Francis I. at Aigues Mortes, 543. Their proposals, 543, 544. Makes a journey through France to the Low Countries, 545. Reaches Mons, and punishes the rebels of Ghent, 546. Offers the Low Countries to the Duke of Milan instead of Milan, 547. Defeat of his expedition against Algiers, 553. His alliance with Henry VIII. against France, 556. Besieges Landrecies with an Anglo-Imperialist army, 557. Recaptures Luxemburg, and reduces Commercy, 562. Besieges St. Dizier, 562. Which surrenders to him, 563. Marches on the right bank of the Marne, 563. At Château-Thierry, 563. Retires to Soissons, 564. Concludes a treaty with France, 564. Declines to make a new arrangement on the death of the Duke of Orleans, 566, 567, 585. Crushes the Lutherans, and makes their chiefs prisoners, 570. Amount of his revenue, 572, *note*. His attempts at a religious compromise, 578, 604. Fails in his attempts against the Barbaresques at Algiers, 580. War declared against him by Francis I., 580. Charles defeats and captures the Duke of Saxony at Muhlberg, 597. Reaction against him in Germany, 604. Induces the Diet to accept the Interim, 604. Failure of his German policy, 605. Alliance between Maurice of Saxony and Henry II. of France against him, 607. Marches against the French in Lorraine, 610. Besieges Metz, 611. Discouraging news received by him at, 612. Raises the siege, 613. Takes Therouanne, 614. And Hesdin, 614. Marries his son Philip to Mary of England, 614. Sends Alva and Glanville to the conference of La Marq, 616. Rejection of his proposi-

CHA

tions, 616. Hostility of the Pope to him, 617. Resigns his crown, 618. His proposed treaty with the Duke of Vendôme, 644. Charles VI., Emperor of Germany (*see also* Charles, Archduke), protests against the negotiations at Utrecht, iv. 116. From which he holds aloof, 117. His separate negotiations with France, 118. Concludes peace at Radstadt, 119. Joins the Triple Alliance, 151. Establishes the Ostend East India Company, 182, 191. Applied to by the Queen of Spain, 191. Reconciliation of the courts of Vienna and Madrid, 191. Terms of their alliance, 193. Alliance of England, France, and Prussia against them, 193. Failure of the Austro-Spanish Alliance, 198. Charles makes peace with France and England, 199. And gives up the Ostend Company, 199. War declared against him by France, Spain, and Sardinia, 203. His death, 212. His policy and extravagance, 213. Charles VII., Emperor of Germany (*see also* Charles Albert, Duke of Bavaria), crowned at Frankfort, iv. 218. Compelled to sign a treaty of neutrality with Austria, and allowed to remain a guest in Munich, 228. Enters into an alliance with Frederick the Great, 229. His death, 231. Charles I. *See* Charlemagne. Charles II., the Bald, his parentage, i. 39. Territory allotted to him, westward of the Rhine and Meuse, 40. His reluctance to acknowledge the suzerainty of his brother, the Emperor Lothaire, 40. Unites his forces with those of Louis of Bavaria and attacks the Imperialists, 40, 41. Their victory at Fontenailles, 41. His union with Louis to cast off the authority of the Emperor, 42. Signs the treaty of Verdun, 42. Becomes Emperor, and nominally reunites the empire, 43. Pays the Normans to forego an attack on Paris, 46. Civil war in consequence of his cowardice and incapacity, 46. Undertakes the defence of the frontier against the Normans, 47. His fortifications near Rouen, 47. His assemblies and edicts there, 47. His jealousy of the growth of small principalities, duchies, and counties, 48. Charles III., the Fat, grandson of Louis the Germanic, succeeds to the throne, 49. His cowardly policy, 49, 50. Entices the Norman chiefs to a conference, and murders them, 49. Covered with disgrace, 50, 51. His death, 51. Charles III., the Simple, reared by Fulques, Archbishop of Rheims, i. 51. Proclaimed King in the absence of Eudes, 52. Death of Eudes, and compromise of Charles with Eudes' heir Robert, 52. Compromise effected with the Normans: the Duchy of Normandy given to the chieftain Rollo, 53.

CHA

Crosses the Rhine to oppose the Emperor Conrad, 53. Reclamation of the crown by Duke Robert, 54. Who is crowned at Rheims, 54. Charles driven from Soissons, Laon, and Rheims, 54. Endeavours to regain Soissons, 54. But is routed by Robert's son, Hugh, 54. Thrown into captivity by Heribert, Count of Vermandois, 55. His death, 56

Charles IV., the Fair, King of France, his accession to the throne, i. 377. Divorced from his wife Blanche, and marries Mary of Luxembourg, 378. His third wife Jeanne of Evreux, 378. Relations of England and France in his reign, 380. War between the two countries, 380. Taxation in France at this period, 382. Charles's death, 382. His abolition of the liberties of Laon, 387

Charles V., the Wise, King of France, assumes the title and possession of Dauphiné, i. 440. Marries a daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, 441. Created Duke of Normandy, 457. The King of Navarre and his friends surprised at the Duke's table at Rouen, and beheaded, 457. Commands a division at the battle of Poitiers, 461. Flies from the field, 463. His father, King John, taken prisoner by the Black Prince, 465. Charles's assumption of authority as lieutenant of the kingdom, 465. Refuses to accede to the terms of the Estates, 466, 467. Whom he adjourns, and goes to the Emperor at Metz, 467. Issues a base coinage, 468. Returns, and assumes the title of regent, 468. Accompanied by the cardinal La Foret, 468. Dismisses his ministers and chancellor, and consents to the appointment of the council of thirty-six, 469. Revokes the powers of Marcel and the thirty-six, and retires to Rouen, 471. Returns to Paris, and compelled to bow to the decisions of the Estates, 471. Charles, King of Navarre, released from prison, and let loose upon him, 472. War between them, 472. The Regent's harangue in the halle, 473. His treasurer stabbed by Perrin Marc, 473. His marshals of Champagne and Normandy murdered in his presence, 474. His journey to Champagne and the Vermandois, and successes there, 474. Retires to Meaux, with the ladies of the court, 478. Saved from the Jacques by the Count de Foix and the Captal de Buch, 478. Stops the supply of provisions to Paris, 479. Revolution in his favour in Paris, 481. Reconciled to the King of Navarre, 486. Return of his father from captivity, 491. Appointed regent during his father's visit to the Pope, 501. Death of his father, 502. Charles's accession, 503. His habits and temperament, 503. His library in the Louvre, 503. Mantes and Meulan recovered for him, 505. His coronation at

CHA

Rheims, 506. Successes of his partisans under Du Guesclin, 506. His arrangements with Charles of Navarre, 508. Complaints to Edward III. of the ravages of English freebooters in France, 515. His character as a politician, 517. Privileges granted by him to Paris, 517. Deprives Tournay of its liberties, 518. Buys up the followers and friends of Edward III. and the Black Prince, 519, 523. Mode of warfare contemplated by Charles, 521, 525. His disgraceful conduct, 521, 522. Prepares for war, 522. His plea, 522. His summons to the Black Prince, 523. Declares war against Edward III., 523. Obtains possession of various towns, 523. Equips a fleet for the invasion of England, 523. Assembles his estates, and obtains aid for raising an army, 525, 526. Threatened in Paris by a marauding expedition under Robert Knollis, 526. Erects the fortress of the Bastille of St. Antoine, to protect his residence there, 527. Summons Du Guesclin to take command of the army, and accept the office of constable, 527. Reconquest of all the towns south of the Garonne, 529-532. Charles's mode of dealing with the Bretons, 533. Concludes a truce for two years, 537. His improvements in the administration, 537. Recovers the position of an absolute monarch, 538. First forms a regular army, 539. His reforms in the coinage, 540. Recommences the war with England, 541. Sends a fleet to ravage the coast of England, 541. Takes nearly all the towns of Gascony from the English, 542. Turns to crush the King of Navarre, 542. Puts the two agents of the Navarrese king to death, 544. Commissions Du Guesclin and the Duke of Burgundy to make war against the King of Navarre, 545. Resolves to annex the duchy of Brittany to the French crown, 547. Failure of his scheme, 547. His illness and death, 552.

Charles VI., King of France, his character, and that of his uncle's who conducted the government, ii. 4, 5. His guardians, 5. His coronation at Rheims, 7, 8. His reception in Paris, 8. His desire to lead an army against the Languedocians, 11. His ardour checked by the Duke of Burgundy, 11. Determines to take up arms against the Flemings, 26. And marches an army against them, 26. Takes Commines and Ypres, 27. Defeats the Flemings at Roosebecque, 27, 28. Returns to Paris, and punishes the rebel citizens, 30, 31. Inflicts punishment on Orleans, 32. Leads an army again into Flanders, 32. Marries Isabella of Bavaria, 35. Prepares for war with England, 36. The expedition abandoned, 37. Leads an army over the Meuse to furnish the Duke of Guelders, 39. Tired of his uncle's tutelage, he entrusts the

CHA

CHA

government to the Marmousets, 39, 40. His expensive amusements, 41. Visits the South, 41. Goes to Lyons, Avignon, and Toulouse, 41. His indignation at the extortion and tyranny of his uncle there, 41. Causes the duke's treasurer, Betizac, to be burned, 41. Leads an army to punish the Duke of Brittany, but is attacked with insanity on the road, 43. In danger of his life at a masquerade, 44. Gives aid to Owen Glendower, 49. Carried off by the Queen and Duke of Orleans to Melun, 50. Forgives the Duke of Burgundy for the murder of the Duke of Orleans, 65. Custody of his person given to the Duke of Guienne, 82. Leads an army, and lays siege to Bourges, 87. But arranges a peace at Auxerre, 88. Plot to carry off the King from the capital, 93. His recovery of his sanity, 96. Issues the ordonnance of May, 1413, 96. Regains his health, and comes to a reconciliation with the Orleanists, 99. Marches with the Armagnacs against the Burgundians, 102. Defeat of his army at Agincourt, 112–114. Returns, with his court, from Rouen to Paris, 117. Death of his son, the Dauphin, 117. Creates Count Armagnac constable of France, 118. Causes the Queen to be imprisoned at Tours, 121. Massacre of the Armagnacs by the Parisians, 124. Removal of the King to the Louvre, 124. At Troyes, where a treaty of peace with England is concluded, 136. His death, 140. Survey of his reign, 140.

Charles VII., the Victorious, King of France, when Duke of Touraine, married to a daughter of the King of Sicily, ii. 118. Becomes dauphin on the death of his brother John, 120. Seizes his mother's money in Paris, 121. Reduces the rebel citizens of Rouen, 122. Wrapped up in a sheet, and sent off from the infuriated Parisians to Melun, 124. Sends envoys to Henry V. before Rouen, 127. Reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, 131. Meets the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau, 132. And causes him to be murdered, 133, 134. Cry of execration against him and his assassins, 134. Denounced by his mother, 134. Retires to Poitiers, and sets up another kingdom, 135. The King of England becomes regent and heir to the kingdom, 136. Charles, joined by the Duke of Buchan and four thousand Scotch, 138. Defeats the English, under the Duke of Clarence, at Béaugé, 138. Besieges Chartres, but retires behind the Loire at the approach of the King of England, 139. Threatens Burgundy, and takes La Charité, 139. Driven back by the Duke of Bedford, 139. Death of his father, 140. Meets his lieges at La Rochelle, 148. And crowned at Poitiers, 148. Constitution of his army, 148.

Activity of his partisans, 149. Conspiracy of Lallier in his favour, 149. Defeat of his troops at Crevant, 149. Receives reinforcements from Scotland, 149. Defeat of his army at Verneuil, 150. Creates Arthur, Comte de Richmond, constable, 153. Who is defeated by the English at St. James de Beauvoir, 153. The King's favourites, Giac and Camus, put to death by the Constable, 153. The King treated as a child by the rude warriors of his day, 153, 154. La Tremouille placed about the King's person, 154. Defends himself against the Constable, 155. Efforts of his partisans at the siege of Orleans, 156. Consternation of his court at the failure of all their efforts, 159. Visited by Jeanne d'Arc at Chinon, 163. Recognises her divine mission, 163. The siege of Orleans raised, 166. Conducted by Jeanne d'Arc triumphantly to Rheims, 169, 170. Where he is crowned, 170. Challenged by the Duke of Bedford at Montereau and at Dammartin, 171. Goes to Compiègne, which surrenders to him, 171. Advances towards Paris, 172. But retreats behind the Seine, 172. Execution of Jeanne d'Arc, 180. The King keeps his court behind the Loire, 185. Conspiracy of his military chiefs, 187. Influence of his mother-in-law, Yolande of Aragon, over him, 187. Becomes enamoured of Agnes Sorel, 187. His favourite, La Tremouille, removed from the King's intimacy, 187. His offers to the Duke of Burgundy, who consents to open negotiations at Arras, 188. His proposals to the English, 190. Terms of his treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, 192. Who in consequence abandons the English alliance, 192. The King's solemn entry into Paris, 195. Removal of the court and royal residence to the Loire, and cessation of enmity to England, 197. Consultation of the Three Estates in levying the tailles and aides, 199. His preference for ministers from the middle class, 200. Dearth of great men in France in his time, 200. His licentiousness, 201, 232. His endeavours to rescue the country from anarchy, 202. His formation of a standing army, 204, 205. Which is opposed by his son, the dauphin, and the nobility, 205, 206. The revolt put down, and the rebels pardoned, 207. The King's aversion to peace with England, 208. Avoids consulting the Estates, 208. Reformation of the rebellion of the nobles, 209. Their remonstrances, and the King's answers, 209. His evasions, 210. Takes the field against the nobles, and marches into Champagne, 211. His punishment of the Bastard of Bourbon, 211. His pleasure in a military life, 211. Takes Creil, 211. Besieges the English in Pontoise, which he takes, 212. Refuses battle to Lord Talbot and the Duke

CHIA

of York, 212. Compels the nobles to submit, 213. Concludes peace with England, 214. Adopts the decrees of the Council of Basle, and promulgates the Pragmatic Sanction, 217. His liberal views of ecclesiastical government, 218. His preparations for a struggle with the Duke of Burgundy, 219. Applied to by the Emperor and House of Austria to march against the Swiss, 219. Sends his son to aid Austria, and marches himself into Lorraine, 219, 220. Sends his new favourite, De Brezé, to reduce Metz, 221. Concludes peace with the Germans, 221. Amends the treaty of Arras, and preserves peace with Burgundy, 222. His military and financial reforms, 222-224. Extent of his authority, power, and resources, 224. Resumption of the war with the English, 225. Dunois placed in command of the forces, 225. The English expelled from all Normandy north of the Seine, 226. Charles's solemn entry into Rouen, 226. Lays siege to Caen, 226. And collects an army to oppose the English reinforcements, 227. Defeat of the English at Formigny, 228. Conquest of the remainder of Normandy and the whole of Gascony, 228-230. Charles's treatment of the Gascons, 229, 230. His companions and mistresses, 232. His jealousy of men of eminence, 233. His treatment of the Dauphin and of Jacques Cœur, 235-237. His contempt of law and justice, 237. His antagonism with the power of the Duke of Burgundy, 237. Of whom he entertains jealousy and mortification, 241. Resolves to attack all the friends and associates of the Duke of Normandy, 242. His distrust of his son, 243. Who flies to Burgundy, 243, 244. Charles's illness, 244. Deserted by his ministers, 244, 245. His death, 245. His character, 245. His administration and its results, 246-249.

Charles VIII., King of France, affianced by the treaty of Picquigny to the daughter of Edward IV. of England, ii. 314. The hand of the heiress of Burgundy claimed for him, 328. Betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian I., 341. Dowry brought to him, 341. Death of his father, and his accession, 345. Care and guardianship of him entrusted to his sister Anne of Beaujeu, 351. His coronation, 362. Carried off by his sister, Anne of Beaujeu, to Montargis, 363. Marches at the head of his army against the league for restoring the authority of the Three Estates, 366. Reduces the citadels of Bordeaux and Bayonne, 366. Determination of the Lady Anne to reduce Brittany by force of arms, 367. Charles recommends mild treatment for the defeated Bretons, 368. Liberates the Duke of Orleans from prison, 372. Charles's ambition, and love of adventure, 372, 377.

CHIA

Marries Anne of Brittany, 374. Coalition formed against him, 374. Landing of Henry VII. at Calais, 375. Conclusion of the peace of Etaples, 375. Cedes Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand V. of Spain, 376. His designs upon Italy, 377. Abetted by De Vesc and Bricconnet, 380. Concludes a treaty with Ludovic Sforza at Milan, 380. Crosses the Alps, 381. Falls ill, 382. Has an interview with Galeaz Visconti, 382. Lays siege to Sarzana, 383. And takes Fivizzano, 383. All the Florentine strongholds surrendered to him by Pietro di Medici, 383. His reception in Florence, 383, 384. His entry into Rome, 385. And into Naples, 385. Formation of a league of the Italians against the French, 387. His retreat from Naples, 387. Defeats the Venetians under the Marquis of Mantua, at Tornova, 389. Concludes the treaty of Vercelli, and evacuates Italy, 391. His subsequent life, 392. And death, 393. Guicciardini's picture of him, 393, 394.

Charles IX., King of France, his accession, iii. 33. Queen Elizabeth's advice to him, 34. His personal appearance, 34. Opens the Estates, 34, 43. His coronation, 41. Orders Guise not to approach the capital, which order is disobeyed, 54. Seized by the triumvirate at Fontainebleau, and removed to the Louvre, 56. Forced to accompany the army operating against the Huguenots, 67. Declared to be of age, 84. Proceeds with the court to Champagne, 85. Endeavours of the Huguenots to seize his person, 94. Goes to the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, 107. Orders the Bastard of Angoulême to slay Guise, 110. Concludes a treaty with Queen Elizabeth, 111. Marries Isabeau, daughter of Maximilian II., 111, 115. His jealousy of his brother Anjou, 112. Whom he wishes married to Queen Elizabeth, 113. His edict regarding the Huguenots, 115. With whom he plots against Spain, 116. His reception of Coligny at court, 117. Grants the Huguenots their demands in their general articles, 117. Pushes on the preparations for the invasion of Flanders, 118-120. Orders the demolition of the Cross of Gastines, 120. His religion, 122. His ferocity, 123. His personal appearance, 123. Endeavours of Rome to bring him back to the league, 127. His dissimulation, 128. His contemplation of the destruction of the Huguenot chiefs, 128. Commencement of the war against Flanders, 129. Charles's irresolution, 130. His displeasure at the tone of Coligny's demands, 131. Dissuaded from the war by his mother, 131, 132. Abandons the policy of Coligny, 132. Visits the wounded Admiral, 133, 136. Gives the order for the massacre of the Huguenots,

CHA

139. His fondness for flogging his friends and courtiers, 142. Witnesses the massacre from the windows of the palace, 143. Said to have shot several persons himself, 143. His frenzy of excitement, 144. His delight in contemplating the bodies floating down the Seine, 145. Acknowledges the exclusive responsibility of the massacre, 146. The only Huguenots whose lives he spared, 151. Hastens his brother Anjou's departure for Poland, 155. His feeble health, 155, 157-159. Groans and sufferings of his last days, 159. His death, 160. His children, 160.

Charles X., King of France (*see also* Artois, Count d'), when Count d'Artois, his zeal and bigotry for the Church induce remonstrance of the Allied Powers, v. 282. His measures reprobated by Allied Powers, 291. Becomes the real ruler of the state, 337. Is recommended by the dying king to observe the *Charter*, 338. Saluted king on death of his brother, 338. His title Charles X., 338. His character and principles, 338. Ascends the throne amidst the acclamations of his people, 340. Resolves to maintain the *Charter*, 341. His dissimulation discovered by the Parisians, 341. Declines to interfere in the matter of Philippe the Actor, 341. His commencing unpopularity, 341. Restores Duke of Orleans to his titles and estates, 342. His coronation, 346. His absolute measures, 346, *et seq.* Gags the journals, 348, 355. Persecutes members of the Academy, 357. His unpopularity to himself unaccountable, 360. Gratified by generous conduct of citizen soldiers, 360. His reception by the National Guards, 361. Dissolves the National Guards, 362. Prosecutes Lafayette, 363. Visits camp of St. Omer, 363. By Count de Chabrol forms a new semi-liberal administration, 366. Proposes to dissolve the new chambers, 369. His secret adviser Franchet, 372. Annoyed at Martignac's blandness, 372, 373. Remembers Villèle to the prejudice of Martignac, 374. Endeavours to bring Prince Polignac into Martignac's cabinet, 375. Withdraws both the municipal and departmental laws, 378. Remarkable conversation with De Caux on the allegiance of the army, 379. Dismisses Martignac and forms a new cabinet, 379, 380. How he constituted the Polignac cabinet, 383. Opens the chambers in 1830, 383. Proposes expedition to Algiers, 383. Refuses to change either his politics or his ministers, 385. Dissolves the chambers, 387. His policy with regard to the Church, 388; attends *Te Deum* at Notre Dame, 390. Signs the ordonnances, 391. Orders Marmont to take military precautions, 393. Seizure of newspapers, 394. The revolution commences, 394. Paris de-

CHA

clared in a state of siege, 396. Refuses to yield to pacific measures, 398. The revolution successful, 404. Attempts to rescind the ordonnances, 405. His vacillatory conduct, 406, *et seq.* Marmont's advice to abdicate in favour of his son, 414. Leaves his kingdom, and embarks at Cherbourg for England, 415, *et seq.* His ministers amnestied, 504, 505. His death in Styria, 505.

Charles II., the Bad, King of Navarre, i. 451. Causes Charles of Spain to be murdered, 452. Resentment of King John in consequence, 453. Charles's alliance with the Duke of Lancaster at Avignon, 453. His desertion of his ally, 453, 454. Surprised by John at a banquet at Rouen, and beheaded, 457-459. Resolution of the triumvirate, of Marcel, Lecoq, and Picquigny, to place him on the French throne, 471. Liberated by Picquigny from prison, 471. Enrolled as a citizen of Amiens, 471. Enters Paris in triumph, 471. His address to the people, 472. Goes to Rouen, and takes down the remains of his friends from the gibbet there, 472. Commences hostilities with the regent, Charles, 472. Returns to Paris, and is reconciled to the regent, 475. Defeats the *Jacquerie*, 477. Treats with the regent, 480, 481. Revolution in Paris in favour of the regent, 481. Removes from St. Denis, and becomes master of the Seine, 485. Makes overtures to Edward III. of England, 485. Reconciled to the regent, 486. His claims to the dukedom of Navarre, 500. Prepares for war with France, 501. Engages the services of Captal de Buch and John Jovel, 505. Who are defeated at Cocherel, 505, 506. Comes to an arrangement with the King of France, 506. Enters into an alliance with the Black Prince against Henry II. of Castile, 512. Opens the pass of Roncesvaux to the Prince, 512. Captured with his own connivance, by the French, 512. Quits the declining cause of the English on the Continent, 528. His negotiations with France and England, 542, 543. Determination of Charles V. of France to crush him, 543. His two agents seized and put to death by the King of France, 544. Surrounded by enemies, 545. Succoured by the English, 545. His capital, Pampeluna, relieved by Sir Thomas Trivet, 546. Conclusion of peace between the Navarrese and Castilians, 546.

Charles I., King of England, offers his hand to Henrietta Maria of France, iii. 442. Negotiations for the marriage, 447, 451. His accession, 456. Sends the Duke of Buckingham for his bride, 457. His estrangement from the French court, 460. Concludes a treaty with Holland, and subsidises Denmark, 461. Guarantees the French King's

CHA

promises to the Huguenots, 462. Quarrel with France about the Queen's French followers, 472. Sends fleets to the Rochellois, 474, 478. Which they fail to accomplish, 478

Charles II., King of England, sells Dunkirk to France, iii. 649. Secretly makes peace with France, 662. His treachery to the Dutch, 672. Signs a secret treaty with France, 673, 674. His mistress, Mademoiselle de Querouailles, 674. Deserts France, 686. Concludes a treaty with Holland, 699. But relapses to France, 700

Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, recovers the Lower Palatinate, iii. 576

Charles II., Elector Palatine, a portion of his dominions claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 28

Charles of Spain, made constable of France by the murder of the Count d'Eu, i. 447. Murdered by Charles II., King of Navarre, 452

Charles I. of Spain. *See* Charles V., Emperor of Germany.

Charles II., King of Spain, joins a league against France, iv. 25. His sinking health, 57. Makes peace with France, 59. Gives by testament the succession to a French prince, 77, 78. His death, 80

Charles III., King of Spain (*see also* Carlos, Don), quits the throne of Naples for that of Spain, iv. 282. Implored to come to the aid of France, 282. His offer to England rejected, 283. Signs the Family Compact, 283. War between England and Spain, 285. Seizes the Falkland Islands, and takes a small British force, 323. Joins the French and Americans against England, 357

Charles XI., King of Sweden, joins a league against France, iv. 25

Charles XII., King of Sweden, endeavours of France to drag him into war, iv. 98. Joins a league against England, 151

Charles I. of Naples. *See* Charles of Anjou.

Charles II. of Naples. *See* Charles, Prince of Salerno

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, his wavering policy at Turin, v. 309. Inaugurates political changes at Turin, 573

Charles Emmanuel III., King of Sardinia, obtains the throne on the abdication of his father, iv. 202. Whom he imprisons, 203. Offers Savoy to France in exchange for the Milanese, 202. Joins France and Spain against the Emperor, and appointed generalissimo of the allies, 203. Takes Pavia and Milan, 203. Joined by the French under Villars, 203. Opens communications with the Emperor, 205. Acquires Novara and Tortona, 206. Detached by Austria from his alliance with France and Spain, 228. Offered the Milanese and Piacenza, 228. His liberation of Italy, 235. Pied-

CHA

mont threatened by the French, 235. His disappointment at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 245, 246

Charles Martel, son of Pepin of Heristal, his early life, i. 14. His defeat of the Neustrians at Vinay, 14, 15. Extends the northern system of land-tenure and military service to the south, 15. Defeats the Saracens at the battle of Poitiers, 16. Brings Aquitaine and the south of France under Frank domination, 16. Gains his name of Martel, 17. His conquests over the Frisons and Slavons, 17. Consolidates his empire by the aid of religion, 17. Offered the Western Empire by Pope Gregory, 18, 19. His death, 18, 19

Charles Martel of Naples, King of Hungary, his daughter Clemence married to Louis X. of France, i. 364

Charles of Anjou, third son of Louis VIII., has the counties of Maine and Anjou for his apanage, i. 200. Assumes the Cross, 228. Marries Beatrice of Provence, 230. Routed by the Saracens in Egypt, 236. His return to Provence, 243. Disquiet of his government, 243. Enforces his authority at Marseilles, 243, 244. His character, 246. His greed of acquisition and glory, 246. His endeavours to obtain Hainault, 246. Extends his acquisitions into Italy, and becomes the first French prince who extended his arms and ambition into that country, 247. Favours Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 252. Accepts the offer of Pope Urban IV. of the kingdom of Naples, 255. Raises an army, and marches south, 256. Defeats Manfred, who is killed at the battle of Grandella, 256. Becomes king of Sicily and Naples, 256. Joins St. Louis in a crusade, 271. His character, 276. Takes command of the Crusaders at Tunis after his father's death, 277. Concludes peace with the Tunisians, 277. His vast designs and ambition, 278. His tyranny in Sicily, 282. Finds an enemy in Pope Gregory X., 284. And in Pope Nicholas III., 284. His rival, Peter III. of Aragon, 285. Charles's policy in Sicily and Naples, 285. Succeeds in procuring the election of a French pope, 286. Assumes the title of King of Jerusalem, 286. Massacre of the French at the Sicilian Vespers, 287. Sends to his nephew, Philip the Hardy, 288. Assembles an army to march against Peter of Aragon, 288. Besieges Messina without result, 288. And retreats across the straits, 289. A double papal crusade preached against his enemy, Peter, 289. The proposed duel between Charles and Peter, 289, 290. Defeat of his navy near Malta by Peter's admiral, Cornut, 292. His son Charles, Prince of Salerno, defeated an t

CIIA

CIIA

- taken prisoner by the same admiral, 293.
 Charles unsuccessfully besieges Reggio, 293.
 His death, 293
- Charles of Artois, killed at Poitiers, i. 464
- Charles of Blois, his claim to the duchy of Brittany, i. 411. Goes to Paris, and asks for assistance against John of Montfort, 411, 412. Musters an army at Angers, 412. Takes Chantoceaux and Nantes, 412, 413. Lays siege to Hennebont, 413. And to Rennes, which capitulates, 413. Defeated at Roche Darien, and sent prisoner to England, 438. His residence as prisoner at the English court, 446. War between him and his rival, De Montfort, 506. Slain at the battle of Auray, 507. His widow endowed with the duchy of Penthievre, 507
- Charles, the last of the Carolingian princes, the county of Cambrai given to, i. 63. Adopts the manners of the class into which he sank, 64. His dissipated life, 68. Excluded from the succession to the crown, 68, 69. Endeavours to revive the former power of his family, 78. Takes up arms against Hugh Capet, but fails, and is captured and imprisoned, 78
- Charles, son of Charlemagne, the government of the north of France, assigned by his father to, i. 32. His death, 32
- Charles of Durazzo, his claim to the throne of Naples, ii. 6. Invades and takes possession of the kingdom, 24. The throne also claimed by Louis, Duke of Anjou, 6, 24
- Charles, Prince, his army in Flanders, iv. 234. Defeated at Raucoux, 234
- Charles of Lorraine, Prince, defeated by Frederick the Great at Prague, iv. 269
- Charles of Luxemburg, son of Philip le Beau, proposal to marry him to Claude, daughter of Louis XII. of France, ii. 411. Affianced to her, 412. The marriage agreed upon, 420. But broken off, 420. Proposal to marry him to Margaret of England, 427. *See also* Charles V., Emperor of Germany.
- Charles, son of Pepin the Bref. *See* Charlemagne
- Charles, Prince of Salerno, sent by his father to Philip the Hardy, i. 288. Disobeys his father, and gives battle to the Aragonese admiral, Roger, 293. Who defeats and takes him prisoner, 293. His life saved by Constance, Queen of Aragon, 293. Death of his father, 293. His son called Charles Martel, 300. Liberated by the King of Aragon, who concludes a truce with the Angevins, 301. Released from his oath by the Pope, 301
- Charles, Archduke, lands at Lisbon, and assumes the title of King of Spain, iv. 92. Fails to effect any good, 92. Assumes the crown of Spain in Barcelona, 93. Becomes emperor of Germany, 107. *See* Charles VI., Emperor of Germany.
- Charles, Archduke, defeats Generals Miranda and Valence at Neerwinden, iv. 564. Defeats armies of Moreau and Jourdan, v. 24. Is defeated by Buonaparte at Tagliamento, 30. Encounters Massena at the Col de Tarvis, 30. Encounters Jourdan and fights battle of Stochach, 55. Defeats Massena in Switzerland, 56. Disowns murder of French plenipotentiaries, 58. Is succeeded in command by Suwarrow, 64. Superseded by Kray, 83. Drives Massena from Verona, 123. Takes the command of Austrian army in 1809, 161. Defeated by Napoleon at Eckmuhl, 161. Battles of Aspern and Essling, 163. His first successes but final defeat, 163, 164. His military faults, 165. Defeated at Wagram, 166.
- Charles Albert, Duke of Bavaria, his claim to the Austrian dominions, iv. 213. Begg the support of France, 214. His poverty, 214. Joins in a treaty with France and Prussia, 216, 217. Declared lieutenant-general of the French armies, 217. His extravagance, 217. Takes Passau and Linz, and advances within a few leagues of Vienna, 217, 218. Marches to Prague, 218. Which he takes, and crowned king of Bohemia, 219. Elected and crowned emperor, as Charles VII., at Frankfort, 219. *See* Charles VII., Emperor of Germany.
- Charles, younger son of Charles VII., created Duke of Berry, ii. 255. Joins the league, and rebellion of the 'Public Good,' 268. Establishes his court in the castle of Beauté, 273. Summons a deputation of the Parisians, 273. Becomes Duke of Normandy, 274. His entry into Rouen, 274. Besieged by the King in Rouen and compelled to surrender his province, 277. Arrangement to give him Champagne and Brie in lieu of Normandy, 292. Guyenne offered by the King instead of Champagne, 295. Charles accepts the offer and is reconciled to the King, 295, 296. Proposal to affianc him to Mary, daughter of Duke Charles of Burgundy, 297, 299. His death, 300
- Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, when Count of Charolais his frowardness to his father, ii. 243, 244. The hero of the tournament in Paris on the accession of Louis XI., 253. Friendship of Louis for him, 254. Has the government of Normandy given him, 254. Supports the Lancaster faction in England, 259. Becomes estranged from Louis XI., 264. Who is suspected of having endeavoured to poison Charles, 264. Charles's rupture with France, 264. Story of the attempt of the Bastard of Rubempré, 265. Ascendancy of Charles in the Burgundian court, 266. Forms a general league of the princes and high noblesse against the French King,

CHA

266. Marches towards Paris, 269. Goes to meet the Bretons, 270. His courage at the battle of Monthlery, 271. Retirement of the King from the field, 271. Advance of the League to Paris, 273. Meets the King of France and concludes the treaty of Conflans, 274. Obtains the towns of the Somme and Picardy for himself and his heir, 275. His other acquisitions, 275. Represses the hostilities of the people of Liège, 276, 281. And destroys the town of Dinant, 282. Death of his father, Duke Philip, 283. Charles's unamiable character, 283. His danger from the mob in Ghent, 284. Marries Margaret of York, sister of Edward VI., 285, 287. Defeats the people of Liège and compels the town to surrender, 286. His punishment of the citizens, 287. Summons the states to meet at Brussels and demands extraordinary 'finance,' 287, 288. Loses his ally in Brittany through delay, 289. Marches to Peronne, 290. Gives a safe-conduct to the King of France, 290. Who meets him at Peronne, 290. Takes the King prisoner and confines him in the castle of Peronne, 291. His irresolution as to the disposal of his prisoner, 221. His final proposals, which are accepted by Louis, 292. Marches with the King to Liège and destroys the city, 293. His intrigues in English affairs, 296. Proposal to marry his daughter, Mary, to Charles, Duke of Guyenne, 297. His towns on the Somme seized by Louis XI., 298. Supplies Edward VI. of England with the means of regaining his throne, 298. Besieges the royalists in Amiens. Takes Picquigny, 228. Defeated at Macon, 299. Concludes a truce for a year, 299. Rupture of the treaty, 300. Takes Nesle and slays the franc archers, 301. Marches into Normandy 301. Fails to take Beauvais, 301. Burns 1,700 villages, 302. Concludes a truce with France, 302. His position compared with that of the King, 303. Aims at acquiring territories on the Rhine, 303, 304. His negotiations for this purpose, 304. Meets the Emperor Frederick IV. at Treves, 305. Which the Emperor abruptly leaves, 306. Charles arrests René II., Duke of Lorraine, 305. Terms of his treaty to give up the duke, 305. Establishes a standing army, 307, 308. His ignorance of the nature and rights of his subjects, 308. Appoints Hagenbach landvogt, 309. His journey to his Rhine provinces, 309. The inhabitants of which he treats as slaves, 309. His governor, Hagenbach, seized and put to death by the angry people, ii. 310. The Austrians and Swiss excited against him by Louis XI., 310. Charles incites Edward IV. of England to invade France, 310. Makes a campaign into Alsace, 311. Becomes pro-

CHA

tector of the see of Cologne and of the electorate of the Palatine, 311. His siege of Neutz, 311, 312. Driven out of Alsace, 312. Gives battle to the Emperor Frederick IV. without result, 312, 313. Raises the siege of Neutz, 313. Goes to Calais to meet Edward IV., 313. Throws away all the advantages within his reach, 314, 315. Edward's peace with the French King, 314. Gives up the fugitive Constable St. Pol to Louis XI., 316. His vengeance against the Duke of Lorraine, 316, 317. His monstrous inhumanity, 317. His ambitious views, 318. Constitution of his army, 318. Crosses the Jura to Orbe, 318, 319. Takes the castle of Granson and hangs the garrison, 319. Defeated by the Swiss at the battle of Granson, 320. His magnificence and wealth, 321. Loses 113 cannon at Granson, 321. Marches again against the Swiss and besieges them in Morat, 321. Where he is utterly defeated by the Swiss, 321, 322. His retirement and despondency at La Rivière, 322. Seizes the Duchess of Savoy and her sons, 323. Besieges Nancy, 323. Where he is defeated by the Swiss and killed on the field, 324, 325. His character, 326

Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, carried off by Henry II. of France, ii. 609. Visited at Cambray by his mother, 631. Presses the siege of Jametz, iii. 220. His claim to the throne of France, 261

Charles III., Duke of Lorraine, comes to Paris with an army to the aid of the Prince of Condé, iii. 621. Quits the kingdom without fighting, 621. Makes another march upon Paris and joins Condé, 628. Quits Paris with Condé, 629. Conditions of his restoration to his duchy, 643. Which he cedes after his death to Louis XIV., 649. Denounces French ambition, 675. His dominions invaded in consequence, 676. Joins the enemies of France, 690. Takes the noblesse of Anjou prisoners, 691

Charles, Duke of Orleans, nephew of Charles VI., marries the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, ii. 80. Defeat of his party by the Duke of Burgundy, 85. His treasonable appeal to the King of England, 86. Concludes peace with the Duke of Burgundy at Auxerre, 88. Gives his brother, the Duke d'Angoulême, in pledge to his English allies, 88. His quarrels with the lower orders of the Parisians, 89. Retires to Blois, 89. Reconciled to the court, 99. Taken prisoner at Agincourt, 114. His liberation from captivity, 208. Marries Anne of Cleves, 208. And enters into close alliance and friendship with the Duke of Burgundy, 208. Joins the Praguerie, 209. Accepts a pension from the King, 213. Stays away from court, 233

CHA

Charles, Emmanuel I., Duke of Savoy, occupies Saluzzo and marches into Dauphiné, iii. 221, 225. Takes Carmagnola, 225. Sends in a claim to the crown of France, 261. His attempt upon Geneva, 261, 275. Defeated by the French commanders, 289. Attends the negotiations at Vervins, 343. Refuses to abandon his claim to Saluces, 345. His mortification at the result of the treaty of Vervins, 348. Visits Paris, and proposes the reconquest of North Italy, 348. La Bresse and Bugey taken from him by a French army, 349, 350. Enters into an alliance with France, 375, 376. Abandoned by France, 389. Renews his endeavours to conquer Geneva, 389, 397. Compelled by Spain to yield, 397. Joins an unsuccessful expedition against Savoy, 453, 454. Attacks Savona, 454. Leagues with Spain against the Duke of Mantua, 480. Besieges Casale, 480. Compelled by Louis XIII. to raise the siege, 481. Joins Spinola for the destruction of Richelieu, 491. Pignerol taken from him by Richelieu, 491

Charles III., the Good, Duke of Savoy, accepts Asti and the imperial suzerainty from Charles V., ii. 519. Refuses a passage to Francis I., 530. Who resolves to occupy Savoy, 533. His personal appearance, 534, *note*. His dominions reduced to the castle of Nice, 542. Attacked by the Turks and French who burn Nice, 557, 558. Denounces his enemies at the Diet of Spire, 558.

Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, killed at prayers, i. 127

Charles, Count of Valois, son of Philip the Hardy, offered the crown of Aragon by the Pope, i. 289. The offer accepted, and Charles crowned with a hat, 291. Philip the Fair's dislike of him, 300. Sent by Philip the Fair to reduce Gascony, 309. Takes Riom and St. Sever, 309. Compels the Count of Hainault to do homage to the King of France, 309. Marches an army into Flanders and defeats Count Guy Robert, 316. Takes Dam, 316. Terminates the war, 316. Offers of the Pope to him, 316, 317. Goes to Rome and marries the granddaughter of Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, 317. Created imperial vicar and generalissimo of the Pope, 317. Expels the Bianchi from Florence, 317. Invades Sicily but without result, 317. Returns to France, 317. Ill opinion of the Italians of him, 318. The Pope, Benedict XIV., requested by Philip the Fair to abet Charles's designs upon Constantinople, 332. Helps his brother the King at Mons la Puelle, 334. Pope Clement V. swears to support Charles's endeavour to obtain the empire of Germany, 345. How Clement kept his promise, 346.

CHA

His influence over his nephew, Louis Hutin, 362. His belief in sorcery, 363. Accuses the Bishop of Chalons with having caused the death of Philip the Fair by sorcery, 363. Persecutes Raoul de Presle and causes De Marigni to be hanged for sorcery, 363, 364. Makes exorbitant use of his right of coinage, 367. Endeavours to dispute the regency with Philip, Count of Poitiers, but fails, 368. Charles's hopes of the royal succession accruing to his family, 370. His rivalry with his brother the Count of Evreux, 372. His death and penitence, 375. His daughter Jeanne married to Robert of Artois, 393.

Charles Edward, the young Pretender, his emissaries encouraged by France, iv. 212. Goes to France, 226. His cause taken up there, 228. His failure in England, 231. His successes in Scotland, 234. Exiled from France, 246. Arrested and carried away forcibly, 246

Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, his endeavours to obtain the papal tiara, ii. 607. At the Conference of La Marcq, 616. Introduces the Inquisition into France, 630. Appoints himself grand inquisitor, 630. Goes to the meeting at Cambray, 631. Appointed chief inquisitor of France, 643. His character, iii. 5. Entrusted with the financial and civil administration, 7. His activity against the Protestants, 13. Forbids conventicles, 15. At the assembly of notables at Fontainebleau, 28. Delivers up his seal to Catherine de Medicis, 33. Favours the Colloquy of Poissy, 44. Causes of his seeming tolerance, 44. His hypocrisy and policy, iii. 51, 52

Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, his views for reforming the Roman Church, 79. Rallies to Rome, 80. His abuse of L'Hôpital, 84. Withdraws from court, 84. Endeavours to procure the removal of L'Hôpital, 87. His guard dispersed, and he compelled to quit Paris, 89, 91. In favour at court, 92. Nearly taken by the Huguenots, 94. Endeavours to gain over the Duke of Anjou, 100. His quarrels with the Duke of Anjou, 110. His announcement at Rome of the St. Bartholomew massacre, 147. Ordered by the court not to glory in the act, 147. His death and character, 166

Charlotte, Princess of Naples, promised to Cæsar Borgia, ii. 396

Charney, De, slays the provost Marcel, i. 481.

Charolais, county of, ceded to the Archduke Albert, iii. 345

Charolais, Count of, son of Duke Philip III. of Burgundy. *See* Charles the Rash

Charolais, Countess of, daughter-in-law of John of Burgundy, her danger from the mob of Paris, ii. 95

Charras, M., arrested, v. 661

CHA

Charron, Le, provost of Paris, his part in the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 140

Charter, the, recommended to Count d'Artois by the dying King, v. 338. New king (Charles X.) resolves to maintain, 339. The Duke of Orleans promises to uphold the, 411. Alterations in the, proposed by M. Bérard, 416.

Charters granted to towns by Louis the Fat, i. 122

Chartier, Alain, the poet, ii. 234

Chartres, treaty of, ii. 65. Besieged by the Dauphin Charles, 139. Who is compelled by Henry V. to retire, 139. Besieged by the Prince of Condé, iii. 97. The siege abandoned, 99. Besieged by Henry IV., 275

Chartres, Duke of, son of Philippe Egalité. *See* Louis Philippe

Chartres, Vidame de, arrested, iii. 29.

Chartres, Duke of, arrested, v. 408

Chassagne, De la, president of the tribunal of Bordeaux, murdered, ii. 601

Chataignerai, La, his duel with Jarnac, ii. 595

Chataignerai, —, killed at Ivry, iii. 266

Chataignerie, La, massacre of the Protestants of, iii. 338

Chateau, General, death of, at Montereau, v. 221

Chateaubriand, taken by La Tremouille, general of Charles VIII., ii. 367. Edict of, promulgated, 640

Chateaubriand, Countess of, mistress of Francis I., ii. 475. Deserted by the King, 495, 507

Chateaubriand, M. de, executed with Malesherbes, iv. 646

Chateaubriand, M. de, dismissed, v. 269. Confined to Chamber of Peers, 288. Publishes his pamphlet, 'La Monarchie selon la Charte,' 283. His name struck out of list of state ministers, 283. Ambassador to London, 320. Advises Villèle to put down Spanish insurrection, 320, 321. Defies Canning, and looks to Russian alliance, 329. Jealous of Villèle, 333. Disliked by the King, 334. Dismissed from office, 334. Opposes the government, 334. Writes on the coronation of Charles X., 346. His enmity to Villèle, 355. His conduct during the revolution, 390. Advocates rights of Charles's grandson, 419. Advises Louis Philippe to practise deceit, 419. Arrested, 472

Château Dauphin ceded to Savoy, iv. 117

Châteaudun, combat of, iii. 67. Taken by the Germans, 213

Châteauneuf, Chancellor, Richelieu's severity to him, iii. 528, 529. Recompensed by the Regent Anne of Austria, 555. Fails to obtain the restoration of the chancery, 556. Proposes the dismissal of Mazarin, 584. Suspected by Mazarin, 589. Exiled, 589. Appointed keeper of the seals, 602. Advises the exile of Mazarin, 605. Dismissed by

CHA

the Queen, 607. Recalled as president of the council, 615

Châteauroux, Duchess of (Madame de la Tour-nelle), becomes mistress of Louis XV., iv. 225. Stings the King into energy against Austria, 229. Her death, iv. 243

Châteaueux regiment, procession of the, to celebrate the liberation of the Swiss soldiers of, iv. 485, 486

Châtel, Jean, his attempt to assassinate Henry IV., iii. 313

Châtelet, the, forced by the Parisians, and the captives murdered, ii. 125, 126

Châtelet, Marquis du, commands the guards in Paris, iv. 411. Disobedience of his men, 412

Châtellerault, the Huguenots besieged in, iii. 105. Taken by the Huguenots, 241. Huguenots' synod held at, 362

Chatillon besieged and taken by Philip Augustus, i. 154. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots of, 64. Taken by the Duke of Mayenne, 207. Meeting of congress of Allies at, v. 219. The congress broken up, 226

Chatillon, Odet, Cardinal of, appointed a grand inquisitor in France, ii. 630, 643. His parentage and character, iii. 11. Proposes the marriage of Queen Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou, 112. His death, 117

Chatillon, the Huguenot leader, his attempt to take Paris, iii. 274. His firmness, 430. His quarrel with the Huguenots, 436, 437. Rallies to the King, and receives the bâton of marshal, 437. Defeats the Spaniards at Avain, 512. Defeated by Soissons at La Marfée, 533

Châtre, La, surrenders Orleans to Henry IV., iii. 307. His reasons for so doing, 308

Châtre, Maréchal de la, marches to Juliers, which surrenders to him, iii. 388

Chaulnes, Duke de, his address to Louis XV., iv. 293

Chaumette, demands a revolutionary tribunal, iv. 566. Complains to the Convention of turbulence of the communes, 611. Driven to his wits' end by the cry for bread, 611. Imprisoned, 640. Executed, 640, 646

Chaumont, fortified by Louis VII., but taken by Henry II. of England, i. 143. Treaty of, v. 224

Chaumont, General, commands the French at the taking of Genoa, ii. 421. At the battle of Agnadello, 424. Leads an army into Lombardy, 431. His struggle with the Pope, 431. Marches against Bologna, 432. His death, 432

Chauvelin, Marquis de, introduced into the cabinet by Fleury, iv. 201. Inclined to support the ambition of Elizabeth Farnese, 205. His fall, 206. Kept back by Fleury, 224. Exiled, 225. Defeated by the Corsicans, 318

Chavigny, agent of Cardinal Richelieu, his in-

CHE

interview with Louis XIII., iii. 541. Recommended by the dying cardinal to the King, 541. Becomes minister, 542. Driven from office by the King, 542. Appointed to a council, 543. Proposes the dismissal of Mazarin, 584. Who suspects him, 589. Imprisoned in Vincennes, 589. Appointed secretary of state, 607. Dismissed, 609
 Chelles, Council of, reverses the sentence against Arnulph, Archbishop of Rheims, i. 80
 Cherbourg, landing of Henry of Lancaster at, i. 459. Garrisoned by English, 545. Besieged by the French, 546. Saved, 546. Garrisoned by English soldiers, ii. 10. Taken from the English, 228. The pier of, destroyed by the English, iv. 273. Visit of Louis XVI. to the works at, 380. Arrival and embarkation of the royal family at, 415
 Chesnaye, La, defends the Tuileries, iv. 512
 Chevreuse, Duchess of, favours Gaston's pretensions, iii. 464. Joins in a plot to kill Richelieu, 465. Goes into exile, 466. Advances of Richelieu to her, 528. Exiled, 529. Escapes to Madrid, and subsequently to England, 531. Recalled to court by the Queen Regent, 555. Exiled from court, 561. Her daughter proposed to be married to the Duke de Richelieu, 600. And afterwards to the Prince of Conti, 606
 Chiari, battle of, iv. 84
 Chiavenna seized by the Swiss, ii. 437. Taken by the French, under De la Force, iii. 491
 Chièvres, M. de, first minister of the Emperor Charles V., ii. 451. His policy, 451. His master's confidence withdrawn from him, 464
 Childbert, becomes King of Austrasia and Burgundy, i. 11
 Childeric, father of Clovis, his tomb at Tournay, i. 3
 Chilperic, first King of Neustria, i. 8. Supports the turbulence of the Austrasian grandees, 10
 Chimay, Count of, his answer to Louis XI., ii. 262
 Chinnon, death of Henry II. of England at, i. 157. The fortress taken by Philip Augustus, 165. Visit of Jeanne d'Arc to Charles VII. at, ii. 162, 163. Given to Queen Marie de Medicis, iii. 423
 Chiny, county of, occupied by Louis XIV., iv. 23
 Chivalry, rise of the Austrasian, i. 15, 17. Rise and character of, 75. Its code of morality, 76. Period of the birth of, 88. Ceremony of knighthood, and birth of the chivalric adoration of women, 89. Chivalry of the French chiefs in Palestine, 167. Decay of chivalry under the French Charleses, 542
 Choiseul, Duke de, advanced by Madame de Pompadour to be minister for foreign affairs,

CHU

iv. 276. His scheme for the invasion of England, 276, 277. Defeat of the French fleet off Lagos, 277. Implores Spain to come to the aid of France, 282. Concludes the Family Compact, 283. His detestation of the Jesuits, 298, 299. Whom he presses the King to expel from France, 302. His desire for representative government, 305. His abolition of the venality of municipal offices, 306. His policy, 306-308. Undertakes the administration of the marine, 313. His policy in Poland, 316. Walpole's character of him, 318. Enmity of Madame du Barry towards him, 319. Ingratitude of Maupeou to him, 319. Refuses to live on good terms with Madame du Barry, 323. Dismissed from office, 324
 Choiseul, Duke de, receives indemnity money, v. 346
 Chokier, M. Surlet de, chosen regent by the Belgians, v. 446
 Cholera, ravages of the, in Paris, v. 461, 462
 Chollet, battle of, iv. 602
 Chotusitz, or Czaslau, battle of, iv. 221
 Chouans, conspiracy of, against First Consul, v. 98, 99
 Christian II., Duke of Saxony, his claim to the duchy of Cleves, iii. 374
 Christian IV., King of Denmark, subsidised by England, iii. 461
 Christianity, as understood and acted upon in the eleventh century, i. 75. Spinoza's remark on, iv. 4
 Christina, Maria, Queen-regent of Spain, v. 489. Flings herself on the Liberals for support, 489. Proposes Prince Leopold as husband for Isabella, 565. Stirs the jealousy of Louis Philippe, 565. Manages the domestic affairs of her family, 566
 Christopher, a Roman chief, in the interest of the Frank party at Rome, i. 23, 24. His eyes put out by Desiderius, King of the Lombards, 24
 Christopher, son of Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg, his cause pleaded by Du Bellay, ii. 528
 Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg, his meeting with the Guises at Saverne, iii. 51, 52
 Christopher's, St., Island of, ceded to England, iv. 117
 Chrodinus, the Austrasian noble, i. 10
 Churches, great numbers of, built, i. 82
 Church of Rome, syncope of the Church at the commencement of the fifteenth century, ii. 67. Efforts and aims of Gerson to establish or restore representative government in the Church, 73. Desire of the doctors to reform, not overthrow, it, 75. Failure of the Council of Constance to obtain Church reform, 107. Liberal views of ecclesiastical government entertained in the fifteenth century, 218. Failure of the Council of Basle

CIN

to effect reform, 221. Mistake of Charles VII. as to benefices, 247. Amount of money drained by Rome from France after the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, 358. Its condition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 510. Why remote countries flung off the Papal authority, 637. *See also* Catholics

Cinq Cents, their quarrel with the Ancients, v. 33. *See* Directory

Cinq Mars, becomes favourite of Louis XIII., iii. 532. His and the King's pleasures, 532. Approves of the league against Richelieu, 533. His ambition, 534. His conspiracy, 535. His treaty with Spain, 536. Gradually destroys his own influence with the King, 537. A copy of his treaty with Spain obtained by Richelieu, 538. Arrested, 539. His execution, 540

Cinque Ports, the, fit out a fleet, and destroy the Norman ships, i. 307. Ordered by Edward III. to arm against the French and Flemings, 399

Cinquantaine, the, of Paris Duvernay, iv. 194. Abolished, 197

Constitutionalists sentenced to deportation, v. 37. *See* Directory; Napoleon I.; Convention

Cintra, Convention of, v. 156

Citizens, causes of the gradual effacement of the middle class of, i. 387. *See* Towns.

Civic life, character of, compared with life under the feudal system, i. 74. *See* Towns.

Cividadella taken by the Turks, ii. 632

Civism extinguished by Louis Napoleon, v. 638

Cività Vecchia, fortress of, held by Charles VIII. ii. 385

Ciudad Rodrigo, capture of, v. 206

Clarke, Duke of Feltre, sent as peace ambassador to Austria, v. 27. Superseded by St. Cyr, 289

Claremont, palace of, assigned as a residence for ex-King of the French, v. 599

Clarence, Duke of, leads an English army to the assistance of the Orleanists, ii. 88. Has the Duke of Angoulême in pledge for a sum of money, 88.

Clarence, Duke of. *See* Thomas, Duke of Clarence.

Clary, Vicomte, restores the New Assembly, v. 622

Classes: antagonism of the several classes in France at the close of the fourteenth century, ii. 3, 12. And of the upper and lower classes throughout Europe at this time, 12, 13

Claude, daughter of Louis XII., proposal to marry her to Charles, son of Philip le Beau, ii. 411, 412. This marriage agreed upon by treaty, 420. Which is broken off, and Claude affianced to the future Francis I., 421. Her death, 481

Claude, Duke of Guise, entrusted with an expedition to Luxemburg, ii. 553. Which he takes and loses, 554

CLE

Claude, Bishop of Turin, his profession of the doctrines of the Waldenses, i. 86

Claude, Huguenot pastor, his disputation with Bossuet, iv. 8. Publishes his 'Plaintes' in Holland, 20

Clausel, Marshal, fails in his attack on Constantine, v. 507

Clavière, appointed minister of finance, iv. 481. Dismissed by the King, 486. Reinstated in his office, by the Assembly, 518. Arrested, 585

Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel of Naples, married to Louis X., i. 364. Her posthumous son, John, who dies in a few days, 369

Clement III., Pope, grants a tenth from the clergy for the third crusade, i. 156

Clement V., election of, i. 335. Part of Philip the Fair in the election, 335, 336. Resides at Avignon, 336. His refusal to sign any bull for the dissolution of the order of the Templars, 345. Sends an extraordinary commission to Paris to inquire into the charges urged against them, 345. How he kept his oath to Philip the Fair, 345, 346. Removes to Avignon, 346. Summons the Council of Vienna, 349, 350. Obtains the condemnation and dissolution of the order of the Templars, 350. Endeavours to save the lives of the chief officers of the order, 351. Summoned before the judgment seat of God by the grand master De Molay, 352. Clement's death, 353. His mistress, Melissende, Countess of Talleyrand, 353. His endeavours to make peace between France and Spain, iii. 332

Clement VII., Pope, his patronage of the Duke of Anjou, in his claim to the crown of Naples, ii. 6. His character, 71. His claim supported by the Duke of Anjou, 72. His aid craved by Louise, Regent of France, 486. Supplies the imperial armies with money and men, 479. His enmity to Charles V., 492, 495. Compelled by the Colonna faction to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, 496. Rome sacked by the soldiers of Bourbon, ii. 498, 499. And the Pope shut up in St. Angelo, 498. His desire to gratify Henry VIII. with a divorce, 522. His unfitness to decide upon great national questions, 523. Incensed against Francis I., 526. Who meets him at Marseilles, 526. His promises to Francis, 526. Abandons the Emperor, 526. Clement's death, 527, 530

Clement VIII., Pope, presses the Duke of Mayenne to proceed with the election of a king in place of Henry IV., iii. 289. Absolves, and becomes reconciled to, Henry IV., 317.

Clement XI., Pope, his bull Unigenitus, iv. 126, 127, 130

Clement, Jacques, murders Henry III., iii. 246, 247

Clerac, taken by Louis XIII., iii. 431

CLE

Clerc, Bussey le, governor of the Bastille, puts three judges to death, iii. 282. Obtains a safe conduct from Mayenne, 282.

Clergy, the, support the claims of the Emperor Lothaire to suzerainty, i. 40. Their support of Hugh Capet, 77. Accusations of heresy against them in the eleventh century, 86. The independence and rights, as well as influence, of the clergy menaced by feudalism, 94. Championship of Hildebrand, 95. And of Louis the Fat, 114. Advantages and influence obtained by the clergy during the unwarlike twelfth century, 152. How the clergy were regarded in the South of France in the thirteenth century, 173. Condition and power of the Papacy at this period, 201-204. Reduction of Toulouse by military prelates, 211. Establishment of the Inquisition, 212. The Bible proscribed, 213. A crusade against the Emperor Conrad IV. proclaimed, 238. The Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis issued, 266. Complete social tyranny of the clergy before this event, 266. St. Louis's laws respecting the clergy, 268. Their decline in the social scale towards the end of the thirteenth century, 299. Determination of Philip the Fair to tax them, 311, 321. His answer to Pope Boniface VIII. claiming the right of conferring benefices, 322. Pierre Flotte's speech to the Three Estates on the designs of Rome against the Gallican Church, 323. Admission of the clergy of their duty to defend the King and the national liberties against Rome, 323. The beginning of the fourteenth century an age of reaction against the clergy, 337. Their extravagant pretensions and fiscality, 397. Complaints of the people against them unremedied, 397. Syncope of the Church at the commencement of the fifteenth century, ii. 67. Care and aim of the French clergy at this time, 69. Reforms proposed by Gerson, Wicliffe, and Huss, 105. Limits placed to the power of the clergy by the Council of Basle, 218. Louis XI.'s dislike of the clergy, 257. The Pragmatic Sanction, which is abrogated, 358. This abrogation a matter of complaint by the Commons at Tours, 358. Churchmen permitted to enjoy power without exciting fear in the monarch, or envy in the courtier, 402. Successful confiscation of the elective privileges of the French Church, 458. Grant a large sum for a war with the Emperor Charles V., 500. Controversy between the Humanists and the Monks, 512. Commencement of the Reformation, 512, 513. Their condition in the time of Francis I., 574. Colloquy of Poissy, iii. 44. Send delegates to the Council of Trent, 95. Their grant to Catherine of Medicis, 45. Her concessions to them, 46. Amount of taxes

CLI

levied upon them by Henry III., 167. Their quarrels with the legists, 403. State of the Church in the reign of Louis XIV., iv. 4, 5. Condition of the clergy compared with that of the peasants at the end of the seventeenth century, 50. Ecclesiastical affairs in 1715, 141. Clergy accept the bull Unigenitus, 181. Their agitation during the administration of Cardinal Fleury, 200. Machault's attempt to tax them, 252. Reaction of the educated class against priestcraft, 289, 290. Deeds and spirit with which the clergy faced the spirit of the middle of the eighteenth century, 291, 292. Voltaire's exposure of them, 293. Their opposition to Calonne's proposed reforms, 385. Confiscation of church property by the National Assembly, 446. Civil constitution of the clergy, 449. Refuse to bury Philippe the Actor, v. 341. *See* Assembly; Directory; Convention; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.; Louis Philippe; Napoleon III.

Clermont, Council of, held, i. 104. The First Crusade decided upon at the, 104

Clermont compelled by Louis the Fat to submit to French suzerainty, i. 126. Besieged by Henry IV., iii. 275

Clermont, Robert of, Marshal of Normandy, seizes Perrin Mare in sanctuary, and hangs him, i. 473. Excommunicated, 474. Killed by the mob in the Louvre, 474

Clermont, Count of, ii. 157. Appointed by Charles VII. to relieve the city of Orleans, 157. Defeated by Sir John Fastolf at the battle of Herrings, 158. Becomes duke of Bourbon, 202. *See* Bourbon, Duke of

Clermont, Count of (son of the preceding), placed in command in South Normandy, ii. 227. Defeat of his archers by the English, 227. Joined by the Constable, and the English completely beaten at Formigny, 228

Clermont, Abbé, Count, defeated by Ferdinand of Brunswick at Crevelt, iv. 278

Cleves, Duke of, a partisan of France, ii. 553. Betrothed to Jeanne d'Albret, 553. Seizes Gueldres, 553. Crushed by Charles V., 557

Cleves, duchy of, occupied by the Spaniards, iii. 365, 374. The reigning duke and duchess of, 366 *note*, 374. The duke's death, 374. Affairs of the duchy after this event, 374, 375. Occupied by the French, 682

Clichy, Club of, oppose the Directory, v. 29

Clisson, Amaury de, sent by the Duchess of Brittany to England for assistance, i. 413. Returns with Sir W. Maury and an English army, 414. And relieve Hennebont, 414

Clisson, Olivier de, released by Edward III., i. 418. Executed by Philip of Valois, 418

Clisson, Olivier de, gained over by Charles V. of France, i. 519. His bitter hostility to the

CLI

English, 531. Dignities heaped upon him by Charles V., 534. Murders his prisoners at Quimperlé, 534. And obtains the name of the Butcher, 534. Besieges La Roche-sur-Yon, 534. Besieged by the English in Quimperlé, 536. Saved by the truce of Bruges, 537. Charged with the office of either awing or inducing Nantes to submit to France, 547. Resistance of the Bretons, 547. Appointed to the office of constable of the kingdom, 552. Created constable, ii. 7

Clisson, Olivier de, crosses the Lys, and takes Commines, ii. 26, 27. At the battle of Roosebecque, 28. His address to the Parisians, 30. Advises the King to prepare an expedition against England, 37. Fits out a fleet in Brittany, 37. Which is dispersed in a storm, 37. Seized and imprisoned by the Duke of Brittany, 38. But ransomed, 38. Appointed by Charles VI. over military affairs, 40. Attempt of Pierre de Craon to assassinate him, 43. Retires to his castles in Brittany, and levies war upon the duke, 44. Deprived of his office of constable, 44

Clive, Robert (afterwards Lord), his rise, iv. 259. Takes Arcot, 259. His victory at Plassy, iv. 275

Clootz, Anacharsis, expelled from the Convention, iv. 633. Imprisoned, 640. Executed, 640, 641

Closter Camp, battle of, iv. 280

Clothaire I., King of the Franks, his reunion of the empire, i. 6. Leads the German Franks against the Saxons, and is beaten, 7. His edict as to the arbitrary conduct of judges and tax-gatherers, 7. Division of his empire into Neustria and Austrasia, 8

Clothaire II., his accession to the whole Frank empire, i. 11. Gives his son Dagobert to the Austrasians as their prince, 11

Clotilda, Princess of Burgundy, married to Clovis, King of the Franks, i. 4

Cloud, St., burned by the English, i. 424. Defeat of the Armagnacs at, ii. 86. Invested by John, Duke of Burgundy, 122. Bought for Marie Antoinette, iv. 369. The royal family prevented from going to, 456

Clovis, or Clodovig, Frank chief of Tournay, i. 3. Attacks and defeats Ægidius, Roman governor of Gaul, 4. His marriage with Clotilda, 4. His conversion and baptism, 4. His defeat of the Burgundians on the Ouche, and the Goths at Vouglé, 5. His rivalry with Theodoric, Gothic king of Italy, 5. His conquests south of the Loire, 5. The ensigns of the consular dignity sent to him by the Emperor Anastasius, 5. His hold over Burgundy and Aquitaine, 5. His death, 6. Similarity between Clovis and Charlemagne, 44

Clubs of Paris. *See* Republicans, Socialists,

COG

Terrorists, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Provisional Government

Clugny, M., appointed controller-general, iv. 354. His retrograde acts, 354. His death, 354

Cluny, interview of St. Louis with Innocent III. at, i. 229, 230. Death of Pope Gelasius II. at the abbey of, 124

Clyton, William, son of Duke Robert Short Hose, takes refuge in France, i. 118. His cause embraced by Louis the Fat, 118. But afterwards abandoned by Louis, 125. Becomes count of Flanders, 127. Killed, 127

Coalition Ministry, formation of, v. 513, 514

Coalition of Radical parties, their meetings to oppose Louis Philippe, v. 579, 583. Their disagreements, 580. Their banquets prohibited, 583. Compromise with the police and government, 583. Their procession prohibited, 584. Impeach M. Guizot, 585. None of its members counsel an émeute, 585. Commencement of the Revolution of February, 1848, 586. Its progress, 587, *et seq.*

Cobenzel, M., Austrian minister, his interview with French envoy, iv. 484. States his suspicions of French Government, 484. Forced to yield to Buonaparte, v. 40, 52. Signs treaty of Luneville, 91

Cobham, Fastolf, Lord, sent to the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 85

Coburg, Prince of, commands the Austrians, iv. 563. Gains the battle of Neerwinden, 564. Receives Dumouriez into his tent, 565. Captures Condé and Valenciennes, 603. Besieges Cambray, 615. Defeated at Watignies, 617. Defeated at Fleurus, 661. Retreats from Brussels, 661

Cocherel, battle of, i. 505

Cochon, M., first minister of police, v. 10

Cockade, the revolutionary, iv. 428

Cononas, confidant of the Duke of Alençon, brought to trial, iii. 158. Executed, 159. His head brought to the Duchess of Nevers, 159, *note*

Code Napoléon, enforcement of, on conquered kingdoms of Europe, v. 145

Cœur, Jacques, his ability and patriotism, ii. 200. Supplies the fund for recommencing the war with the English, 225. His ability, 233. Regarded with jealousy by the court, 233. Charges made against him by the courtiers, 235. His fall, 235, 236. Escapes to Rome, 236. His subsequent life, 236. Amends made by Charles VII. to Jacques' children, 236

Cœuvres, Marquis de, commands an expedition to the Valteline, iii. 449-451. His successes there, 451

Cognac surrenders to the French, i. 533. The gabelleurs of, put to death, ii. 600. Failure of the Catholics to take, iii. 104. Given up

COH

to the Duke d'Alençon, 170. Meeting of Catherine of Medici and Henry of Navarre at, 208. Besieged by the Prince of Condé, 616

Cohorn, Dutch engineer, his capture of Namur, iv. 48. His want of zeal, 88

Coigny, Duke de, commands the French at Pavia, iv. 204. Where he defeats the Austrians, 204

Coinage, St. Louis's regulations respecting the, i. 269. The new, of Philip the Fair, 311. The second recoinage of Philip, 327. Who agrees to re-establish the gold coin of the reign of St. Louis, 354. Reforms of Louis X., 366. Exorbitant use made by the nobles in this reign of the right to coinage, 367. Proposed improvements of the coinage of Philip the Long, 377. Philip of Valois's plan of alternately debasing, and raising the standard of, the coin, 418. The coinage tampered with by John II., 448. Complaint of the trading classes of the abasement of the, in the reign of John II., 467. The chancellor obliged by the Commons to retire, 468. The rate and value of money fixed and made certain by Charles V., 540. The coinage of Henry V. of England, ii. 138. Adulteration of the coin by the Constable Richmond, 195. Able management of the coin by Jacques Cœur, 200. Designs of Louis XI. as to the uniformity of coins, 343, 344. Recoinages of Louis XIV. and the Regency, iv. 158. Coin prohibited by law, 175

Colbert, Jean Baptist, patronised by Cardinal Mazarin, iii. 617. His financial proposals, 638. His discovery of the frauds of Fouquet, 653, 654. Becomes minister of finance, 655. His financial reforms, 656. His commercial enmity to the Dutch, 670. His political economy, iv. 2. Deplores the expatriation of the Huguenot industrious classes, 3, *note*, 12. His vain struggle against bigotry, 12. His restrictions on Dutch trade, 23. His colony of Canada and Louisiana, 27. Aided in the finances by Pomponne, 47. Review of his administration, 50, 51. His death, 55. His views as to the importance of colonies and foreign commerce, iv. 163

Coligny, Gaspard de, Admiral, recovers Hesdin from the Imperialists, ii. 612. At the skirmish of Renti, 616. Quarrels with the Duke of Guise, 616. His attempt to surprise Douay, 622. His defence of St. Quentin, 624. Taken prisoner there, 626. Openly inclines to Protestantism, 641. His scheme for colonising Brazil, 641. His parentage and connections, iii. 11. His character, 11. His organisation of the French army, 11, *note*. Policy recommended by him to Catherine de Medici, 12. Attends the meeting at Fontainebleau, 27. His request, 27. His sub-

COL

sequent more precise and personal demands, 27. His opposition to the Duke of Guise, 28. Endeavours to obtain a disavowal of the Council of Trent from Charles IX. and Queen Elizabeth, 45. Admitted, with his brother, to the council, 51. Advises the assembly of St. Germain's, 51. Hesitates to obey Condé's summons, 55. Joins Condé at Meaux, 56. Routs the Marquis d'Elbœuf at Châteaudun, 67. His part in the battle of Dreux, 70-72. Goes to Normandy, and leaves his brother to defend Orleans, 73. His indignation at the treaty of Amboise, 75. Endeavours of Catherine de Medici to patch up a peace between him and the Duke of Guise, 90. His attachment to Condé, and loss of the King's favour, 92. Proposes the seizure of the King's person, 93. Marches with Condé to Paris, and invests the city, 94. His bravery at the battle of St. Denis, 96. Plot laid for his destruction, 100. Escapes to La Rochelle, 101. At the battle of Jarnac, 102. Takes the command after the death of Condé, 103. A reward offered by the court for Coligny's head, 104. Besieges Poitiers, 105. Raises the siege, 105. Defeated and wounded at the battle of Moncontour, 105-107. Winters in Gascony, 108. Marches towards the Rhine, 108. Defeats a royalist army at Arnay le Duc, and advances into Champagne, 109. His plan of operations, 109. Receives succours from Queen Elizabeth, 109. Bidden to court, 116. The King's reception of him, 117. Presses the King to invade Flanders, 117. His quarrel with the Queen-mother, 118. The Guises recalled to court to be reconciled to the Admiral, 120. Hostility of the Queen-mother to him, 125. Advises a rupture with Spain, 129. Demands a French army to aid the Prince of Orange, 130, 131. Retires to his château, 132. Goes to Paris to attend the marriage of the King of Navarre, 133. Shot by order of a follower of the Duke of Guise, 135. The King's visit to him, 135, 136. The Duke of Anjou's account of the murderous attempt, 136. Murdered by the Duke of Guise and his followers, 141. His memory cleared by the peace of Monsieur, iii. 177

Coligny, Count of, sent with an army against the Turks, iii. 650. Whom he defeats at St. Gothard, 650

College de France, influence of the, in the reign of Francis I., ii. 460

Colloquies forbidden to the Protestants, iv. 6

Collet d'Herbois, brings the Swiss soldiers of Châteaueux regiment to the fête at Paris, iv. 486. Returned member of the Convention, 535. Moves that France be declared a republic, 536. His sanguinary measures against the Lyonese, 619. His attempted assassin-

COL

ation, 647. He and his party denounce Robespierre, 655. His signal courage at the assault of Henriot, 658. Arrested, 668. Condemned to deportation, 671

Cologne, the Archbishop of, expelled, ii. 311. Restored by Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, 311. Entered by the Prince of Condé, iii. 570. Endeavours of Louis XIV. to secure the archbishopric of, for one of his dependents, iv. 29. Importance of the prelacy, 29

Colonies, Colbert's views as to the importance of, iv. 163. Rivalry between France and England as to colonial empire, 211, 212

Colonna family, exiled by Boniface VIII., i. 330. Restored by Benedict XIV., 332

Colonna faction, its pillage of Rome, ii. 496

Colonna, Fabrizio, at the battle of Ravenna, ii. 435. Taken prisoner, 436

Colonna, Prospero, taken prisoner at Villafraanca, ii. 453. At Milan, 473. Repulses the French at Bicocca, 473. Commands the imperial armies in Italy, 479. Which he shuts up in Milan, Cremona, and Pavia, 479. Besieged in Milan, 479

Colonna, Sciarra, exiled by Boniface VIII., i. 330, 331. Raises a body of horse, and seizes the Pope's person, 331

Colons, or rent-payers, i. 358

Colporteurs, the, of the eighteenth century, iv. 294

Columban, St., his mission to the Franks, i. 17

Combalet, Madame de, her reception by Queen Marie de Medicis, iii. 499

Combat, trial by single, established, i. 10. Abolished by Louis IX., 249

Combourn, castle of, purchased by Philip VI. from the brigand Bacon, i. 437

Comines, Philip de, sent with a command to the North, ii. 329. And afterwards to the South, 329. His views as to the right of taxation, 350. Not in the council of Anne of Beaujeu, 352. Attaches himself to the Duke of Bourbon, and becomes the councillor of him and the Duke of Orleans, 362. Seized by Charles VIII., and imprisoned, 366. Becomes French ambassador at Venice, 387

Comité de Salut Public, establishment of the, iv. 570, 609

Commerce, Colbert's views as to the importance of, iv. 163

Communes, taken by the Constable Clisson, ii. 26, 27

Commings, county of, complaints of the Estates of, ii. 214. The strongholds of, restored by Charles VII., 214. The county given by Louis XI. to the Bastard of Armagnac, 253

Commission, first instance of an extraordinary royal, i. 298

Commons, their encroachments on the powers of the crown, i. 465-467. *See* Estates; France

Commune, or Municipality, first recorded use

CON

of the word, i. 99. Communes founded by Le Mans and Cambray, 99. Causes of the gradual decay and disappearance of the, 387. Insurrection of the, on the 9th of August, iv. 509, *et seq.* Plunder the Tuileries and the country houses, 520. Sack the Garde Meuble, 520. Advised by Robespierre and Marat to erect a revolutionary tribunal, 521. Pass a decree to incarcerate wives and children of émigrés, 522. Set the guillotine in motion, 522. Massacre the priests and other prisoners at the Abbaye and Carmes, 524. Emeute of the Communes and Sections of Paris against the grocers, 565. Rise against the Convention, which they overthrow, 566-589. *See* Convention; Assembly; Directory, &c.

Compagnons de Jésus et du Soleil, formation of, by the anti-terrorists, v. 10

Compagnies d'Ordonnance, or regular army, first formation of the, i. 539

Companies, Free, their pillaging excursions, i. 498, 499. Defeat the royal troops under Jacques de Bourbon at Brignais, 499. Hired by the Marquis of Montferrat against Milan, 499. Their greed and rapacity, 508. Efforts of the Emperor and the Pope to induce them to march against the Infidel, 509. And afterwards against Pedro of Castille, under Du Guesclin, 509, 510

Companies, union of the, against Mazarin, iii. 583

Compiègnes, forest of, Philip Augustus benighted in the, i. 148. Muster of Philip the Fair's army at, 312. Meeting of the Estates at, 476. Garrisoned by the Burgundians, ii. 102. Who are compelled by the citizens to withdraw, 102. Surrenders to Charles VII., 171. Besieged unsuccessfully by the Duke of Burgundy, 174. Relieved by Jeanne d'Arc, 174. Marie de Medicis placed under a guard at, 501

'Compte Rendu' of Necker, appearance of the, iv. 362, 365. Bourboulon's answer to it, 395. Publication of the, v. 467

Compte, M., procureur du roi, dismissed, v. 437

Conciergerie, forced by the Parisians, and the captives murdered, ii. 125. Massacre at the, iv. 527

Concini, favourite of Marie de Medicis, iii. 387. His rapacity, 389. His intrigues, 397. Created Maréchal d'Ancre, 399. Advises peace with the malcontent grandees, 399. His contempt of the Estates, 405. Obtains Normandy and Caen, 409. Determines to be rid of the Bourbons, 409. Makes himself odious to the King, 410. Conspiracy against him, 411. His cruelty, 411. Murdered, 414. His remains insulted by the populace, 415. Treatment of his son by Anne of Austria, 415, 416

CON

Concordat between Francis I. and Pope Leo X., ii. 458

Concubines, Church, prohibited, ii. 218

Condé, town of, taken by Louis XI., who abandons it immediately, ii. 339. Captured by the Duke of Coburg, iv. 603

Condé, le Grand. *See* Louis, 'le Grand Condé.'

Condé, Louis, Prince of. *See* Louis, Prince of Condé

Condé, Prince of, his marriage, iii. 133. Proposition to slay him, 144. Alternative offered him by the King, 145. Escapes, 158. The Duke of Anjou's attachment to the Princess of Condé, 163, 166. Her death, 166. Condé's endeavours to excite the German Protestant princes to invade France, 166. Obtains forces in Germany, 169. Conclusion of a truce, 170. Mezières given up to him, 170. Marches through Burgundy to join Damville, 172. Granted the government of Picardy, 173. His protest against the validity of the Estates of Blois, 181. His quarrels with the ministers and townsmen of La Rochelle, 186. Takes La Fere, 194. Protests against the peace of Fleix, 194. Signs the concordat of Magdeburg, 199. Joins the King of Navarre in his answer to the edict of reunion, 205. Excommunicated by the Pope, 205. Defeats the Duke of Mercœur, and besieges Brouage, 206. His rash attempt upon Angers, 206. His jealousy of Henry of Navarre, 212

Condé, Prince of, Louis Philippe pays court to, v. 435. His mistress, Sophie Dawes, 435. His suspicious death, 435. Wills estate of Chantilly to Duc d'Aumale, 435

Condé, Princess of, flings herself into Bordeaux, iii. 601. Withdraws, 603. Petitions Parliament for the liberation of her husband, 602

Condillac, his contributions to the 'Encyclopédie,' iv. 295

Condorcet, L'Abbé, his pamphlet on the Provincial Assemblies, iv. 394. Becomes member of the Legislative Assembly, 467. Votes for the detention or exile of the King, 554. Draws up a report on the new constitution, 557. Anticipates his execution by taking poison, 646

Confans, treaty of, ii. 274

Confans, De, Marshal of Champagne, murdered in the Louvre, i. 474

Confans, Admiral, destruction of his fleet, iv. 277

Congregation, Society of the, v. 314

Coni, failure of a French attack upon, iv. 42

Conquêt, Bay of, naval engagement in the, ii. 441

Conrad, assumes the regal dignity in Alpine Burgundy, i. 51. Elected king of Germany, 253. Opposed by Charles the Simple, 53.

CON

Joins the Emperor Otho in his invasion of France, 59

Conrad II., Emperor of Germany, his defeat of Eudes, Count of Champagne, i. 90. Establishes suzerainty over Lorraine and Flanders, 91

Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, joins the Second Crusade, i. 137. Surprised and overwhelmed in Asia Minor, 138

Conradin, son of Conrad IV., Emperor of Germany, marches to claim Naples, i. 256. Defeated by Charles of Anjou, 256. Who executes him in Naples, 257

Conscription, the first, enacted by the Convention, iv. 559

Conscription, law of, v. 53

Conseil, M., police spy, sent to Switzerland, v. 505. Denounced by the republicans, 505

Considérant, M., escapes to England, v. 643

Constable, office of, suppressed by Richelieu, iii. 468

Constance, Council of, convoked, ii. 103. Regulations of the, 104. Acts of the, 104-107. Denounced by John XXIII., 106. Condemns Huss to death, 106. Its failure in everything except in restoring papal unity, 189

Constance, diet of German princes at, summoned by Maximilian I., ii. 425

Constance of Aquitaine, married to King Robert Capet, i. 81. Her persecution of heretics, 86. Her tyranny over her husband, 87.

Constance, Princess of Castile, married to Louis VII., i. 140.

Constance, mother of Arthur Plantagenet, i. 163

Constant, Benjamin, his remarks on the Reign of Terror, iv. 660. Unites with Napoleon in drawing up a new constitution, v. 247. Opposes Decazes, 296. Opposes Corbière's measures, 311

Constantine, failure of attack on, v. 507. Captured, 511.

Constantine, the Grand Duke, Viceroy of Warsaw, v. 428

Constantinople, fall of the Latin empire of, i. 254. Aim of Charles of Anjou to restore the Latin empire of, 282. Taken by the Turks, ii. 241

Constitution de l'an VIII., re-enacted in 1851, v. 662

Consulate, its history:—Its formation, v. 71. Its members, 75. Their preliminary proceedings, 75. Buonaparte takes the chair, 77. Buonaparte first consul, 78. *See* Napoleon I.; Napoleon III.

Contades, Marshal, commands the French at Minden, iv. 278. Loses the battle, 279. Recalled, 279

Contest, St., minister of foreign affairs, endeavours to promote war with England, iv. 261

Conti, Prince of, recognises Henry IV. as king,

CON

iii. 254. Defeated in Brittany by the Duke of Mercœur, 289
 Conti, Prince of, his imbecility, iii. 385
 Conti, Prince of, brother of 'Le Grand Condé,' secured by De Retz, iii. 592. The government of Champagne given to him, 598. Arrested, 600. Released, 606. His proposed marriage with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse broken off, 606. Holds out for the Fronde at Bordeaux, 633
 Conti, Prince of (*temp.* Louis XV.), commands under the Duke of Berwick in Spain, iv. 155. Carries off three cart-loads of specie from Law's bank, 172. Lends two millions to the government, 282, 308. Aspires to the throne of Poland, 315. Charged by Turgot with suborning a riot, 347
 Contraband trade, futile attempts of Napoleon to prevent, v. 147, 148
 Conty, Marquis of, murdered, iii. 142
 Conventicles, Huguenot, forbidden, iii. 15
 Convention, a national, proposed by Verginaud, iv. 518
 Convention, the, how constituted, iv. 535. Its most conspicuous members, 535. Abolish royalty, and declare France a republic, 536. Ordain that municipal and other bodies shall be re-elected, 536. Mountain party denounce the Gironde, 537. Futile efforts of, to retain the Mountain, 537. Disputes in the, as to the dictatorship, 539, *et seq.* Propositions for trial and death of Louis XVI., 546, 547. Trial of the King before, 548, *et seq.* Divided as to the condemnation of the King, 552. Majority of, condemn the King, 554. Execution of the, 556. Their public measures, 557. Their war policy, 558. Their government and pretensions alarm the states of Europe, 559. Levy an army of 300,000 men, 559. Conduct of their commissaries in Belgium, 558, 561. Invasion of Holland, 562. Conquest of Frankfurt, 563. Betrayed by Dumouriez, 564. Depose their general, whom they compel to fly into the Austrian camp, 564. Proposition for a revolutionary tribunal, 566. The Mountain propose to march on, and slaughter the Girondists, 567. To propitiate the Mountain, they establish the Revolutionary Tribunal, 567. Destruction of the Gironde press, 568. *Comité de Salut public* formed, 570. Disturbances at Orleans and Lyons, 571. Disturbances in La Vendée, 572. Struggles between the Mountain and the Gironde, 573, *et seq.* Vote the *maximum* price of corn, 575. Its sittings proposed to be removed to Versailles, 577. Removed to the Tuileries, 578. Gaudet proposes measures for its safety, 578. Debates and measures against its unpopular members, 579, *et seq.* Defence of the assembly by the Moderates, 581. Insurrection of May 31,

COR

584. Girondist members arrested, 585. Overthrown by the communes and sections, 589. Now united in the Mountain: for continuation of their history see *Mountain*, proceedings of the. Campaign in Belgium, and renewed hostilities with Austria, 661. Siege of Charleroi, 661. Retreat of the Prince of Coburg and the Austrians, 661. Proposal to restore survivors of the Gironde to, 665. Sièyes' law to defend, 669. Arrest and deport leaders of the Mountain, 670, 671. Confer the command of Paris on General Pichegru, 671. Insurrection in Paris, 671, 672. Revival of insurrection in La Vendée, 673. Confer command of army in Brittany on General Hoche, 674. Difficulties of, increased by famine, 675, *et seq.* Revival of the Bread disturbances, 676. The assembly again attacked by the mob, 677. Defended by Legendre and the Section forces, 679. Arrest remaining members of the Mountain, whom they order to be tried and executed, 679-681. Form a new constitution, 683. Propose a government of five directors, 684. Insurrection of the 11th Vendémiaire, 686, *et seq.* Entrust the command of the troops to Napoleon Buonaparte, who defeats the insurgents, 687, *et seq.* Declare its mission terminated, and its session over, 690. Summary of its character, proceedings, and government, 690, *et seq.* With its close, the Revolution may be said to have expired, 690. Its reign resembles that of Louis XIV., v. 1. Its sittings in 1795, 5. Its new organisation, 5. Babœuf's conspiracy, 12, 13. Troubles in La Vendée, 14. Successes of, in Piedmont, and their appointment of Buonaparte to command the army, 17. Send Duke of Feltre ambassador to Austria, 27. Dissolved by Buonaparte, and their hall cleared by General Leclerc, 71. See Napoleon I.; Directory; Mountain; Gironde; Robespierre
 Coote, Sir Eyre, his successes in India, iv. 275
 Copenhagen, battle of, v. 93
 Coquenville, Huguenot captain, hanged by Maréchal Cossé, iii. 100
 Corbeil, occupied by Sir Robert Knolls, i. 526
 Corbie, Arnaud de, appointed minister of justice to Charles VI., ii. 40. Sent to renew the truce with England, 41
 Corbie, captured by the Spaniards, iii. 513. Retaken by the French, 514
 Corbière, M. de, appointed finance minister, v. 313. Minister of public instruction, his treatment of Paris University, 311. Resigns, 313. Refuses to interfere in the matter of Philippe the Actor, 311. Creates disturbances at the funeral of Rochefoucauld, 359. His conduct resented by the Upper Chamber, 360

COR

- Corday, Charlotte, assassinates Marat, iv. 608. Executed, 609
- Cordeliers, their monster meetings in the Champs de Mars, iv. 462
- Cordeliers' Club insist on the destruction of the enemies of the people, iv. 640. *See* Convention; Mountain; Robespierre
- Cordova, Gonsalvo di, seizes the Spanish portion of conquered Naples, ii. 412. Drives the French out of Naples, 413, 414. Takes the constable Daubigny prisoner, 414. Defeats the French at Cerignola, 415. Again defeats the French, and drives them out of South Italy, 418
- Cormenin, M., attacks Louis Philippe on account of his avarice, v. 463. Publishes the 'Compte rendu,' v. 467
- Corn, legislation respecting, and its consequences, iv. 329. The edict for the free circulation of corn renewed by Turgot, 346
- Cornut, admiral of the Provençal fleet, defeated and killed by Roger de Loria, i. 292
- Cornwallis, Lord, his surrender at Yorktown, iv. 359
- Coronation oath of Philip I., i. 92
- Corporations of trades, formation of the, i. 268, 269
- Corsica acquired by the French, iv. 264, 317, 318
- Cortez, the Spanish, flee at approach of the French, v. 328
- Corvée, severity with which it was enforced, iv. 339. Abolished, 349
- Corvetto, M., finance minister, superseded by Count Roy, v. 294
- Corunna, battle of, v. 157
- Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, promises to aid France in the invasion of Flanders, iii. 118. Which he fails to do, 118. Sends money to the Duke of Alva, 127
- Cossacks, barbarities of the, v. 194. Drive Jerome from his capital, 211
- Cossé Brissac, Maréchal, hangs Coqueville, iii. 100. Despatched on a mission to the Huguenots in La Rochelle, iii. 114. Lends money to aid in the invasion of Flanders, 119. His disgust with the cruelty and treachery of the court, 156. Favours the designs of the King of Navarre and the Duke d'Alençon, 156. Arrested, 158. Kept in prison by Catherine de Medicis, 162. Liberated, 170. Appointed governor of Paris, 307, 309. Goes over to Henry IV., 310
- Cossiers, captain of the guards, betrays Coligny, iii. 141. Killed before La Rochelle, 153
- Cotentin, towns of the, taken by Edward III., i. 423. Retained by Charles the Bad of Navarre, 508. Submission of the towns of, to Henry V. of England, ii. 122. The towns of the, reduced by Montgomery, iii. 158
- Cotteneux, or Mercenaries, of the twelfth century, i. 155

COU

- Coucy, Baron de, succours the Laonnois, i. 123
- Coucy, Baron de, joins a crusade against the Turks, ii. 45. Taken prisoner and dies in captivity, 46
- Coucy, Sire de, at the investiture of the Count of Poitou, i. 221
- Coucy, Enguerrand de, hangs three Flemings, i. 250. St. Louis's judgment on, 250, 251
- Coudray, Du, member of the Anti-Jacobin Club, v. 9
- Council, General, meeting of the fifteenth, at Vienne, i. 349
- Council of the Gallican Church summoned at Tours, ii. 431
- Council, Great, regulations of Philip the Long as to the, i. 376
- Council, Small, or Privy Council, regulations of Philip the Long as to the, i. 376
- Council, Royal, first introduction of a, in France, ii. 246. Discussion in the Estates of Tours as to the composition of the, 361
- Council of State, formation of the, of Louis XIII., iii. 418. Its character at the present day, 419
- Counties, question of hereditary right in, i. 48
- Coup d'état on the Assembly, v. 35, *et seq.* Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, 655
- Cour, Haute, established by the Legislative Assembly, iv. 478
- Courey, Robert de, captured by the French at Brenneville, i. 119
- Court, Antoine, the Huguenot, revives the spirit of his church, iv. 255
- Court, Royal, of the duchy of France, power of the, i. 131
- Courtais, General, parleys with Socialist mob, and so loses the opportunity of putting down Socialist insurrection, v. 621. Betrays the Chambers, who tear off his épaulettes, 622
- Courtenay, Count of Edessa, his city surprised and the inhabitants massacred by the Sultan of Aleppo, i. 137
- Courtray, battle of, between the French and Flemings, i. 326. The suburbs and bridges burnt by Count Louis I., 379. Taken by the White Capes, ii. 17. Recaptured by the count, 18. Sacked and burned by Charles VI. of France, 28, 29. Ceded to France, iii. 667. Taken by Louis XIV., iv. 25
- Courts of Justice, the power of the counts and nobles in towns abrogated, i. 168. And the King's provosts appointed as the chief local authority, 168. Importance of the Court of Peers as a Court of Appeal, 170. Public procedure superseded by written and secret testimony, 214. Mixed Catholic and Protestant courts established, iii. 189. *See* Napoleon I.
- Courvoisier, minister of justice, v. 381. Resignation of 386,
- Cousin, M., minister of public instruction, v. 525

COU

Coustard, General, executed, iv. 621
 Couthon the Cripple, Vergniaud's retort on, iv. 589. Invests Lyons, 597. Refuses terms to the Lyonese, 598. Establishes a reign of terror in Lyons, 598. Member of the Committee of Public Safety, 609. Proposes the reorganisation of the revolutionary tribunal, 649. Arrested, 657. Rescued by the troops of the commune, 657. Re-arrested and executed, 658, 659
 Coutras, battle of, iii. 210, 211
 Craon, Pierre de, his attempt to assassinate the Constable Clisson, ii. 42. Flies from the vengeance of the King to the Duke of Brittany, 42
 Craon, Sire de, leads the troops of Louis XI. into Burgundy, ii. 328
 Crégy, battle of, i. 427. Great numbers of the slain at, 429
 Credit, advantages and disadvantages of, iv. 174
 Creil, taken by Charles of Navarre, i. 485. And by Charles VII., ii. 212
 Cremieux, M., one of the Provisional Government, v. 596. Minister of justice, 605
 Cremona taken by the French, ii. 429. Conquered by the Venetians, 405, 406. Besieged by Bayard, 479. Captured by Prince Eugène, iv. 86.
 Créquy, Marshal, at the affair of Montserrat, iii. 481. Besieges Valenza, 513. His part in the affairs of Savoy, 516. Sent by Louis XIV. to quarrel with the Papal Court, 649. Posted with an army at Verdun, 662. Defeated by the Imperialists, 694. Takes Kehl, 703. Compels Brandenburg to restore his Swedish conquests, 704
 Crespigny, De, taken prisoner by Henry I. at Brenneville, i. 119. Strikes the King with his sword, 119
 Crespy, treaty of, ii. 564
 Crevant, battle of, ii. 149
 Crevecoeur, recovered by the French crown, ii. 264
 Crevecoeur, Sire de Querdes, surrenders the city of Arras to the French, ii. 331. From whom he accepts a command in the north, 339. Loses the battle of Guinegate, 339
 Crevecoeur, M., his demands as a member of the League, iii. 184
 Crevelt, battle of, iv. 278
 Cricq, St., minister of commerce, v. 366
 Crillon, refuses to assassinate the Duke of Guise, iii. 228
 Croats, their ravages in Bavaria, iv. 219
 Croce, Marquis of Santa, commands the Spaniards before Casale, iii. 492
 Cromwell, Oliver, applied to, by the Bordelais, iii. 634. His Spanish and Dutch policy, 638. Obtains Dunkirk, 639
 Crotroy, town of, bought over by Charles V., i. 523. Recovered by France, ii. 264

CYP

Crown, increase of the power of the, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, i. 358
 Croy, Sire de, tortured by the Orleanists, ii. 83
 Croy, Count of, his influence over the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 263
 Crozat, sells his interest in trade to Louisiana, iv. 175
 Crusades, origin of the, i. 85, 101. Peter the Hermit, 102. Address of Urban II. at the Council of Clermont, 104. The First Crusade decided upon, 104. Chief personages who agreed to assume the Cross, 104. Arrival in Asia Minor of the first two armies under Peter the Hermit and Gaultier sans Avoir, 105. Destruction of this vanguard by the Turks, 105. Disorganised state of the French crusaders, 106. Efficiency of the armies of Godfrey of Bouillon and Boemond of Naples, 106. Passage of the Crusaders into Asia, 107. Their conquest of Nicea, 107. Their siege and capture of Antioch, 108. Their delay there and diminished numbers, 110. Their siege and capture of Jerusalem, 110, 111. The Second Crusade preached by St. Bernard, 137. Failure of the Emperor Conrad III. and of Louis VII. in the, 138. Melancholy tidings of the state of the Christian principalities in Syria brought home by William of Tyre, 155. The defeat at Tyberiad, and loss of the Holy City, 155. The Cross assumed by Henry II. of England and Philip Augustus, 156. Commencement of the Third Crusade, 157. Entry of the Crusaders, under Frederic Barbarossa, into Asia Minor, 158. Chivalry of the French nobles in Palestine, 167. Unsuccessful expedition of the Crusaders to Damietta, 193. Contempt of the Crusaders for the monks and doctors of the Church of Rome, 202. The Fifth Crusade led by St. Louis, 233. Preparations of the Pastoureaux for a second crusade, 373
 Crussol, sent by Catherine de Medicis to Languedoc, iii. 48
 Cuba, taken by the English, iv. 285, 287. Exchanged by them for Flanders, 288
 Cubières, General, minister of war, v. 5, 25. Inculpated of corruption, 576
 Cuesta, General, encounters Marshal Bessières, v. 155
 Cumberland, Duke of. *See* William, Duke of Cumberland
 Curton, De, lieutenant of Auvergne, defeats the troops of the League at Issoire, iii. 266
 Cussin-Gridaine, minister of commerce, v. 518
 Custine, General, captures Frankfort, iv. 563. Keeps Austria and Prussia at bay, 590. Executed, 601, 604, 610
 Cuvier, his treatment by the Royalists, v. 311
 Cyprus, the soldiers of the Fifth Crusade assemble at, i. 233. St. Louis winters in, 233

CYP

- Cyprus, King of, assumes the Cross at Avignon, i. 501. Raises an army and goes to the East, 508. Destroys Alexandria, 509
- Cyr, Marshal Gouvion de St., his history of the campaigns of 1791-1793, iv. 603. His opinion that German armies might have taken Paris in 1791-1793, 604
- Cyr, Marshal St., defeats Wittgenstein at Polotsk, v. 186. Becomes minister of war, 260. Supersedes Duke of Feltre as minister of war, 289. Proposes reorganisation of the army, 289. Retires from the ministry, 298
- Cyran, St., his imprisonment, iv. 5
- Czaslau, or Chotusz, battle of, v. 221

D'ACI, advocate-general, slain by the mob, i. 474

Dagobert I., son of Clothaire II., given by his father to the Austrasians as their prince, i. 11. His accession to the empire, 11. His power and haughtiness, 11, 12. Appoints his son Sigebert king of Austrasia, 11, 12. His death, 12

Daguessau, becomes a member of a new ecclesiastical council, iv. 141

Dalmatia, Duke of. *See* Soult.

Dam, destruction of the French fleet at, i. 188

Damas, General de, appointed war minister, v. 330. And foreign minister, 334

Damascus, unsuccessful siege of, by the Christians, i. 139

Daméme, General, his death in the insurrection of the Ateliers, v. 628

Damiens, attempts to murder Louis XV., iv. 267. His punishment, 268

Damietta, unsuccessful expedition of the Crusaders to, i. 193, 201. Taken by St. Louis, 233

Dammartin, Antoine de Chabannes, Count of, his calumnies against the Dauphin Louis, son of Charles VII., ii. 234. His charges against Jacques Cœur, 236. Marches into Dauphiné against the Dauphin, 243. Obligated to fly on the accession of Louis XI., 253. Recovers the good will of the King, 277. Sent by the King against the Duke of Nemours and Count of Armagnac, whom he defeats, 296. Removed by Louis XI. from command in the north, 339. Besieged in Peronne by the Imperialists, 540. Killed there, 540

Damme, captured by Henry VII. of England, ii. 375

Damon, M., finance minister, v. 578

Dampierre, Count of, married to Margaret, Duchess of Flanders, i. 231. The county passes into his family, 231

Damville, Maréchal, his ill treatment of the Protestants in Languedoc, iii. 83. Appointed to the government of Picardy, 92. Favours the formation of a confederation of estates in

DAU

the southern provinces, 155. Becomes the chief of the Politiques, 162. Plot to arrest him, 164. His escape into Languedoc, 164. Elected captain-general of the Huguenots, 167. His manifesto, 167. Joined by Condé, 172. Becomes partially reconciled to the court, 186. His succession to the Montmorency title and dukedom, 187. Rejected by the Languedoc Protestants, 187. Besieges Montpellier, 187

Danes, the, in France, i. 49, 58, 59

Danton, George James, chief of the Cordeliers Club, his activity in 1789, iv. 436. Denounces conservative measures, 442. Becomes a member of the Legislative Assembly, 468. His friendship sought by Dumouriez, 483. His alliance proposed to the Gironde, 483. Receives 50,000 crowns from Louis, for his services and interest, 504. Proposes to banish the Queen, 506. Instance of his mercenary conduct towards the King, 509. Appointed minister by the assembly, 519. Proposes defending Paris, by audacity, 523, 524. Refuses to save the prisoners at Versailles, 529. Returned member of the Convention, 535. His alliance refused by the Girondists, 544. Intrigues with Dumouriez, 562, 604. His sympathy for Dumouriez, 565. Leader of the Committee of Public Safety, 570. Attacked by Lasource, denounces the Gironde, 573. Demands arrest and trial of Girondist chiefs, 584. Strives to save Marie Antoinette, 604. Trusts Custine, who fails in carrying out his policy, 605. Intrigues with Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, 605. Fails in his policy, 605, 606. Disgusts all parties in the Convention, 606. No longer a member of Committee of Public Safety, he loses his influence, 608. Retires to Arcis-sur-Aube, 610. Opposes the violence of the Mountain, 632, *et seq.* Accused of moderantism, but rescued by Robespierre, 633. Rejoices over the fall of the Hébertists, 641. Urged to fly from his impending fate, but refuses, 641. His arrest, 642. His trial and defence, 643, 644. His execution, 644

Danubian Provinces taken by Russia, iv. 317. Given up to Turkey, 317

Dardanelles, treaty of the, v. 546

Darien, Roche, attacked by Charles of Blois, i. 438

Darmès, M., attempts to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 539. His trial, 547

Darthé, his execution, v. 13

Daubigny, Constable, and general of Charles VIII., releases the Duke of Orleans from the tower of Bourges, ii. 372. Commands a division in Italy, 383. Commands the garrison of Naples, 387. Defeats the Aragonese at Seminara, 390. But capitulates in Calabria, 391. His illness, 404. Entrusted

DAU

with command of an army for the invasion of Naples, 411. Defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards, 414

Daubigné, released by Marat, iv. 525

D'Aulnay, Philip and Gaultier, execution of, i. 353

Daun, Marshal Count, defeats Frederick the Great at Kollin, iv. 269. And is defeated by Frederick at Leuthen, 272. Occupies Dresden, 280. Beaten by Frederick the Great at Torgau, 280

Dauphiné, or Dauphiny, the government given to Count Dunois, ii. 352. Extent of, at the end of the fifteenth century, 403. The province annexed to France, 439. Foundation of Protestantism in, 515. Numbers of the Huguenots in, iii. 17. Their success in, 29. Invaded by the lieutenant of the Duke of Guise, 47. Given up to the Huguenots, 188. Invaded by the Duke of Savoy, 221, 225. The Catholics compelled by Lesdiguières to submit to Henry IV., 275. March of Louis XIII. into, 481. Deprived of its estates by Richelieu, 503. Invaded by the Duke of Saxony, iv. 47. Ravaged by the Austrians, 237. Persecution of the Protestants of, 256. Struggles of Lesdiguières against the enemies of Henry IV. in, 261. The provincial assembly of, 363. Resistance of the province to the abolition of its parliament, 400. Proclaims its declaration of rights, 401

David the Lawyer, his doctrines, and journey to Rome, iii. 178

Davidowitsch, General, defeats Vaubois, v. 25

Davoust, Marshal, defeats the Prussians at Naumbourg and Auerstadt, v. 130. The most tyrannical of Napoleon's generals, 193. Made war minister, 245. His resignation, 262. Created a peer of France, 295

Dawes, Sophie, mistress of Prince of Condé, v. 435. Married to Baron de Feuchères, 435

Death, law for abolishing penalty of, v. 422

'Debats, Journal de,' extract from the, on the government of Charles X., v. 381. Prosecuted, 381, 382

Debelleye, M., declares the Ordonnances illegal, v. 392

Delory, Jean, French plenipotentiary, v. 58

Decazes, M., succeeds Fouché, v. 269. Recommends moderation to his subordinates, 272. Submits his measures to the chambers as to elections, 286. Concedes liberty of the press, 290. Resigns his ministry of police, 293. Marries daughter of Count St. Aulaire, and sent ambassador to St. Petersburg, 294, 295. Recalled and reinstated in the ministry, 295. His liberal appointments, 295. Opposed by Chamber of Peers, 295. Creates old Imperialist generals peers of France, 295. His measures, 296. Recalls

DEP

political exiles, 297. His measures counteracted by the Liberals, 297. Modifies his electoral measures to please the King, 298. But opposed by members of his government, 298. Forms a new ministry, 298. Liberals oppose his measures, 299. Assassination of Duke of Berry by Louvel leads Count D'Artois to demand his dismissal, 301. Sent ambassador to London, 302. His treatment by George IV., 302. Summary of his character and government, 312

Dego, battle of the, v. 18

Deism of the middle of the eighteenth century, iv. 289

Dejoly, M., minister of justice, his letter to the Assembly, iv. 508

Delaborde, M., dismissed by Casimir Perier, v. 444

Delacroix and Lord Malmesbury, negotiations between, v. 27

DeLaunay, governor of the Bastille, his defence of the prison, iv. 425. Beheaded by the mob, 426

Delessert, M., appointed minister of foreign affairs, iv. 473. Accused by Brissot, 479. His arrest, 479, 480. Proposes the Duke of Orleans as lieutenant-general, v. 407. Appointed prefect of police, 504. Killed by the mob at Versailles, 530

Delisle, General, trial of, v. 281

Denain, Villars' victory at, iv. 114

Denbigh, Earl of, fails to relieve La Rochelle, iii. 478

Denis, St., the monastery of, ransomed by the Normans, i. 46. The monastery in the twelfth century, 112. Supremacy and property of the abbey at this period, 112. The abbey aided by Louis against the Baron of Montmorency, 114. Coronation of Philip Augustus and Queen Margaret at, 149. Funeral of St. Louis at, 278. Burned by Charles of Navarre, 485. Garrisoned by licentious Brabanters, ii. 82. Occupied by the Duke of Burgundy, 102. Threatened by John, Duke of Burgundy, 122. Massacre of the citizens at, by the mob of Paris, 126. Captured by Jeanne d'Arc, 172. Occupied by the Royalists, 189. Occupied by the Huguenots under Condé and Coligny, iii. 94. Battle of, 96.

Denmark subsidised by England, iii. 461

Desmewitz, battle of, v. 211

Deutz, the Jew, betrays the Duchess of Berry, v. 473

Deputies, Chamber of, remodelled, v. 270, *et seq.* Their conduct disgusts the King, 280. Their attempt to restore the Church to supremacy, 280. Prorogation of, 280. Dissolved, 282. The new and its composition, 283. Designation of the parties into which divided, the *Centre* and *Bascule*, 283. Measures of ministers brought before them, 286. Disputes in the,

DER

DIR

- 303, 481. Manuel expelled from the, 325. Charles X. proposes to dissolve, 369. Its composition on Martignac's taking office, 368. Parties nearly balanced, 368. Address of, to the King to change his ministers, 385. Prorogued, 385. Dissolved by the King, 387. Their contest with the King, 388. The liberal deputies ordered to be arrested by Marmont, 398. Opening of, by the lieutenant governor, 415. Propose to call Duke of Orleans to the throne, 416. Agitation in, at trial of April conspirators, 492. Show their distrust of Molé, 511. Dissolved by Molé, 511, 513. Re-assembling, choose M. Passy as president, 516. Opening of, 539. M. Thiers draws up the address which leads to his resignation, 539, 540. Discuss universal suffrage, 542. Its unpopularity, 578. Its republican members meet to oppose Louis Philippe, 580. Session of December, 1847, opened by the King, 582. Its opposition to the address, 582. Debates in, on the Regency question, 595, *et seq.* Violent proceedings, 597, 598. Its members form a second republic, 598, *et seq.* Dissolved by the Provisional Government, 611. Its new constitution and mode of election, 611. Louis Blanc and Socialists seek to expel the Moderates, 613. The New Assembly and its parties and numbers, 617. Meet in the Palais Bourbon, 617. *See* Assembly, New.
- Derby, Earl of, defeats the Flemings at Cadsand, i. 402. Reduces St. Jean d'Angely and Poitiers, 432. Goes to Calais, 432. At the siege of Calais, 434. Sent by Edward III. to Bayonne with an army, 420. Marches into Perigord, and takes all the fortresses in Upper Gascony, 420. Defeats the French at Auberoche, 420. Captures Angoulême, 421. His prowess and *gentillesse*, 421.
- Derval, castle of, besieged by the Constable Du Guesclin, i. 534. Terms of its proposed surrender, 534.
- Desaix, by his timely arrival, regains the battle of Marengo, v. 86. His death, 86.
- Desfosses, M. Rosan, minister of marine, v. 646.
- Desiderius, or Didier, ascends the throne of Lombardy, i. 22. His daughter married to Charlemagne, 23. Who returns her to her friends, 24. Besieged by Charlemagne in Pavia, 24, 25. Taken prisoner and thrown into captivity, 25.
- Desmarets, Jean, put to death, ii. 30.
- Desmarets, M., becomes finance minister, iv. 99. His measures, 99, 121.
- Desmoulins, Camille, his harangue in the Palais Royal, iv. 422. Returned member for the Convention, 535. His inhumanity at the condemnation of the King, 555. Extracts from his 'Vieux Cordelier,' 633. Opposes the more violent of the Mountain, 633. Accused of Moderatism, but rescued by Robespierre, 633. Denounces the party of the Lanterne, 637. Arrested, 642. His trial and execution, 643, 644. Execution of his wife, 646.
- Desolles, General, prime minister, v. 295. Resigns his office, 298.
- Despotism, birth of, i. 262. Rapid establishment of, in France, i. 443. Causes which fostered the growth of despotism at the commencement of the sixteenth century, ii. 400.
- Desots, M. Guizot's two kinds of, i. 304.
- Dettingen, battle of, iv. 227.
- Deutlingen, battle of, iii. 569.
- Deux Ponts, Duke of, joins the Huguenot army, iii. 104.
- Deux Ponts, duchy of, claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 22. Seized by him, 25. Given up by France, 62.
- Diana of Poitiers, saves her father's life, ii. 478. Becomes the mistress of Francis I., 478, *note.* Her influence over the Dauphin (afterwards Henry II.), 550. Her influence over the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Henry II.), 550, 593. Created Duchess of Valentinois, 593. Answer of the court tailor to her, 639. Compelled to retire from the court of Francis II., iii. 7.
- Diana, natural daughter of Henry II. of France, married to Horatio Farnese, ii. 613.
- Diderot, seizure of his papers by government, iv. 269. His denial of aught but matter, and of the base of religion, 295.
- Didier, King of the Lombards. *See* Desiderius.
- Didier, Paul, conspiracy of, v. 281. His arrest and death, 281.
- Diebitsch, General, defeated by the Poles, v. 449.
- Dieppe, a fleet fitted out by Philip V. at, i. 372. Recovered from the English, ii. 194. Failure of an expedition of the English against, 214. Declares for the Huguenots, iii. 57. Taken from Madame de Longueville, 601.
- Dietrichsen, trial and execution of, iv. 642, 644.
- Dijon, a French army shut up by the Swiss in, ii. 439. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots of, iii. 64. Submits to Henry IV., 314, 315. Corn riots at, iv. 349.
- Dillon, General, invades Belgium but unsuccessful, iv. 484. Repeats his oath of allegiance to the King, 532. Endeavours to save Danton and his friends, 643. Executed, 646.
- Dinant, town of, taken by Edward III. of England, i. 416. Surrenders to the French, 534. Its rule as a democratic community, ii. 279. Rivalry between it and Bouvines, 280.
- D'Interville, Bishop of Auxerre, French envoy at Rome, recalled, ii. 525.
- Directors, the Five, chosen by Council of Ancients, v. 5. *See* Directory.

FIR

DOR

Directory, how chosen by Council of Ancients, v.
 5. Reside at the Luxembourg, 6. Their first act, the raising of supplies, 6. Their moderation, 8. Strength of, consisted in publicity, 8, 9. Opposed by the Anarchists, 9. Recall Pichegru, 10. Establish a ministry of police, 10. Babeuf's conspiracy, 12, 13. Again involved in troubles with La Vendée, 14. Successes of their generals in La Vendée, and final overthrow of the Royalists, 15. An aggressive war indispensable to their existence, 16. Recall their army from Catalonia, 16. Appoint General Buonaparte to the command, 17. Successes in Piedmont, 18. Informed by Buonaparte of the critical position of the army in Italy, 21. Send expeditionary force under Hoche to Ireland, 27. Propose peace to Austria, 27. General hostility to, 28. Opposition of their generals, 29. Acknowledgment of the Directory and French Republic by Austria, 31. Treaty of Tolentino and spoils of Rome, 32. Opinions and principles of members of Convention generally opposed to, 33. Their sceptre, one 'of lead,' 33. Buonaparte reverses their policy at Rome, 33. Opposed by Buonaparte in their foreign policy, 34. Their dissensions, 35. Their instructions to Hoche, and surprise at his coup d'état, 35. Beseech Buonaparte to command the army round Paris, 36. Augereau commands their coup d'état, and forces his way to the Tuileries, 36. Sentence the Constitutionalists to deportation, 37. Enact sanguinary laws against *émigrés*, 38. Second embassy of peace from England, 38. Ignominiously dismiss Lord Malmesbury, 39. Refuse to fulfil conditions of Leoben, 39. Wish to revolutionise all Europe, but opposed by Buonaparte, 39. Dispute with Cobentzel about peace, 40. Treaty of Campo Formio, 40. Intend descent on England by Buonaparte, but their plans treated with contempt, 42. Send Joseph Buonaparte ambassador to Rome, 42. Their instructions adverse to those of Buonaparte to his brother, 43. Invasion of Egypt determined, and Buonaparte deputed to the command, 44-46. Invasion of Switzerland, 45. Imprudence of Bernadotte at Vienna alters views of Directory regarding Egypt, and they determine renewed invasion of Austria, 46. Invade Egypt, and the expedition set sail from Toulon, 47. Relieved by the absence of Buonaparte, they pursue their own plans, 49. Fail in their foreign policy, 51. Their policy with regard to Russia, 52. Enforce the law of Conscription, 53. Their invasion of Switzerland meets its own punishment, 53. Offer command of army in Italy to Bernadotte, 54. Invade Naples, 54. Their successes, 54. Battle of Stochach, 55. Appoint Scherer to

the command of the army in Italy, and lose their prestige by his defeat, 57. Murder of their plenipotentiaries at Radstadt, 58. Their conduct meets with general reprobation, 59. Impose the salt tax, 60. Proposals for their removal, 61. New appointments, 62. Arrival of Buonaparte and his reception by, 66. Buonaparte seeks to enter, 67. Revolution of 18th Brumaire, 68-71. Clearing of House of Assembly by General Leclerk, 71. The Directory dissolved, 71-73. See Napoleon I.
 Disjunction, law of, v. 509, 510
 Divion, mistress of the Bishop of Arras, charged with forgery, and burned, i. 394
 Dixmunde, fortress of, taken by Louis XIV., iv. 25
 Dizier, St., besieged by the Emperor Charles V., ii. 562. Surrenders, 563
 Djezzar Pacha, declines offer of Buonaparte, v. 48. Signs treaty at El Arisch, 93
 Dnieper, the, crossed by Marshal Ney, v. 192
 D'O, treasurer of Henry III., attends the council for arranging the murder of Guise, iii. 229. Refuses allegiance to Henry IV., 249, 250. Sent to demand Henry's abjuration of Calvinism, 250. Detains Henry and his army at Mantes, 267. His treatment of the King and his officers, 273. His treason and bigotry, 286
 Doctrinaires, opposition of, to royalist measures, v. 291. A designation for the philosophic liberals, 291. Oppose Decazes, 299. See Guizot; Thiers; Louis Philippe.
 Dol taken by King John of England, i. 166
 Dôle sacked by Louis XI., ii. 339. Failure of the Prince of Condé to take, iii. 513. Surrenders to Louis XIV., 666
 Dolet charged with atheism and executed, ii. 581
 Dombes defeated by the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, iii. 289
 Domfront seized by Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, i. 91. Who is besieged there by Duke William, 91
 Domingo, San, reconquest of, attempted by Buonaparte, v. 96
 Dominic, St., one of the Papal envoys to the Albigenses, i. 175. His sanguinary demands against them, 175. His peculiar mission, 203
 Dominican Friars, establish themselves at Toulouse, i. 185. Placed at the head of the Inquisition, 212
 Doncaster, Lord, sent by James I. of England to the court of Paris, iii. 436
 Dordogne, Huguenot inhabitants of the, reduced by Louis XIII., iii. 434-436
 Doria, Andrew, brings back the Duke of Albany from Naples, ii. 486. Blockades the port of Naples, 503. Estranged by Francis I., 503. Defeated by the corsair Dragut, 612

DOR

- Dorset, Thomas, Marquis of, left in pledge, in France, by the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., ii. 364. Lands with an English army at Fuenterrabia, 437. Receives a pension from the French, 494
- Douai, taken by Philip Augustus, i. 188. Meeting of the French and Flemings near, 328. Given by treaty to France, 335. Redemanded by the Flemings, 354, 364, 372. Ceded by Charles V. to the Flemings, 521. Admiral Coligny's attempt to surprise it, ii. 622. Captured by Marlborough and Eugène, iv. 105. Retaken by Marshal Villars, 114
- Douglas, Earl of, leads 6,000 Scotch to assist Charles VII., ii. 149. Receives the duchy of Touraine, 149. Slain at the battle of Verneuil, 150
- Dourdens recovered by France, ii. 264
- Dourlens, siege and capture of, by the Spaniards, iii. 316. Who defeat the French near, 316
- Dover Castle held for King John by Hubert de Burgh, i. 192
- Dragonnades, the, of Louis XIV., iv. 13, 14. Transferred from France to the left bank of the Rhine, 35
- Dragut, the Algerian corsair, his defeat of Doria, ii. 612
- Dresden, peace of, iv. 234. Occupied by Frederick the Great, 266. Taken from Frederick the Great by the Austrians, 280. A court held by Napoleon at, v. 182. Battle of, 209
- Dreux, Count John de, at the investiture of the Count of Poitou, i. 221. Battle of, iii. 70. Besieged by Henry IV. of France, 264. Who raises the siege, 264. Besieged and taken by Henry IV. of France, 297, 298
- Droit d'ainesse, the, v. 352
- Drouet, M., exchanged for daughter of Louis XVI., v. 8. Implicated in Babœuff's plot, 12. Contrives to escape from prison, 13
- Dubois, the Abbé, acquires chief influence at court, iv. 141. Opposes toleration of the Protestants, 142. Becomes prime minister, 142, 146. Promotes an English alliance, 145. His character, 147. His visit to England, 147. His promotion galling to the *grandes*, 153. Opposes national bankruptcy, 156, *note*. Becomes secretary for foreign affairs, 168. Confers upon himself the archbishopric of Cambray, 180. Obtains a cardinal's hat, 181. Obtains the signature of Philip V. of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, 182. Draws close the family bonds between France and Spain, 183. Dismisses Marshal Villeroy, 183. Declared prime minister, 183. His death, 184. His life and character, 184
- Dubois-Crancé, besieges Lyons, iv. 597
- Dubourg, Annie, judge, his speech to the King in Parliament, ii. 646. Arrested by the King, 647. Prosecuted, iii. 13, 15. Executed, 16

DUM

- Duchâtel, Tanneguy, provost of Paris, saves the Dauphin from the fury of the citizens, ii. 124. Marches at the head of a party to displace the Burgundians, 124. Urges the Duke of Burgundy to meet the Dauphin, when he is treacherously murdered, 133. Concocts a plot for seizing Duke John of Brittany, ii. 135. Has a command in the regular army, 275
- Duchâtel, M., becomes minister of finance, v. 504. Resigns, 510. Appointed home minister, 518, 540. His character, 576. Expects an *émeute*, 583. Anxious for peace, countermands military occupation of Paris, 585. His benevolent measures lead to an outbreak, 585, *et seq.* Resigns, 586
- Duclerc, M., finance minister, v. 618
- Ducos, the Girondist, points out the danger of a fixed price of corn, iv. 575. His name struck out of proscribed list by Marat, 586. Imprisoned, 618. His trial and death, 620. Made consul, v. 75
- Duelling made a capital offence by Richelieu, iii. 471. The duels of the time of Henry II., 192
- Dufaure, M., minister of public works, v. 518. Plot to assassinate, 651
- Dugommier, General, commands at Toulon, iv. 624
- Dukes, the, of Charlemagne, i. 25, 26
- Dumas, Matthieu, sentenced to exile, v. 37. Becomes minister of commerce, v. 646
- Dumolard, the prefect, sanctions the weavers' tariff, v. 454. Taken prisoner by the Lyonese workmen, 455. Resumes his authority, 456
- Dumouriez, General, sent by Louis XV. to raise a regiment in Hamburg, iv. 331. Punished by D'Aiguillon, 331. Chosen minister in place of Delessert, 480. His respect for royalty and sympathy for the King, 481. His interview with the Queen, 481. Distrusts the Gironde, 482. Seeks alliance with the Jacobins, 482. Tries to win Danton, 483. Recommends the Girondists to secure the alliance of Danton, 483. Unsuccessful in war schemes, 483, 484. His summons to Austrian cabinet, 484. Induces the King to declare war against Austria, and to invade Belgium, 484. Dismissed by the King, 486. Deprecates the manifesto of the Gironde ministers, 487. Quarrels with Servan, 488. Commanded by the King to dismiss the Gironde ministers, 488. Persuades the King to sanction Servan's *camp* proposition, 488. Withdraws from the King and court, 489. Warns Louis of the impending insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine, 489. Refuses overtures of the Feuillants, 489. His opinion that the Prussians might easily march on Paris, 531. Occupies the defiles of Argonne, 533. Concentrates his army near Valmy,

DUM

533. Where he engages the Prussians, 533. Refuses to take the oath of allegiance to the King, 532. Intrigues for the release of Louis XVI., 543, 544. Allows the Prussians to retreat, 544, 546. Visits Paris with a view to conquer Belgium, 544, 546. His reply to reproaches of Marat, 545. Foretels fate of the Girondists, 544, 545. Gains the battle of Jemappes, 546. Disgusted with conduct of the Convention agents in Belgium, 558, 561. Threatens Holland, 559, 562. Makes himself master of Belgium, 558, 561. Endeavours to save the King, 562. Intrigues with Danton against the Anarchists, and for reinstating the King, 562. Sets out for Holland, 562. Defeated at Neerwinden, 563. In accord with the Austrians, purposes to march to Paris and put down the Jacobins, 564. Opposed by his army, and deposed by Camus, he seeks refuge in the Austrian camp, 565. Denounced by Marat and Robespierre, 565. His opinion that Paris might have been taken by German armies in 1791 to 1793, 604

Dunkirk, battle of, ii. 32. Captured by De Thermes, 632. Besieged and taken by the Duc d'Enghien, iii. 572. Besieged by the Spaniards, 628. Taken by the Spaniards, aided by the English, 638. Handed over to Cromwell, 639. Sold by Charles II. of England to Louis XIV., 649. The fortifications razed by Louis XIV., iv. 117. Preparation of an expedition at, for the invasion of England, 228. The fortifications of, a standing theme of complaint with England, 313. Besieged by the Duke of York, 615

Dunois, Bastard of Orleans, cherished by the duchess, ii. 64. Defends Orleans against the Duke of Bedford, ii. 156. Wounded at the battle of Herrings, 158. Conducts Jeanne d'Arc into the city, 164. Joins her on the Loire, 168. In the procession of Charles VII. into Paris, 195, *note*. Advocates a continuation of the war with England, 203. Joins the rebellion of the nobles against a standing army, 205. His defection, 207. Sent to relieve Honfleur, but too late, 208. Besieges and takes Le Mans from the English, 225. Takes command of the forces against the English, 225. Captures Verneuil, 225. Shares the disgrace of the favourites of Charles VII., 253. His speech to the citizens of Paris, 273. Joins a league against Louis XI., 267, 268. Leads the Bretons towards Paris, 270. Has a command in the royal army, 275. Recovers the goodwill of the King, 277. Excites discontent in the Dukes of Orleans and d'Angoulême, 351, 352. Obtains the government of Dauphiné, 352. Joins the league to restore the authority of the French Estates, 366. Supports the cause

DUQ

of Anne of Brittany, 370. Proposes her marriage to Maximilian, 371

Duperré, M., minister of marine, v. 499, 540

Dupes, the Day of, iii. 500

Duphot, General, shot by Roman republicans, v. 43

Dupin, M., elected a deputy, v. 288. Chosen advocate for the press, 348. Reports on the new departmental law of Martignac, 376. Informs Duke of Orleans of his election to be lieutenant-general, 407. Draws up proclamation of the Duke of Orleans, 411. Becomes minister of state, 421. His rupture with Louis Philippe, 472. Voted president of the chambers, 476. Becomes minister of marine, 487, 518. Opposes the repressive laws, 509. His remark to Louis Philippe, 514. Presses the abrogation of the right of search, 555. Submits to the president, 663

Duplay, the carpenter, the host of Robespierre, iv. 644. One of the jury on Danton's trial, 645. His daughters, their history and connexions, 644, 645

Dupleix, governor of the French factories in India, iv. 241. His war with the English in India, 241. His mistake as to colonisation, 259. Opposed by Clive, 259. Recalled, 260

Duplessis-Mornay draws up the declaration of Henry of Navarre, iii. 241. His negotiation of peace between Henry III. and Henry of Navarre, 243. Advises Henry IV. to offer to resume the Catholic faith, 289, 290. Refuses to come to court to Henry IV., 312. His advice to Henry IV. as to his religious policy, 359. His moderate counsels, 395. Present at the assembly of notables at Rouen, 417. Tricked out of his command of Saumur, 431

Dupont, General, defeated at Baylen, v. 155. Appointed war minister, 235

Dupont de l'Eure, one of the Carbonari, v. 315. His remark on the oratory of Martignac, 373. Becomes minister of justice, 421. Resigns office, 432. Becomes one of the Provisional Government, 596. Declared president, 605

Dupotet, M., editor of the 'Bon Sens,' tried and condemned for seditious articles, v. 550

Duprat, created Chancellor by Francis I., ii. 450. Supports the Concordat, 458, *note*, 459. His degradation of the dignities of the church and law, 460. Hated by the Parisians, 486. Prosecutes the Protestants of Meaux, 515. Sentences the Franciscans to public exposure and penitence, 531, *note*. Dictates his notorious ordonnances, 532. His death, 532. His property seized by Francis I., 551

Duquesne, Admiral, his answer to Louis XIV., iv. 18

Duquesne, Fort, reduced by the English, iv. 273

Duquesney moves appointment of a government

DUR

- committee, iv. 678, 679. Commits suicide, 681
- Duranti, chief judge of Toulouse, murdered, iii. 236
- Duroc, grand master of the palace, death of, at Bautzen, v. 203
- Duroi, nominated one of Committee of Government, iv. 678
- Duvivier, General, killed in the insurrection of the Ateliers, v. 629

EAST INDIA COMPANY, English, its condition compared with that of France, iv. 165. Its success, 259

Eastern Question, its history, v. 489, *et seq.*, 530, 546. Its settlement by M. Thiers and his cabinet, 525. *See* Louis Philippe

Eberhard, Duke of Franconia, defeated and slain by the Emperor Otho, i. 57

Ebroin, assumes power in Neustria, i. 12. His antagonism to Pepin, 12. His defeat of the Austrasians at Loixi, 12. Slays Martin, brother of Pepin, and is himself assassinated, 12

Eckmühl, battle of, v. 161

Ecluse, L', fleet fitted out at, for the invasion of England, ii. 37

Edessa, taken by the Crusaders under Tancred of Sicily, i. 108. The inhabitants massacred by the Sultan of Aleppo, 137

Edgeworth, Abbé, attends Louis XVI. at his execution, iv. 556. His exclamation on the death of the King, 556

Education, disappearance of, for the upper classes in France in the last century, iv. 213. But superabundance of it for the poor, 296, *note*.

Edward I., King of England, assumes the Cross, and goes with his uncle Richard to France, i. 257. Borrows money from St. Louis, 257. Goes to Tunis, and returns to Sicily, 277. Sets sail for and relieves Acre, 278. His return to Europe at the death of his father, 280. Does homage to the King of France, 280. Demands Agen from Philip III., 280. Reduces Gaston, Count of Bearn, 281. His desire to be at peace with France, 281, 282. Evades aiding Philip in his war in Spain, 292. His friendly relations with France during the reign of Philip the Hardy, 296. Holds a pass at Chalons with the Count and his Burgundians, 298. Succeeds in establishing peace between France and Aragon, 301. His obsequiousness and kindness to Philip the Fair, 302. His duchy of Guienne threatened by Philip, 302, 303. Edward's reduction of Scotland and Wales, 302. Origin of his character for rapacity, 303, 304. Resistance of his subjects, 304. Encroachments of the Parliament of Paris on the

EDW

rights of his duchy of Guienne, 305. Philip the Fair picks a quarrel with England, 306. And tricks Edward out of the duchy, 307, 308. Edward's marriage with Margaret, sister of Philip, 307. Endeavours to raise a league of German princes against Philip, 310. Pays money to the Emperor Adolph, who misuses it, 310. Proposes to marry the daughter of the Count of Flanders, 310. Who joins Edward and the Germans in war against France, 311. Lands in Flanders, 314. Retreats before the French to Bruges, 314. And thence to Ghent, 314. Conclusion of a truce, 314. Restoration of Guienne, 328

Edward III., King of England, his relations with France, i. 380. His marriage with the Princess Isabella, 380. Who flies to France, and, with Mortimer, prepares an expedition against her husband, 380. Their success, 381. Goes to Amiens and does homage to Philip VI., 392. Disputes between the monarchs respecting the nature of this act, 392. Philip's attack on the English in Naintonge, and destruction of the castle of Saintes, 393. Subsequent friendship of the two monarchs, 393. Receives and endows the fugitive Robert of Artois, 395. His anger at the French and Flemish assistance afforded to the Scots, 399. His preparations for war, 399, 400. His reprisals against Flanders, 399. Sends envoys to James van Arteveld, 400. Sends an expedition to Cadsand, 400. Lays formal claim to the throne of France, 402. And appoints the Duke of Brabant his vicar-general in France, 402. Embarks with an army for Flanders, 402. Lukewarmness of his allies, 402. Meets the Emperor at Coblenz, and is made imperial vicar-general in the Low Countries, 403. Marches with an army into France, 403. Meets the French army without fighting at St. Quentin, 404. Nature of Edward's claim to the French throne, 404-406. Sends his queen, Philippa, to gain over the Flemings, 408. Collects a great army and navy, 408. Completely destroys the French fleet at L'Ecluse, 409. Marches with his allies into France, and sits down before Tournay, 409-410. Challenges Philip to single combat, 410. Concludes a six months' truce, 411. Prepares for an expedition into Brittany, 415. His vicariat recalled by the Emperor, 415. Sends a force under John Arteveld to Bayonne, and another, under Robert of Artois, to Brittany, 415. Buries Robert of Artois in St. Paul's in London, 416. Goes in person into Brittany, but concludes a truce, 416. Straits to which he was put to support his armies, 417. Recommences war, 418. Proposal to make his son, the Black Prince, Count of Flan-

EDW

ders, 421. Sends a force under Lord Derby and Sir Walter Manny into France, 420. Marches to the relief of his troops, 423. Lands at La Hogue, 423. Takes the towns of the Cotentin, 423. And advances against Caen, 423. Which is taken, 423. His devastating march towards Paris, 424. Strikes northward, and defeats the people of Amiens, 425. Fords the Somme, and routs Gode-mar du Fay, 425. Encamps at Crecy, 426. Defeats the French there, 427. Besieges and takes Calais, 430-436. Proposes to marry his daughter Isabella to the young Count of Flanders, 433. Orders and fortifies Calais, and sends the knights captive to England, 437. Fixes the staple of tin, lead, and wool-len goods at Calais, 437. Concludes a truce with Philip, 437. The truce set at naught, 437, 438. Geoffrey of Charny entrapped at Calais, 438. Edward's personal encounter with Eustace de Ribeaumont, 438. Loses a daughter from the plague, 440. Death of his antagonist, Philip VI., 441. Edward's power in France at this time, 446. His renewal of the war with France, 448. His great preparations, 453. His ravages in the North of France, 454. Foray of the Black Prince in the South, 455. The French defeated by his son at Poitiers, 463. His mistrust of Charles of Navarre, 485. Terms demanded by him of France, 486. His demands rejected, 487. Takes an expedition to Calais, and marches to Rheims, 487. Levies war contributions on Burgundy and Nevers, 488. And encamps near Paris, 488. Concludes peace with France at Bretigny, 490. Offers to march in person to put down the freebooters, 515. War declared against him by Charles V. of France, 523. Convoques his parliament for supplies, 525. Defeat of his fleet, under the Earl of Pembroke, off La Rochelle, 529. Loses all the English possessions south of the Garonne, 532. Mans a fleet to invade France, but compelled to put back, 532. Loses Aquitaine, 532. Sends Sir Robert Knollis on a marauding expedition into France, 533. Sends the Duke of Lancaster to march through Burgundy to Guienne, 535. Concludes a truce for two years, 537. While on his deathbed the French resume hostilities, 541. His death, 541.

Edward IV., King of England, proposed marriage between him and a princess of Savoy, ii. 265. Marries Lady Elizabeth Woodville, 265. His sister, Margaret, married to Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, 285. A prisoner in the hands of the Earl of Warwick, 296. Who becomes an exile in France, 296. Edward a fugitive in the Duke of Burgundy's court, 297. Who supplies him with money to enable him to recover his throne, 298. Incited by the

EDM

duke to invade France, 310. Lands at Calais, and meets the Duke of Burgundy, 313. Marches towards St. Quentin, where he is deceived by St. Pol, 313. Abandoned by Burgundy, 314. Meets the King of France at Picquigny, and concludes a truce for seven years, 314. Awakened to the necessity of supporting the independence of the Flemings, 338. His daughter, Anne, betrothed to Philip, son of Maximilian I., 341. Effects of his bad faith and irresolution, 341.

Edward VI., King of England, renews the treaty of peace with France, ii. 586. Struggle in his dominions, 602, 603. Boulogne given up to the French, 604. Edward betrothed to the French princess, Elizabeth, 604.

Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince), proposal to make him Count of Flanders, i. 421. Accompanies his father to France with an army, 423. His devastating march towards Paris, 424. His part in the battle of Crecy, 427, 428. Wears the crest and plumes of the slain King of Bohemia, 429. Has the command of an expedition to Gascony, 453. His foray in Gascony, 454, 455. Retires with immense spoil to Bordeaux, 455. Lands again at Bordeaux, and plunders the country northwards, 460. Outmarched by John, King of France, 461. The prince's position at Poitiers, 461, 462. Where he defeats the French army, and takes the King prisoner, 463. Appointed by his father vice-regent over the Gascons, 497. Frais des hommages paid to his father and to him, 498, *note*. Applied to by the dethroned King of Castille, 511. His preparations for war against the new King of Castille, 512. Marches an army into Spain, 512. Gains the battle of Navarrete, 513, 514. Prevents Peter the Cruel from killing his prisoners, 514. His character as a commander and as a politician, 516. Causes of the disaffection of the Gascon nobles to him, 517, 519. His debts incurred to restore Peter the Cruel, 519. Promulgates a hearth-tax in Gascony, 519. Struck by a mortal disease, 519. Arrangements for his marriage with the Princess of Flanders, 521. The marriage broken off by the influence of Charles V. over the Pope, 521. Edward summoned by Charles V. to Paris to answer the complaints of his Gascon nobles, 523. His increasing sickness, 525. His punishment of the town of Limoges, 527, 528. Removes to England in a sinking state, 528. His death, 541.

Edmund, brother of Edward I. of England, sent to France to settle the question of Guienne, i. 307. Sent to defend Gascony, where he dies, 309.

Edmund, Earl of Kent, capitulates at La Réole, i. 380.

EFF

- Effiat, D', assists in defeating the Savoyard forces at Veillane, iii. 491
- Eglantine, Fabre d', tried and executed, iv. 642-644
- Egmont, Count, at the battle and siege of St. Quentin, ii. 626. Defeats the French at Gravelines, 632. Imprisoned by Alva, iii. 91
- Egmont, Count of, joins the League under the Duke of Mayenne, iii. 264. Killed at Ivry, 266
- Egypt, unsuccessful expedition of the Crusaders to, i. 193, 201. Landing of St. Louis and the Crusaders at, 233. Invasion of, determined by the Directory, v. 44, *et seq.* Buonaparte lands at Aboukir, and after numerous battles returns to France, leaving Kleber in command, 66. Treaty of El Arisch, 93. The treaty broken by the French, and battle of Heliopolis fought, 94. Death of Kleber, and the army commanded by Menou, 94. Battle of Aboukir, 94. Surrender and evacuation of Egypt, 94, 95. Formation of the hereditary viceroyalty of, 530. The pachalie declared by the Sultan forfeited, 538
- Elba, ravaged by the Turks, ii. 632. Conquered by France, iii. 574. Given to Napoleon, v. 232
- Elbe, the Normans repulsed on the, i. 46
- Elbœuf, Marquis d', defeated by Coligny at Châteaudun, iii. 67
- Elbœuf, Duke of, denounced by Richelieu, iii. 502. Hastens to Paris, 592
- Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, marries Louis VII. of France, i. 128. Joins the Second Crusade, 137. Divorced, 140. Marries Henry Plantagenet, afterwards Henry II. of England, 140. Ransoms Richard I. from the Emperor of Germany, 160. Supports the claim of King John of England to Brittany, Maine, and Anjou, 163
- Eleanor of Provence, married to Henry III. of England, i. 216. Loss of her dowry, 230. Raises an army against the English barons, 253
- Election law, disturbances on account of, v. 305
- Electoral reform, proposition for, v. 518. Call for, 579
- Electors, the Imperial, in 1519, ii. 465
- Eleonora, sister of the Emperor Charles V., proposal to marry her to the Constable Bourbon, ii. 488. And to Francis I., 489. To whom she is betrothed, 491. Married to Francis I., 520. Her melancholy fate, 520 *note*
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, proposal to marry her to the Duke of Angoulême, ii. 533. And afterwards to Don Carlos of Spain, 616. Aids the Huguenots, iii. 24. Overcomes the army sent from France into Scotland, 24. Probably cognizant of the conspiracy of Amboise, 24. Her advice to Charles IX., 34. Endeavours of Admiral Coligny to obtain from her a dis-

EME

- avowal of the Council of Trent, 45. Concludes a treaty with the Prince de Condé and the Huguenots, 68. And with Charles IX., 81. Sends succours to Coligny, 109. Concludes the treaty of St. Germain's, 111. Project to marry her to the Duke of Anjou, 112. Her fickle policy, 125. Anjou retreats from the marriage, 125. The Duke d'Alençon, his brother, proposed as a suitor, 125, 129. Elizabeth demands the restoration of Calais, 126. Withdraws from her designs on Flushing, and from the proposed marriage with the Duke d'Alençon, 133. Her indignation at the St. Bartholomew massacre, 147. But bandies compliments with the French court, 150. Signs the Concordat of Magdeburg, 199. Sends supplies to the Huguenots, 209. And to Henry IV., 255, 259, 280. Warns Henry against the Cardinal of Bourbon, 259. Recommends the siege of Rouen, 280. Implored by the Duke of Nevers to send him reinforcements, 317. Her discontent with Henry IV., 321. Refusal of her offer to succour Calais, 322. Lends money to the King of France, 324. Sends an expedition, under Essex, to Cadiz, 325. Sends Sir Robert Cecil to negotiate at Vervins, 344. Her lecture to Maréchale Biron, 354. Whom she recommends for severe punishment, 356. Her death, 363. Her idea of the policy of an independent monarch in Europe, 365. Her interview with Sully, 366
- Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, declines a subsidy from England, iv. 265. Threatens Frederick of Prussia, 266. Defeats his army at Jägerndorf, 270. Offers of England for her neutrality, 281. Her death, 286
- Elizabeth, Queen of Philip Augustus, her death, i. 161.
- Elizabeth, Princess of France, married by proxy to Philip II. of Spain, ii. 647. Conducted to Spain by the King of Navarre, iii. 13. As Queen of Spain, meets her mother at Bayonne, iii. 87. Her death, 113
- Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. of England, affianced to Charles, son of Louis XI., ii. 314
- Elizabeth Farnese, married to Philip V. of Spain, iv. 147. Governs her husband, 149. Her intrigues and ambition, 150. Her activity in the interest of her son, Don Carlos, 191. Applies to the Emperor, 191. Gains a crown and kingdom for her son, 205. Her extravagant aims notwithstanding, 205
- Elizabeth, Madame, her interview with insurgents of the 20th of June, iv. 493. Declares her faith in Danton, 504
- Elme, fortress of, taken by the papal legate, and the garrison put to the sword, i. 294
- Emery, Sieur d', finance minister, creates a tumult in Paris, iii. 562, 563. His financial

EMI

measures, 567. Introduces a high octroi on all commodities entering Paris, 579. Discontent in consequence, 579. His measures of 1648, and their consequences, 581

Emigrés, decrees against, iv. 470, 472. Re-enactment of sanguinary laws against, v. 38.

Act of indemnity to, 342, 344

Emperors of Germany, robes and ornaments worn at the coronation of the, iv. 219 *note*.

Empire, attempts to resuscitate an, i. 1. Difference between a nation and an, 2. End of the empire founded by Charlemagne, 41. Division of the empire into east and west, 43. Little power left to the Emperor in the fifteenth century, ii. 215. Foundation of the empire of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of that of Louis Napoleon, v. 117, 665.

'Encyclopédie,' appearance of the first volume of the, iv. 258. Edict against all concerned in it, 269. Scope of the work, 294, 295. Its most essential portion, 295.

Enghien, Duc d' (son of the Prince of Condé), marries a niece of Cardinal Richelieu, iii. 532. Appointed to the command of the army of Flanders, 557. Defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy, 557. At the battle of Nordlingen, 570. Besieges and takes Dunkirk, 572. Succeeds his father as Prince of Condé. *See* Louis, 'le grand Condé.'

Enghien, Duke d', his arrest and death, v. 114, 115

Enghien, Count d', captures Gravelines, ii. 19. Put to death at Ghent, 19

Enghien, Count d', entrusted by Francis I. with the command in Piedmont, ii. 559. Occupies Carmagnola, 560. Defeats the Imperialists at the battle of Cerissoles, 560, 561. Killed, 587

Enghien, Count d', brother of the preceding, gift from the Duke of Guise to, 593. Killed at St. Quentin, 626

England, preparations of Robert the Devil for an expedition against King Canute in, i. 88. Norman conquest of, 93. Condition of the kingdom in the twelfth century, 129. Compared with the France of that period, 130. Civil war in, on the death of Henry I., 131. How regarded by Henry II., Richard I., and John, i. 150. Immunities obtained from their kings by the population of this period, 151. The peculiar system of monarchy in England, 171. Transferred by the Pope from John of England to Philip Augustus of France, 187. Arrangements of Philip Augustus for a descent upon, 187. The kingdom handed over to the Pope, 188. The crown offered by the barons to Prince Louis (afterward Louis VIII.), and accepted, 192. Landing of the French under Louis, 193. Who is defeated and compelled to evacuate the country, 193. Impatience of

ENG

the kingdom at the ill-usage of Rome, 229. National animosities between English and French, in the thirteenth century, 298. A quarrel with England picked by Philip the Fair, 306. A fleet fitted out by the Cinque Ports, which destroys the French fleet, 306, 307. England tricked out of Guienne, 307, 308. Relations between France and England during the reign of Edward II., 380. Causes of the war of Edward III. with France, 382, 389. Military condition of the two kingdoms at this period, 386. The first naval battle between France and England, 409. Arrangement of John, Duke of Normandy, with his subjects for the invasion of England, 424. Difference of kingly power in England and in France, ii. 1. State of England at the close of the fourteenth century, 10. Determination of the lower classes to avoid unjust taxation, 15. The northern counties invaded by the Admiral de Vienne, 35. Charles VI.'s preparations for an expedition to, 36. Slow progress of the doctrines of Wicliffe in, 74. Moderation of the English in France in 1412, 88, 89. The English expelled by Charles V. of France from their hereditary dominions on the Continent, 109. Causes of English superiority at the battle of Agincourt, 115. The English coast ravaged by the fleets of the Armagnacs, 122. Difficulties of the English armies in France in garrisoning towns, 144, 145. The English pressed on all sides by the French, 187. And deserted by the Duke of Burgundy, 188-192. Paris taken from them, 194. The only two towns remaining to them, 196. The political destiny of England, France, and Germany, contrasted, 215, 216. The English driven out of Normandy, 226-228. And finally out of Gascony, 228-231. The English policy of Louis XI., 259. Antagonism between the Houses of York and Lancaster, 259, 260. Success of Edward IV., 261. The last great attempt of England to crush France by invasion, 313, 314. The nobles of England purchased and pensioned by France, 332. Result to England of the bad faith and irresolution of Edward IV., 341. Difference between the Three Estates of England and France, 356. Struggle in England in the reign of Edward VI., 602, 603. Treaty between Louis XIII. of France and Philip IV. of Spain for the invasion of England, iii. 473. Condition of England, compared with that of France, in the middle of the seventeenth century, 631. War between England and Holland, 661. Formation of the Triple Alliance, 665. Treachery of Charles II., 673. Condition of England at the latter part of the seventeenth century, iv. 11. Immigration of Huguenots into, 19. Conclusion

ENR

of a new treaty with Holland, 104. Supremacy of the Tories in England, 107. Negotiations at Utrecht, 108. Offers of France to England, 109. Peace of Utrecht, 116. Glory obtained by England by the war of the Spanish succession, 119. Accession of the House of Hanover, 131. Stationary policy of England and France, 142. Conclusion of a new Triple Alliance, 148. England at war with Spain, 154. Importance of the colonies and foreign commerce of England, 164, 165. Conclusion of a treaty between England and Spain, 182. Joins France and Prussia against Austria and Spain, 193. Peace concluded, 199. Rise of colonial rivalry between England and France, 211. War between England and Spain, 212. True policy of England in the time of Walpole, 223. War declared against England by France, 226. Superiority of the English at sea, 240. Destruction of the French fleet destined for the invasion of England, 277. Quarrel between England and her American colonies, 352. War with France arising out of these events, 356. Proposed invasion of England, 356, 357. Spain joins the Franco-American alliance, 357. Commercial treaty with France, 381. *See* Assembly; Directory; Napoleon I., &c., for continuation of references to English history.

Enragés, the Duke of Orleans' club so called, iv. 407

Enrique, Don, proposed as a husband for Queen Isabella, v. 568, 569

Ensheim, exploit of Turenne at, iii. 691

Ensisheim, treaty of, ii. 220

Entragues, Henriette d', becomes mistress of Henry IV., iii. 352. Created Marquise de Verneuil, 352. Plots the assassination of the King, 357

'Entresol,' the, formed in Paris, iv. 210

Envoys from France to Turkey murdered, ii. 552

Epernay, burned by mercenary free corps, i. 486. Siege of, iii. 289

Epéron, La Valette (favourite of Henry III.), created Duke of, iii. 196. Created Admiral and Duke of Normandy, 214. Marked for proscription, 220. Refuses to recognise Henry IV. as king, 255. Fails to support the League in Provence, 309. Submits to Henry IV., 320. Compels the Parliament to declare Marie de Medicis regent, 385. Enmity of Condé and Bouillon to him, 408, 409. Encourages Marie de Medicis to escape from confinement, 421. Receives her in Angoulême, 422. Displaced there by Richelieu, 423. Secured by the King, 426. Blockades La Rochelle, 431

Epéron, Duke d', his disputes with the Bordelais, iii. 601. Compelled to withdraw from

EST

the city, 601. Recalled from his governorship, 603

Epignac, D', Archbishop of Lyons, his advice to the Duke of Guise, iii. 223. Confined in the Oubliettes, 231. Opposes the demands of the King of Spain, 263. His opposition to Henry IV. as king, 294. Takes the Duke of Nemours prisoner, 308

Epinal ceded to the Duke of Calabria, ii. 275

Epresmeuil, his speeches in Parliament, iv. 390, 395. Arrested, 398. His opposition to toleration to the Protestants, 397. Draws up a set of resolutions, 407

Erasmus, his controversy with the monks, ii. 512. Offered by Francis I. the control of the Trilingual College, 513. Denounced as a Protestant, 516

Erfurt, interview of Buonaparte with Alexander at, v. 150, 156

Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnaburg, created Elector of Hanover, iv. 81

Erpo, Count of Bourges, mortgages his territories to Philip I., i. 116

Esmandreville, Huguenot president, iii. 69

Espartero, General (Duke of Victoria), defeats the army of Don Carlos, v. 519. Signs convention of Bergara, 520. A Liberal, 520. Objects to the conduct of French envoy, M. Salvandy, 565. On account of his opposing the Moderado, obliged to fly for his life, 566

Esprit, Pont St., fortress of the, taken by the Free Companies, i. 499

Esprit, Saint, foundation of the order of, iii. 192

Essarts, Des, provost of Paris, arrests Montagu, ii. 78. The provostship taken from him, 82. Returns to Paris, and joins the Burgundians, 84. Charges brought against him by the Carmelite, Pavilly, 92. Escapes from Paris, 93. Returns and seizes the Bastille, 93. Where he is besieged, 93. Surrenders, 93, 94. Executed by the Parisians, 99

Essé, D', General, killed, ii. 614

Essex, Earl of, sent by Queen Elizabeth to the aid of Henry IV., iii. 275. Sent in 1592 with further supplies to Henry IV., 280. Appointed to the command of the English levies for the succour of Calais, 322. His expedition to Cadiz, 325

Essling, battle of, v. 163

Estaing, Admiral Count d', commands a fleet for the West Indies, iv. 356. His engagement with Lord Howe, 357. Repulsed before Savannah, 357

Estates, the first instance of the, separation of the, i. 291. The Three, summoned for the first time, 322. Meeting after the capture of King John, 465. Their proceedings, 465. The old councillors proscribed by them, 466. Adjourned by the Duke of Normandy, 467. Formation and functions of the Council of

EST

Thirty-six, 469. The acts of the Estates cancelled by the captive King in England, 470. Reconvoled by the regent Charles, 471. The sanguinary acts of the mob under Marcel approved of by them, 475. Convoled by the Dauphin in 1413, ii. 90. Harangues of Benoit, Gentien, and of the Carmelite, Pavilly, 90. Ordonnances of Charles VII. necessitating their sanction in levying tailles and aides, 199. Meeting at Tours in 1468, 288. Convoled by Anne of Beaujeu, 352. Meeting of the, summoned by Anne of Beaujeu, 356. Their formation at this time, 356. Grievances of the Commons, 358. Absence of results of the meeting, 361, 362. League formed to restore the authority of the, 366. Summoned at Lyons in 1494, 381. Not convoled by Louis XII., who, however, diminishes the taxes, 397. Meeting of, at Tours, 1506, 422. Meeting at Meaux, iii. 29. Assembled by Charles IX., 34. Convoled at Blois, 179, 182. Assembly of 1580 at Blois, 223. Convoled in Paris for the purpose of electing a king, 290. Dissolution of the Estates of the League, 305, 306. Character of the assembly, 306. Meeting at Rouen under Henry IV., 327. Formation of the Council of Reason, 328. Meeting of 1614, 400. Their different pretensions at this meeting, 401. Set aside in France by Louis XIII., 418. Assembly of notables of 1626, 469. The Estates of the provinces crushed by Richelieu, 502, 503. The representative system not popular in France in the 17th century, 593. The States General demanded by Parliament, iv. 390. Summoned for 1789, 402, 404. Meets, 413.

Estrapade, punishment of the, for heretics, ii. 531.

Estrées, Gabrielle d', mistress of Henry IV., iii. 289, 313. Her quarrel with Sully, 350. Her death, 351.

Estrées, Marshal d', temp. Louis XV., commands the French army against Prussia, iv. 269.

Etampes acquired by Louis, Duke of Brittany, ii. 275. Battle of, iii. 621.

Etampes, Duchess of, mistress of Francis I., ii. 495, 507. Advises Francis I. to detain Charles V., 545. Her enmity to Chancellor Poyet, 550. Opposes the Guises, 550. Hated by the Dauphin, 565.

Etaples, treaty of, ii. 375.

Etienne, Rabaud St., executed, iv. 636.

Etruria, King of, made monarch of Algarves by Napoleon, v. 152.

Eu, capture of, from the Normans, i. 58. Burned by the English, 408. Captured by Charles the Rash, ii. 302. The county of, reverts to the Duke of Guise, iii. 110.

Eu, Count of, killed at Courtray, i. 327.

Eu, Count d', Constable, defeated by Edward III. at Caen, i. 423. Surrenders to Thomas of Holland, 424. His residence at the Eng-

EUS

lish court as a prisoner, 446. Goes to Paris, where he is seized and decapitated, 447.

Eu, Count d', the office of constable given to the, ii. 44. Joins the crusade against the Turks, 46. Taken prisoner at Nicopolis, 46. Taken prisoner at Agincourt, 114. Refuses to admit the League into Paris, 273.

Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, becomes almost independent of Pepin, i. 14. Checks the advance of the Saracens, 14. Flies before Charles Martel, 15. Compelled by Charles Martel to pay homage, 17.

Eudes III., Duke of Burgundy, joins a crusade against the Albigenses, i. 176.

Eudes IV., Duke of Burgundy, maintains the rights of his niece Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., i. 368. An arrangement with Philip of Poitiers, the regent, 369. Whose daughter he marries, and obtains Franche Comté, 370. Induced to assume the Cross, 395.

Eudes, Count of Paris, his defence of the city against the Normans, i. 50. Elected king, 51. Attacks of the neighbouring nobles, 51. The great famine of 889, 52. Heads an army to the countries beyond the Loire, 52. Charles the Simple proclaimed king during Eudes' absence, 52. Eudes' death, 52.

Eudes, Count of Champagne, disputes Swiss Burgundy with Conrad II., i. 90. Slain, 90.

Eudes, imbecile brother of Henry I., seized by the sons of the Count of Champagne, i. 91.

Eugène, Prince, his part in the battle of Marsaglia, iv. 48. Takes command of the Imperial army, 84. Defeats the Turks at Zenta, 84. Baffles the French in the Milanese, 84. And defeats them at Chiari, 84. Captures Villeroi in Cremona, 86. Encamps at Schellenberg, 90. His part in the battle of Blenheim, 90, 91. Defeats the French before Turin, 96. Invades Provence, but retreats from Toulon, 98. Besieges and takes Lülle, 100. With Marlborough at Malplaquet, 103. Goes to London, 109. His advice there rejected, 109. Abandoned by the English, 113. Invests Landrecies, 114. Advises the Emperor to continue the war with France alone, 118. Unable to succour Landau, 118. Negotiates the peace of Radstadt, 119.

Eustace of Boulogne joins the First Crusade, i. 104.

Eustace, son of King Stephen of England, married to the sister of Louis VII., i. 136.

Eustace de St. Pierre, the citizen of Calais, his noble conduct, i. 435, 436. Transfers his allegiance to the English king, 437.

Eustace de Ribeaumont, his personal encounter with Edward III., i. 438. Who presents him with a chaplet of pearls, 438. His report on the English position at Poitiers, 461. His advice to the King as to the mode of attack, 462. Killed in the battle, 464.

EVE

- Evans, General Sir De Lacy, and his legion crush the Carlist insurrection, and captures Bilbao, v. 519
- Everingham, Sir Thomas, joins the Burgundians with a body of English archers, ii. 338. Routs the French at Guinegate, 339
- Evreux, occupied by Hugh the Great, i. 59. Taken by Louis the Fat, 119. But burnt by Henry I. of England, 119. Taken by Philip Augustus for Prince (afterwards King) John of England, 160. Given up to his brother by John, 160. Its French garrison slaughtered, 160. Burned by the French under King John, 460. Recovered by Philip of Navarre, 468. Retained by Charles the Bad, 508. Defeat of Girondist forces at, iv. 594
- Evreux, Count of, his rivalry with his brother Charles of Valois, i. 372
- Excelmans, General, suspected and tried as a spy, v. 240. His treatment by the Red Republicans, 469
- Excommunication, social tyranny of the power of, of the clergy, i. 266, 396. The papal right of, declared by the Diet of Frankfort to be abolished, 398. Power of, limited by the Council of Basle, ii. 218
- Exeter, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of, commands the English garrison in Harfleur, ii. 111. Attacked by the Constable d'Armagnac, 119
- Exilles, the French driven out of, iv. 99. Ceded to the Duke of Savoy, 117
- Eylau, battle of, v. 134, 135

FABRE, one of the first French Protestants, ii. 515. His preaching at Meaux, 515. Withdraws to Nerac, 515. Denounced to the Sorbonne, 516

- Fabre, member of the Convention, iv. 535
- Fabvier, Colonel, crosses the Bidassoa, v. 327
- Falaise, seized and held by Robert the Devil, i. 87. Besieged by Duke Richard III., who is murdered in the castle, 88. Arthur, Duke of Brittany, committed to the castle of, 164. Declares for the Huguenots, iii. 67
- Falkland Islands seized by Spain, iv. 323
- Falloux, M., insists on the abolition of the Ate-liers, v. 625. Minister of public worship, 637
- Family Compact, the, iv. 283
- Famine in France, iv. 48; v. 578
- Parel, one of the first French Reformers, ii. 515. Preaches the doctrines at Meaux, 515. Withdraws to Dauphiné, 515. Escapes to Montbeliard, 528
- Fargis, De, French envoy at Madrid, concludes a treaty with Spain, iii. 463
- Farnese, Cardinal, invokes a general council, ii. 579
- Farnese, Horatio, son of the Duke of Parma, marries Diana, natural daughter of Henry II. of France, ii. 613

FEL

- Fastolf, Sir John, has charge of a convoy to the English before Orleans, ii. 157. Defeats the King's forces at the battle of Herrings, 158. Reinforces the English on the Loire, 168. Defeated by Jeanne d'Arc at Patay, 168
- Faucher, brothers, murdered by French Royalists, v. 265
- Faucher, Léon, examines the state of the public works, &c., v. 625. Becomes home minister, 637
- Faur, Du, judge, his speech to the King, ii. 646. Arrested, 647
- Favas, undertakes to seize the mouths of the Garonne, iii. 434
- Favras, his plot, iv. 450. And execution, 45
- Favre, Jules, loses his appointment of home minister, v. 618
- Fayette, M. de la, defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Verneuil, ii. 150, 151. Joins the Count of Clermont at the battle of Herrings, 158. Advocates peace with England, 203
- Fayette, Marquis de la. *See* Lafayette. When General, sent as delegate to Allied Powers, v. 257, 259. Refused entrance to Chamber of Deputies, 260. President of the Congregation, 314. His flight, 315. Saved by fidelity of his brother conspirators, 318. Receives indemnity money, 346. Prosecuted for his oration on Manuel, 363. Welcomed at Paris, 381. Proposes a provisional government, 397. Takes command of National Guards, 403. Orders the liberation of the Duke of Chartres, 408. Deprecates precipitate measures, 410. Introduces the Duke of Orleans to the people, 412. His conversation with the duke about American institutions and popular government, 412. Speaks against changes in Charter, 416. Disagreeing with the government, resigns his command of the National Guards, 431. His dismissal, 432. Disgusted with exhibition of Red Republicans, 469. His death, 485
- Fayette, La, Mademoiselle, Louis XIII.'s platonic affection for, iii. 529. Enters a convent, 529. Visited there by the King, 531
- Faypoult, finance minister of the Directory, v. 6
- Fédérés of the South, Barbaroux proposes their coming to Paris, iv. 497. Their camp at Paris, 502. Their oath of allegiance advised by Robespierre, 502. Demand the déchéance of the King, 503. Look for orders to the Jacobins and Mountain, 503. Second batch of, arrives at Paris, 506. Their encounter with the National Guards, 507. Threaten deputies who voted Lafayette's acquittal, 508
- Fehrbelin, battle of, iii. 692
- Feltre, Duke of. *See* Clarke
- Felix V., Pope, elected by the Council of Basle, ii. 217. Resigns the tiara, 221

FEN

- Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray, his letter to Louis XIV. against war, iv. 47. His strife with Bossuet, 66. Disgraced by the King, 69
- Fenestrelles, the French driven out of, iv. 99. Ceded to the Duke of Savoy, iv. 117
- Fenton, Sir Thomas, defeated by the French and taken prisoner, i. 541
- Feraud, the deputy, shot by the mob, iv. 677. His head paraded before president of the Convention, 678
- Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany (*see also* Ferdinand, brother of Charles V.), ascends the imperial throne, ii. 618. Concludes the truce of Vaucelles, 619
- Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, his intolerance, iii. 374
- Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, his persecution of the Protestants of Styria, iii. 426. His embassy to Louis XIII., 427. League formed against him and Philip IV. of Spain, 440. Unites with Spain to expel Richelieu and the French from Italy, 490. His successes over the German Protestants, 493. His ultra-Catholicism, 493, 494. Concludes the treaty of Ratisbon, 496. His successes against the French and Swedes, 512
- Ferdinand III., Emperor of Germany. His death, iii. 640
- Ferdinand V., King of Castille and Aragon, invades Roussillon, ii. 307. War in consequence, 307. Conclusion of a treaty, 307. Lends the Bretons assistance against France, 369. Obtains the cession of Roussillon from France, 376. Seizes and massacres his disaffected barons, 380. His claim to Naples, 380. His treaty with Louis XII. for the partition of Naples, 410. Which is taken and partitioned, 411. Tricks the King of France out of Naples, 415. His successes against the French, 418. Who are driven out of South Italy, 418. Concludes a three years' truce with France, 419. Refuses to hand over Naples to the Archduke Philip, 419. Goes to Naples, 423. His interview with Louis XII. at Savona, 425. Joins the League of Cambray, ii. 427. His exertions to save Venice from the French, 430. Forms a league against France, 433. Sends an army under Cardona into the Papal territories, 433. His army defeated at Ravenna, 435. Conquers Navarre and adds it to the Spanish crown, 437. Concludes a truce with France, 438. His daughter Catherine married to Henry VIII. of England, 441. His death, 461
- Ferdinand VI., King of Spain, his accession, iv., 236. And policy, 236
- Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, appeals to Napoleon, v. 152. Arrested by Godoy, 152. Ordered to France, 153. Arrives at Bayonne 153. Abdicates in favour of Napoleon, 154.

FEU

- Released from captivity, 218. His character, 308. His policy towards the colonies, 308. His treachery to Constitutionals at Cadiz, 329. Acknowledges Louis Philippe King of the French, 428. His death, 489. Leaves his daughter Isabella his heir and successor, 489
- Ferdinand, Archduke, brother of Charles V., created King of the Romans, ii. 521. Has Wurtemberg given him by his brother, 528. His troops defeated by the Landgrave of Hesse, 529. Refuses to resign his succession to the empire to his nephew, 605. And to disinherit his son, 606. *See* Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany
- Ferdinand, the Archduke, defeats Poniatowski in Poland, v. 167
- Ferdinand II., King of Naples, abdication of his father in his favour, ii. 385. His irresolution, 385. Abandons Naples to the French, 385
- Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, revolution caused by his policy, v. 309. His despotic power re-established by General Fromont, 309
- Ferdinand of Brunswick, Prince, takes the command of the Hanoverians and English, iv. 272. Defeats the French at the battle of Crevelt, 278. And at Minden, 279. Attacks Castries at Closter-Camp, 280. Keeps the French at bay in 1761, 286. Defeats them at Wilhelmstadt, and captures Cassel, 287
- Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, refuses to join Philip Augustus in his descent upon England, i. 187. Married to Jeanne, daughter of Baldwin IX., 187. War made upon him by Philip Augustus, 188. Defeated and taken prisoner at Bovines, 190. Thrown into the dungeons of the Louvre, 191. Released by Queen Blanche, 207
- Fère, La, besieged by Henry IV., iii. 320. His firmness to the Huguenot cause, 430
- Fère, Champenoise, battle of, v. 226
- Feria, Duke of, agent of Philip II. in France, iii. 290. His interview with the Duke of Mayenne, 292, 293. Arrogance of his demands, 292. Meets the Estates of Paris, 293. His large offers to the Catholics, 294, 295. Loses his opportunity, 296. Refusal of the Parliament to sanction the transfer of the crown of France to a foreigner, 298. His departure from France, 311
- Ferrara, Duke of, viceroy of Milan, his massacre of the Protestants of the Valteline, 423
- Ferrounages, Count de la, foreign minister, v. 366. His resignation, 374
- Ferté, Marshal de la, with Turenne before Valenciennes, iii. 636.
- Fervaques, follower of Henry of Navarre, betrays his master, iii. 172.
- Feudalism, formation of the elements of, by

FEU

Charles Martel, i. 17. Causes which gave birth to, 31, 32. Rise of a landed and feudal aristocracy in France, 33. Distinction between feudalism and the social and political principles of classic antiquity, 34. Vassalage, and the distribution of obedience and authority, 34, 35. Duties and privileges of the King in the feudal system, 35. Mitigation of feudalism in countries of Teutonic race, and rights of inequality, 36. Causes of the cessation of slavery, and rise of the *leves*, 36, 37. What was really the feudal system in the eleventh century, 72, 73. Its slow growth in France, 73. Peculiarity of the feudalism of the Normans, 73. Character of the change wrought by the introduction of the feudal system, 74. Compared with civic life, 74. Rise and character of chivalry, 75, 88. Sentiment thrown into personal service by the feudal law, 76. Rising of the peasants in Normandy against their feudal lords, 82. Rigorous game-laws established in Normandy, 82. The religious, as well as feudal, ceremony of knighthood, 88. The female sex an object of chivalric adoration, 89. Blow of St. Louis struck at feudalism, 225, 226, 249. Injuries caused by feudalism in the thirteenth century, 381. Every salutary element of feudalism destroyed by the growth of absolutism, 450. Feudalism transformed, not abolished, by Charles VII., ii. 224. Characteristics of feudal conquest, 392. Proposals to abolish the feudal rights of the nobles, iv. 431.

Feuillants, the Club of, declares for the monarchy, iv. 461. Their imprudence, 472. Secretly influencing the King, they clash with the Assembly, 473. Celebrate the memory of Simonneau, 486. The King appoints a ministry of, to replace Dumouriez and the Gironde, 489. Seek the alliance of Dumouriez, who refuses, 489. They scheme with Lafayette to take the King from Paris, 497. Their policy arraigned, 499. Issue writs against Manuel and Pétion, 501.

Feuquières, M., defeated near Thionville by Piccolomini, iii. 517.

Fiacre, the Abbé de St., his oration on the murder of the Duke of Orleans, ii. 63.

Field of the Cloth of Gold, ii. 469.

Fieschi, his conspiracy against the Emperor Charles V., ii. 597.

Fieschi, the Corsican, his attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 495. Arrested, 495.

Fievée, his presses destroyed by the Mountain, iv. 568. Exiled, v. 37.

Fin, La, his revelation of Biron's plot, iii. 355.

Finale restored to Genoa, iv. 245, 246.

Finance assimilated to law, by the ordinance of May, 1413, ii. 97.

Finances, Charles VII.'s reforms in the, ii. 223.

FLA

Attempts of Henry IV. to grapple with the, iii. 328. Condition of the, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XIII., 404. See Revenue.

Fines as a source of revenue in the twelfth century, i. 121.

Finisterre, Cape, battle off, iv. 240.

Fitzjames, Duc de, his quarrel with the Parliament of Toulouse, iv. 308.

Fitzjames, Duke of, windows of his hotel broken by Buonapartists, v. 469. Arrested, 472.

Fiume captured by the Venetians, ii. 426.

Five per Cents, reduction of, v. 331, 342, 345, 498.

Flanders, suzerainty of the Emperor Conrad II. over, i. 91. Invaded by Philip I., 99. Who is defeated by the Flemings, 99. French interference in, 125. An army raised by Philip, Count of, to oppose Philip Augustus, 153. War between France and, 153. War made upon, by Philip Augustus, 187. His fleet destroyed by the English at Dam, 188. The quarrel taken up by the Emperor Otho IV., for Flanders, 189. Who is defeated and taken prisoner at Bovines, 190. Left by Philip Augustus to the government of Countess Jeanne, 191. Count Ferdinand released by Queen Blanche, 207. The county passes into the family of Dampierre, 231. Gradual independence of Flanders of the French crown, 278, 279. Declares war against France, 311. The Flemings overcome by Philip IV. of France, 314. And the county acquired by treachery, 316. Jacques de St. Pol appointed governor, 316. Insurrection of the Flemings against their French masters, 324, 325. Whom they defeat at Courtray, 326. Arms of the Flemings at Courtray, 326. Campaigns of Philip the Fair against Flanders in 1303 and 1304, 333. Death of Count Guy de Dampierre in prison, 333. The Flemings defeated by the Genoese at sea, and by the King at Mons en Puelle, 334. A peace concluded between France and Flanders, and its count liberated by Philip, 334, 335. Lille, Douai, and Bethune re-demanded from Philip the Fair, 354. A war with France threatened, 364. Flanders invaded by Louis X., who is compelled by rain to retire, 367. Promptitude of the Flemings in taking the field when their country was threatened, 388. Defeat of the West Flemings by Philip VI. at Cassel, 391. Ten thousand Flemings put to death by Count Louis, 392. English traders in Flanders arrested by the Count, 399. Reprisals of Edward III. of England, 399. Envoys of Edward to Van Arteveld, 400, 401. Cadsand taken by the English, 402. An army taken into Flanders by Edward, 402. Opposition of the towns of French Flanders to the fiscal

FLE

FOI

measures of John II., 456. Rebellion against Count Louis II., 547. Rebellion of Ghent against Count Louis II., 15. Philip von Arteveld, 19. The count defeated, and compelled to fly, 20, 21. Army marched against the Flemings by Charles VI., ii. 26. Ravages of the invaders, 27. Defeat and death of Philip von Arteveld at Roosebecque, 28. Insecurity of English merchants and property in Flanders, 31. A crusade preached by Urban VI. against the county, 31. The crusade led by the Bishop of Norwich, 32. Successes of the crusaders, 32. Who agree to withdraw, 32, 33. Death of Count Louis, and accession of the Duke of Burgundy, 33. The Flemings reduced by Charles VI., 36. Definite pacification of the county, 36. Support given by the Flemings to the Duke of Burgundy, 83. Desertion of the Flemings from the Duke of Burgundy's standard, 85. Assistance afforded by the Flemings to Duke Philip III. before Calais, 193. Acquired by Philip III. of Burgundy, 218. The people punished by the Duke of Burgundy, 238. State of Flanders after the death of the last Duke of Burgundy, 329. The ancient rights of the towns restored by the Duchess Mary, 330. Who is deserted by all save her Flemish subjects, 332. Reasons why a peace with France was desirable at this time, 341. Composition of the Flemish army at the time of Charles V., 464. Abandonment of French suzerainty over Flanders, 506. Campaign of Francis I. in, 542. Offered by Charles V. to a French prince, 547. Insurrection of the Protestants in, iii. 90. Alva's rigorous policy, 112. The conquest of Flanders proposed by the Duke of Anjou, 112, 113. Plot of Charles IX. for its conquest, 116. Civil and religious strife in, 194. The sovereignty offered to Henry III. of France, 199. Invaded by the French, under the uncle of Louis XIV., 572. Invaded by Louis XIV., 662. The frontier as fixed by the peace of Nimegue, 702. Invariable failure of France to hold Flanders, iv. 96. Invasion of Louis XV., 229. Abandoned by the English, and falls a prey to the French, 234. Proposal of Maria Theresa to cede Flanders to France, 266. Given to the English in exchange for Cuba, 288. *See* Convention; Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe

Fleix, peace of, iii. 194

Flemings, municipal privileges of the, i. 122. Their intractability to French treatment whether amicable or hostile, 127. *See* Flanders.

Flesselles, prévôt des marchands, forms the National Guard, iv. 424. Killed, 424

Fleur de lis, an object of popular enmity, v. 437

Fleurus, battles of, iv. 38, 661

Fleury, the Abbé, precept to Louis XV., iv. 183.

Becomes member of the council of state, 183. His unwarlike policy, 185. His alarm at the insurrections against the income tax, 194. Slighted, and withdraws from Court, 195. Becomes prime minister, 197. His reforms, 197. Character of his administration, 200. Causes the removal of Chauvelin, 206, 207. Fleury's policy compared with that of Walpole, 211. Decline of his power, 214. His humble letters to Lobkowitz and Maria Theresa, 222. His death, 223. His character compared with that of Walpole, 223

Fleury, Joly de, becomes controller general, iv. 366. His administration, 367. Compelled to resign, 367. Decides against Calonne, 385

Flocon, M., claims a share in the Provisional Government, v. 605. Becomes minister of commerce, 618

Florence, the Bianchi expelled from, by Charles of Valois, i. 317. Ravages of the plague at, 439. Despotism of the republic of, ii. 378. And of the Medici, 379. Surrendered to Charles VIII. of France, 383. Charles's reception by the citizens, 383. Holds aloof from the league formed against the French, 387. Charles VIII.'s return through, 388. Alliance of Louis XII. with, 406. The Florentines taxed to pay a French army, 428. Compelled to readmit the Medici, 437. The ascendancy of the Medici secured by France, 456. Expel the nephews of Pope Clement VII., and proclaim a republic, 499. The Medici restored by Charles V., 519. Its unsuccessful resistance, 519

Flotte, Pierre, his journey to Rome, and answer to Boniface VIII., i. 319, 320. His speech to the Three Estates on the evil designs of Rome against the Gallican Church, 323. Accused by the Pope of having misrepresented him, 324. Killed at Courtray, 327. His family stripped by Philip the Long, 375

Flushing, capture of, iii. 129

Foix, Gaston de, Duke of Nemours, ii. 433. Governor of Milan, 433. Succours Bologna, 434. Recovers Brescia, 434. Gains the battle of Ravenna, but falls, 435.

Foix, Count de, reduced by Philip III., i. 281. His dispute with the Bishop of Pamiers, 318. Saves the ladies at Meaux from the Jacques, 478. Who are annihilated, 478

Foix, Count de, appointed governor of Languedoc, i. 550. The Duke of Berry sent to take the government out of his hands, ii. 11. His enemy, the Count of Armagnac, 11. His defeat of the Duke of Berry near Lavour, 11. Persuaded by the Pope to desist, 12. Induces the Languedocians to rise against the Armagnacs, 86. Declares for the Dauphin, 135

Foix, Count of, his disputes and rivalry with the Count of Armagnac, ii. 214. Marries the heiress of Comminges, and immures her, 214.

FOI

His account of the intrigues of the court of Charles VII. against the Dauphin, 244. His son married to the sister of Louis XI., 259. Conducts an expedition against Don Juan of Aragon, 259. At the battle of Fornova, 389
 Foix, Maréchal de, killed at Pavia, ii. 485
 Foix, Maréchal de, his massacre of the people of Limoux, iii. 66
 Fonfrède, proposes questions on the trial of the King, iv. 554. Legendre's efforts to save him from proscription, 589. Imprisoned, 618. Trial and death, 620
 Fontaine Française, La, combat of, iii. 315
 Fontainebleau, assembly of notables at, iii. 26. Requests and proposals at, presented, 27. Abdication of Napoleon at, v. 232
 Fontanes, expatriation of, v. 37
 Fontanges, Mademoiselle de, mistress of Louis XIV., iv. 10
 Fontenailles, victory of Louis of Bavaria and Charles the Bald over the Imperialists at, i. 41
 Fontenay, meeting of the Huguenots at, iii. 312. Capture of, by the Vendéans, iv. 599
 Fontenay, Madame, her arrest signed by Robespierre, iv. 650, 655
 Fontenoy, battle of, iv. 231
 Fontenilles, his part in a conspiracy against Richelieu, iii. 535
 Forçats enrolled in the French army, iv. 85
 Force, La, prison of, massacres committed at, iv. 526
 Force, Chaumont, Marquis de la, murdered, iii. 143. Drives Monsieur and Montmorency from East Languedoc, 508. Placed in command of a force to invade Spain by the Pyrenees, 377. Secured by the King, 426. His endeavours to bring about an accommodation between the Huguenots and the court, 429. Collects the Huguenots at St. Foy, 334. Death of his son at Tonneins, 435. Defeated at St. Antonin, 435. Respect shown to him by his enemies, 435. Surrenders St. Foy, and becomes a marshal, 436. Takes possession of Chiavenna, 491. Operations of his army in the campaign of 1635, 513
 Foret, La, chancellor, raised to the dignity of cardinal, i. 468
 Forfou, battle of, iv. 602
 Forli, reduced by Cæsar Borgia, ii. 406
 Formigny, battle of, ii. 228
 Fornova, battle of, ii. 398
 Fortifications, Bureau's improvements in the art of undermining, ii. 201. Vauban's defence of Lille, iv. 100. The fortifications of Paris, v. 547
 Fortoul, M., minister of marine, v. 656
 Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, at Siebert's court at Metz, i. 8
 Foucault, intendant of Béarn, his atrocities on the Protestants, iv. 16, 17
 Fouché, ridicules the deism of Robespierre,

FRA

iv. 650. Minister of police, v. 80. Discloses George Cadoudal's plot, 113. Proposes peace to England, 171. On Napoleon's return, appointed to ministry of police, 245. His intrigues on behalf of the Duke of Orleans, 257. Undertakes the restoration of Louis XVIII., 257. Betrays everybody and himself also, 259. Wellington's opinion of, 259. Appointed minister of police by Louis XVIII., 260. Draws up a list for proscription, 262. Failing in his attempts to pacify the reactionists, warns Louis XVIII., and in return is banished on a foreign embassy, 268. Sent to Dresden, and unpensioned, 268
 Fougères, besieged by the expelled English garrison of Le Mans, ii. 225. Taken by La Tremouille, general of Charles VIII., 367
 Fould, M., minister of finance, v. 646
 Foulon, minister, murdered, iv. 429
 Foulques of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, his death, i. 137
 Foulques, or Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, his quarrel with the church of Tours, i. 61
 Foulques, Nera, Count of Anjou, his war against the court of Champagne, i. 81. His two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, 85
 Foulques, the Rechin, Count of Anjou, his wife carried off and married by Philip I., i. 98
 Foulques, archbishop of Rheims, rears Charles the Simple, i. 51. Proclaims Charles king in the absence of Eudes, 52
 Fouquet, patronised by Cardinal Mazarin, iii. 617. Notice of him, 652. Appointed by Louis XIV. minister of finance, 652. His greed and extravagance, 653. His arrest and condemnation, 655
 Fouquerolle, killed before Boulogne, ii. 566
 Fournier, deputy, denounced by Marat, iv. 568. Accused by Barrière, 570
 Fourqueux, becomes controller general, iv. 388. Superseded by Brienne, 388
 Fox, Charles James, his opinion respecting the peace of Amiens, v. 97. Napoleon's proposals of peace to, 171.
 Foy, St., Protestant synod of, iii. 48. Rendezvous of the Huguenots at, 434
 Foy, General, his duel and apology, v. 302. Opposes the Royalist measures against the Imperialists, 310. Opposes the indemnity bill, 345. His death, 347. National subscription for his widow and children, 347
 France, the idea of a nation completely embodied by, i. 2. Attempt of the Teutonic tribes to found an empire in, 3. Invasion of Gaul by the Saracens, 14. Who are utterly defeated by Charles Martel, 16. Aquitaine and the South of France brought under Frank domination, 16. France ravaged by the pagan Saxons under Witikind, 27. Rise of a landed and feudal aristocracy, 33. The first attempt to form a separate kingdom of France, 40.

FRA

Foundation of the French monarchy, 44. Incursions of the Normans on the west coast, 45. And inland, 46. Civil war in consequence of the cowardice and incapacity of Charles the Bald, 46. Division of the South of France amongst a princely aristocracy, who hold their possessions as allodial property, 48. Advance of the Norman invaders from the Scheldt and from Belgium, 49. Murder of the Norman chieftains by Charles the Fat, and the consequent disturbances, 49, 50. Election of Eudes, Count of Paris, as king, 51. Accession of Charles the Simple, 52. Lorraine conquered by the German Emperor Otho, 57. Expulsion of the Carolingians, and coronation of HUGH CAPET, 69. Insignificance of early France, and of its kings, 70. Compared with Germany in the eleventh century, 71. Slow establishment of the feudal system, 73. Great period of castle and church building, 82. New ideas and new movements of the reign of Robert II., 82. Attempt of the towns to obtain freedom and independence, 83, 84. Grievances of the episcopal towns, 84. The country put under a papal interdict, 98. Delay in introducing free institutions into the duchy of France, 123. Internal peace during the first two centuries of the reign of the Capets, 128. Compared and contrasted with the empire and with England, 129, 130. Institutions which sprung up in France in the twelfth century, 131. That country the asylum of education at this period, 134. Condition of the aristocracy of France under Louis VII., 145. Placed under an interdict by Celestine III., 161, 163. Condition of the kingdom under Philip Augustus, 167. Commencement of the French system of administrative and judicial centralisation, 170, 171. The supremacy of the crown under Philip Augustus, 171. The system of French monarchy at this period, 171. The Albigenses and the princes and populations of the South of France crushed by the battle of Muret, 183. Power of France in 1236, 216, 217. Impoverished by Rome, 229. State of the kingdom during St. Louis's absence in the East, 238, 241. Rise and dispersion of the Pastoreaux, 239. The first French acquisition in Italy, 247. The Pyrenees settled to be the boundary between France and Spain, 247. The monarchy centralised and absolute under Louis the Saint, 269, 270. National animosities between English and French in the thirteenth century, 298. Condition of the kingdom at the accession of Philip the Fair, 298. Causes of centuries of resuscitated despotism in France, 305. Debt of France to the Popes, 311, 312. The kingdom placed under an interdict by Boni-

FRA

face VIII., 313. Development of the monarchy in 1299, 315, 316. The absolute power in France during the reign of Philip the Fair, 356. The first state loan in France, 367. Anarchy in the kingdom in the reign of Louis X., 367. Establishment of the Salic law, 370. Relations between France and England during the reign of Edward II., 380. Causes of the war between Philip VI. and Edward III. of England, i. 382, 389. Military condition of the two countries at this period, 385, 386. The liberties of the towns trodden down in the thirteenth century, 386. Causes of this, 387. War between England and France, 400. The throne of France claimed by Edward III., 402. Who invades the kingdom, 404. Consequences of the Salic law to France, 407, 408. The first naval battle between France and England 409. The kingdom again invaded by Edward III., 409. The great disaster of Crecy, 428. Loss of Calais, 436. Sufferings of France from brigands and pestilence, 437, 438. Rapid establishment of central authority and absolute sovereignty by the French monarchs, 442. Franchises and immunities granted by John II. to the towns, 443. Commercial derangements and difficulties caused by the tamperings with the coin, 448. Exceptional position of princes of the blood in France, 449. Defeat and capture of the King of France at the battle of Poitiers, 463. Disastrous state of the country in consequence, 465, *et seq.* Ravages of the mercenaries round Paris, 472. Democratic tendencies of the Parisians and other townfolk, 475. Horrors of the *Jacquerie*, 477, 478. Revolution in favour of the Regent in Paris, and suppression of the democrats, 481, 482. Origin of the republican spirit of the towns in the fourteenth century, 483, 484. Recurrence of similar positions and events in French history, 484. Peace concluded between the Kings of France and England for the first time, as feudal equals, at Bretigny, 490. Condition of France at this period, 491. Causes of French inferiority, 493. Gradual rise of the lower classes, 494. Abolition of serfage, 494. Necessary decentralisation at this time, 496. Ravages of freebooters, 498, 508. Efforts of the Pope and Emperor to liberate France from their ravages, 509. Causes of the admixture of French and Italian politics, 549. Difference of kingly power in England and in France, ii. 1. Antagonism of classes in France at the close of the fourteenth century, 3. Syncope of government at this period, 10. Anarchy into which the country had fallen at the commencement of the fifteenth century, 66. Condition of the French church and clergy

FRA

at this time, 69. Consolidation of the independence of the Church of France, 76. Commencement of the civil war between the Orleans party and that of Burgundy, 82. Ravages of the former, 89. Invasion of Henry V., 111. Battle of Agincourt, 112-114. Ravages of the English round Paris, 135. Henry V. made regent and heir of the kingdom, 136. The reduction of the north completed by Henry, 139. State of France during the reign of Charles VII., 140. The fiefs of France distributed by Henry V. among his followers, 146. Consternation of Charles VII. and his court at the siege of Orleans, 159. Jeanne d'Arc, 161-181. Circumstances of the times in which she lived, 182. The new spirit which saved France from the English, 183. Result of the English victories in France, 196. Removal of the court and residence to the Loire, and cessation of enmity to England, 187. Condition of the kingdom from the battle of Verneuil to the siege of Orleans, 198, 199. The foundations laid in France for the representative system, 199. Dearth of great men in the time of Charles VII., 200. Selfish and mercenary character of his aristocracy, 201. The political destiny of France, England, and Germany contrasted, 215. Relations between France and Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century, 216. Recovery of Normandy and Gascony from the English, 226-231. Review of the reign of Charles VII., 245-249. Louis XI. recovers the towns lost by the treaty of Arras, 264. Results of the war of the 'Public Good,' 275. The last great attempt of England to crush France by invasion, 313, 314. Extent of the kingdom of France at the end of the reign of Louis XI., 343-349. Public men of the time, 350. Difference between the French and English three estates, 356. Landing of Henry VII. of England in France, 375. Condition of France at the commencement of the sixteenth century, 400, 401, 443. And of the army at this time, 409, 418, 443. Effects of France being compelled to military defence, and the maintenance of a regular army, 443. Failure of French aims notwithstanding, 445. Monarchic power in the kingdom at the accession of Francis I., 448. Decline of the learned professions at this time, 460. Invasion of the kingdom by three armies at once, 478. Spread of the doctrines of the Reformers, 514. Invasion of the north by the Imperialists, 540. Establishment of the Inquisition, 631, 641. Progress of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, 636. Condition of the country at the close of the reign of Henry III., iii. 244. Results to France of the civil and religious wars of the

FRA

sixteenth century, 303. Separation of the nation into two classes and two religions, 304. Condition of the kingdom in 1596, 324. Result of a century's struggle between France and Spain, 345. Character of the reign of Henry IV., 381. Condition of the kingdom in the middle of the seventeenth century, 521. Review of the reign of Louis XIII., 546-553. Anarchy and agitation of the kingdom in the middle of the seventeenth century, 612. Condition of France at the end of the Fronde, 631. And in 1654, 635. Dissoluteness of the age of Louis XIV., 651. Condition of France in 1679, 704. Splendour and genius of the court contrasted with the misery and ignorance of the provinces, iv. 2. Licentiousness of the King and nobles, 3. Poverty and famine of the country in 1693, 1694, 48, 49. France compared with England at this period, 49. Boundaries determined by the peace of Ryswick, 63. Exhaustion of the kingdom at the commencement of the eighteenth century, 85. The severe winter of 1709, 101. Outbreak of an epidemic, 110. Conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, 116. And of Radstadt, 119. State of France at this period, 121. Review of the reign of Louis XIV., 132-135. Fatal effect of despotism, 140. Change in foreign policy, 142. Stationary policy, 142. Conclusion of a new Triple Alliance, 148. The finances at this time, 156. National bankruptcy proposed, 156. Spoliation of the national creditors, 159. Law's schemes, 162, *et seq.* Effect of his schemes upon the general condition of the kingdom, 179. Joins England and Prussia against Spain and Austria, iv. 193. Insurrection against Paris, Duvernay's income tax, 194. Alliance of France and Spain, 201. Literature and fashion in the time of Louis XIV. and XV., 208. Rise of colonial rivalry between France, and England, 211. State of the country during the administration of Cardinal Fleury, 223, 224. War declared against England, 226. Economical state of France in 1748, 248. Enters into an alliance with Austria, 262. Enormous cost on the part of France in the Seven Years' War, 282. Conclusion of peace, 288. Anti-religious and anti-monarchical tendencies of the age, 290-292. Condition of the kingdom in 1769, 320. The Abbé Terrai's taxation, 327. Tendency to turbulence and insurrection manifested throughout the kingdom during the last ten years of the reign of Louis XV., 329. Corn riots in 1764, 330. Condition of the French people in 1774, 335. Their servitude, 336. Their fiscal burdens, 338. Bands of robbers along the Seine, 346. Alliance between France and the United States, 356. And consequent war with England, 356.

FRA

Provincial assemblies recommended by Turgot and Necker, 362. Commercial treaty with England, 381. Severe winter of 1788-9, 404. Commencement of the revolution of 1789, 412. Riots in the provinces, 420, 430. Distress in Paris, v. 579. *See* Revolution; Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.; Louis Philippe; Provisional Government; Napoleon III.

Francief, i. 265. Abolished, 265.

Franche Comté, menaced by Philip the Fair, i. 310. Who procures one of the princesses of, in marriage with his second son, 310. French suzerainty established over, 315. Conduct of Jeanne, heiress of, 353. Secured to the French crown, 360. Given by Philip V. to Eudes IV. of Burgundy, 370. Reverts to the Dowager Duchess of Flanders, 500. Throws off the French yoke, ii. 338. Brought in dowry to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII., 341. Restored, 375. Proposal to give it to the Duke of Orleans, 547. Occupied by the partisans of Henry IV., iii. 314. Entered by the King, 315. Its independence protected by the Swiss, 315. Claims of the Prince of Orange upon, 328. Ceded to the Archduke Albert, iii. 345. Attempt of the Prince of Condé to conquer it, 513. Conquered by Louis XIV., 666. Evacuated by the French, 667. Definitively taken by the French, 688.

Franchet, of the Congregation, secret adviser of Charles X., v. 372

Franchise, Electoral, measures of, submitted to the chambers, v. 286

Francis I., Emperor of Germany (*see also* Francis, Duke of Lorraine), elected and crowned at Frankfort, iv. 234. Acknowledged by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 246

Francis I., King of France, when Count d'Angoulême, affianced to Claude, daughter of Louis XII., ii. 421. Condition of France at his accession, 443, 447. His absolute power, 449. His first acts, 449. His policy, 450. Formation of a league against him, 451. His minister, De Boissey, 450. Concludes a treaty with Charles of Luxemburg, and with Henry VIII. of England, 451. Musters an army for the invasion of Italy, 452. Passes the Alps to the conquest of Milan, 453. Endeavours to purchase the neutrality of the Swiss, 453. Whom he defeats at the battle of Marignano, 454, 455. Knighted on the field by Bayard, 455. Concludes an alliance with the Medici, 456. And with Pope Leo X., 456. Concordat between him and the Pope, 458. Meets Charles I. of Spain at Noyon, 462. And concludes a treaty with him, 462. And with Henry VIII., 462. His competition with Charles I. of Spain for the the succession to the empire, 462, 463. De-

FRA

feated in the contest, 466. Meets Henry VIII. at the field of the Cloth of Gold, 469. Promised aid by the Pope, 470. Accident to him at Romorantin, 470. Sends an army to recover Navarre for D'Albret, 470. Defeat of his army at Logrono, 471. Betrayed by Wolsey, 471, 472. Prepares for war with Charles V., 472. Reverses of his troops in Italy, 473, 474. Disgraces their commander, Lautrec, 474. Puts the treasurer, Semblançay, to death, 475. Rebellion of the Constable Bourbon, 475, 476. War declared by Henry VIII. against France, 477. Francis's tactics, 477. Sends an army under Bonnivet into Italy, 478. Orders the arrest of the Constable Bourbon, who escapes to Italy, 478. His mistress, Diana of Poitiers, 478. Reverses of his army in Italy, 480. Leads another army into Italy, 482. Takes Milan, and lays siege to Pavia, 482. At the battle of Pavia, 484. Where he is taken prisoner, 485. Removed to the fortress of Pizzighetone, 486. Activity of his mother for his liberation, 486. Demands of Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V., 488. Francis's proposals for regaining his freedom, 488. Carried to Barcelona, and thence to Madrid, 489. His illness there, 489. Refuses to give Burgundy to the Emperor, 489. Prepares an act of abdication in favour of his son, 490. Signs the treaty of Madrid with tacit reserve, 490. Betrothed to Eleonora, sister of the Emperor, 491. His liberation, 491. His two sons exchanged for him, 491. Refuses to perform the conditions of the treaty, 492. His mistresses, the Duchesses of Chateaubriand and Etampes, 495, 507. Gives himself up to pleasure, 495, 507. Sends the Marquis of Saluzzo with a small force to Italy, 495. Ill-success of his allies there, 496. An alliance between England and France concluded, 494, 499. Francis obtains money for a war with the Emperor, 500. Challenged by the Emperor, 501. Despatches Lautrec with an army into Italy, 501. The siege of Naples, 503. Francis estranges Andrew Doria, 503. Who contributes to the ruin of the French army before Naples, 504. Its capitulation, and evacuation of Italy, 504. Francis's disgraceful peace with the Emperor, 506. His licentiousness and taste for the arts, 507, 508. Bond of affection between him and his mother and sister, 508. Founda a trilinguist college, 513. Two parties in his family, court, and council, 516. His tastes and predilections, 517. Establishes the College de France, 518. Marries Eleonora, sister of Charles V., 520. His policy and aims compared with those of Charles V., 520, 521. His relations with Sultan Solymán, 521. His treaty with Henry VIII. at Boulogne, 525. Sends envoys

FRA

for the purpose of winning Pope Clement, 525, 526. Whom he meets at Marseilles, 526. The Pope's promises to him, 526. Affords Charles V. causes of complaint, 527. Sends an agent to the Duke of Milan, 527. Concludes the marriage of his son Henry with Catherine of Medicis, 528. Death of his mother, 528. Takes the part of Duke Ulrich, of Wurtemberg, who is reinstated, 529. Raises an army, 529, 530. Abandons his projected invasion of Italy, 530. Huguenot placard affixed to the door of his chamber, 531. His severities in consequence, 531. Proposals of Charles V. to Francis, 532. Who formally demands of the Emperor Milan, Genoa, and Asti, 533, 536. Resolves to occupy Savoy, 533. Sends Du Bellay on a mission to the German Protestants, 535. His negotiations with the Emperor, 536. Sends his army into Piedmont, and occupies Turin, 536. The Emperor's outburst against him, 536. Francis's breaches of his engagements, 538. Disbands his troops, and recalls De Brion, 538. Places the Marquis of Saluzzo in command, 538. And is betrayed by him, 538. Provence invaded by the Emperor, 539. The North of France invaded by the Imperialists, 540. Death of the Dauphin, 541. Francis's arrangements with the Sultan Solymán, 541. Concludes a truce for ten years with Charles V., 542. Meets Charles V. at Aignes Mortes, 543. Their proposals, 544. Charles offers the Dauphin the Low Countries instead of Milan, 547. Which Francis declines, 548. His difficulties, 549. Disgraces Montmorency and Chabot, 549. Changes his ministers, 549, 550. Appoints a council of finance, 550. Nature of his government at this period, 551. His envoys to Turkey murdered in Italy, 552. Commences war with the Emperor, 553. Fails at Luxemburg and in Roussillon, 554, 555. His clemency to the Rochellois, 556. Alliance of the Emperor and Charles V. against him, 556. His town of Landrecies besieged by Charles, 557. Combines with the Turks, and burns Nice, 557, 558. Assigns Toulon for winter quarters for the Turks, 558. Horror created in Europe at Francis's policy, 558. Defeats the Imperialists at Cerisolles, 560, 561. Surrounded with enemies, 562. Boulogne taken by Henry VIII., 562. Advance of Charles V. towards Paris, 563. Treaty between Francis and Charles, 564. Feud amongst Francis's family in consequence, 565. The King's sinking health, 565. Sends the Dauphin to retake Boulogne, 565. Naval encounter between his fleet and the English, 566, 567. Goes himself to the siege of Boulogne, 568. Loses his youngest son, 568. Disgusted with Charles V., 568, 569. Makes peace with Henry VIII., 567. Amount of his

FRA

revenue, 572. Principles and tendencies of his government, 574. Declares war against the Emperor, 580. Suspends persecution against the Vaudois, 583. But orders the massacre of Merindol and Cabrières, 584. His last illness and death, 587, 588. His policy and character, 588-591. Comparison between his views of the Reformation and those of Henry VIII., iii. 4

Francis II., King of France, when Dauphin betrothed to Mary, Queen of Scotland, ii. 602, 604. Married to her, 631, 643. Sets up the arms of England, 634. Death of his father, 648. His accession to the throne, iii. 1. Entrusts the Guises with all power and influence

7. His stringent measures against the Huguenots, 16. His ill-health, 17. Conspiracy of La Renaudie, 18, 19. The King present at the execution of heretics, 22. Demand of Coligny for the dismissal of the King's guard, 27. Orders the arrest of the Prince of Condé, 31. His death, 32

Francis, Emperor of Austria, proposes armistice to Napoleon, v. 167. *See* Assembly; Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.

Francis II., Duke of Brittany, joins the league formed against Louis XI., ii. 266. Whose brother, Charles, Francis succeeds in inveigling, 268. His acquisitions from the war of the 'Public Good,' 275. His anger, 276, 277. Accompanies Charles, Duke of Normandy, to his new duchy, 276. But not allowed to enter Rouen, 277. Relapses into hostilities with Louis XI. of France, 285. The Admiral Bourbon sent against him, 289. Compelled to submit to the royal forces, 290. Abets the scheme of marrying Mary of Burgundy with the Duke of Guyenne, 297. His upstart minister, Landais, 362. His aid to the Duke of Orleans, 363. Landais hanged, 363. Besieged in Nantes by La Tremouille, 367. Offers the hand of his daughter, Anne, to the Count d'Albret and Maximilian of Austria, 367. His troops defeated at the battle of St. Aubin, 368. Concludes the treaty of Sablé, 369. His death, 369

Francis, the Dauphin (son of Francis I.), exchanged for his father, Francis I., by the Spaniards, ii. 491. His liberation, 506, 519. His death, 541

Francis, Duke of Guise, son of Duke Claude (*see also* Aumale, Duke of), surnamed Le Balafre, ii. 593. His influence over Henry, 593. Provides Metz with the means of defence against the Imperialists, 611. His gallant defence of the town, 612. The siege raised by the Emperor, 613. His treatment of the wounded of his enemy, 613. At the skirmish of Renti, 616. Quarrels with De Coligny, 616. Proposes to establish the Inquisition in France, 619. Advises the

FRA

rupture of the truce of Vaucelles, 621. Crosses the Alps with the army of the Holy League, 622. Marches to the conquest of Naples, 622. Recalled to France, 624, 627. Appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, 627. Takes Calais from the English, 628, 629. His reception in Paris, 631. Takes the King to Thionville, and forms the siege of the place, 632. Establishes the Inquisition in France, 641. His character and personal appearance, iii. 6. Entrusted with the command of the army, 7. Declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, 21. And grants an amnesty to the Huguenot insurgents, 21. His revenge, 21. Sends an army into Scotland, 24. Which is overcome by Queen Elizabeth, 24. Edict of Romorantin, 25. Assembly of Fontainebleau, 26. Guise's opposition to Coligny, 28. Death of Francis II., and overthrow of Guise's power, 33. His dismissal from court demanded by the King of Navarre, 40. League between him, the Constable, and St. André, 40. His policy and hypocrisy, 51, 52. His massacre of the Huguenots of Vassy, 53, 54. Marches, notwithstanding the King's order, towards Paris, 54. Endeavours to raise forces for the defence of Paris against the triumvirate, 54. To whom he is compelled to abandon the capital, 55. Gains the battle of Dreux, 71, 72. Entrusted with full power, 72. Besieges Orleans, 72. Assassinated, 73. His character, 74. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, his marriage with Maria Theresa, of Austria, iv. 202. Accepts the duchy of Tuscany in lieu of Lorraine, 206. The empire claimed for him by his wife on the death of her father, 213. League between France, Prussia, and Bavaria against him, 216. Relieves Prague, 219. Elected emperor, 234. *See* Francis I., Emperor Francis of Sickinghen, invades the lands of the Lord of Sedan, ii. 472. Francis, St., his mission addressed to the humble and poor, i. 203. Francis Friars, reason for the establishment of the, i. 185. Threatened in France, 374. Fall into a scrape, ii. 530, *note*. Franconia, French system of rapine in, iv. 34. Frankfort, treaties of, ii. 369; iv. 229. Captured by Custine, 563. Franks, peculiar organisation and Teutonic character of the, i. 3. Defeat of the German Franks by Clovis, 4. Their settlement on the lands and in the towns from the time of Clothaire, 7. The German Franks led by Clothaire against the Saxons and are beaten, 7. Change in the condition of the Franks from the time of Clovis to the time of Charles Martel, 15. Rise of the Austrasian aristocracy or chivalry, 15. Aquitaine and the South brought under the domination of the

FRE

Franks, 16, 17. Missionaries from the Celtic Church of Ireland to them, 17. Missionaries from the Anglo-Saxons, 17. Their Champs de Mars and de Mai, 24, *note*. Nature of the rule of Charlemagne, 29. Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic, King of Neustria, supports the Austrasian grandees in their turbulence, i. 10. Causes the assassination of King Sigebert, 10. Frederick I., Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, his defeat and ruin, i. 144. Leads the Third Crusade, 158. His death in the Cydnus, 158. Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, his rivalry with Otho IV., i. 188. Who is defeated at Bovines, 190. His recovery of Jerusalem from the Sultan of Egypt, 217. The Pope's endeavour to excite the French princes against him during his absence in the East, 217, 218. His law as to the right of private war, 225. Compels Innocent IV. to take refuge in France, 226. Excommunicated by the Pope, 228. The imperial fief of Provence wrested from him, 230. His death, 238. Decrees the succession of Hainault, 246. Frederick IV., Emperor of Germany, applies to Charles VII. of France for forces against the Swiss, ii. 219. Proposals of Duke Charles of Burgundy to the Emperor, 304. Meets the duke at Treves, 305. And abruptly quits the meeting, 306. Frederick V., Elector Palatine, elected king of Bohemia, iii. 426. Proposal of France to him to resign his claim to Bohemia, 427. Left exposed to Austria and Bavaria, 427, 428. Driven out of his dominions by Spinola, 433. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, bought off by France, iii. 663. But subsequently gives up French partisanship, 664. Roused to a sense of danger from France, 676, 682. Marches towards the Rhine, but compelled to return, 684, 685. Makes peace with France, 686. But breaks it again, 687. Defeats the Swedes at Fehrbelin, 692. Compelled by France to disgorge his Swedish conquests, 704. Joins the League of Augsburg, iv. 28. Frederick I., first King of Prussia, iv. 81. Gueldres ceded to him, 116. Signs the peace of Utrecht, 116. His death, 212. Frederick II., the Great, King of Prussia, succeeds to the throne, iv. 212. His rise, 214. Invades Silesia, 215. His pleas for this aggression, 215. His victory at Muhlwitz, 216. His desire to maintain the power of Austria, 216. His treaty with France and Bavaria, 216, 217. Takes Glatz, 218. Besieged by English envoys, 220. His preliminary secret agreement, 220. Breaks through his agreement and invades Moravia, 220. Induces the Saxons to join him, 220. Reduces Brünn and blockades Olmütz, 220, 221. Defeats the Austrians at Czaslau, 221.

FRE

Concludes the peace of Breslau, 221. Effect of his defection from his allies, 221. Enters into an alliance with Charles VII. against Austria, 229. His failure in, and retreat from, Bohemia, 231. His successes over the Austrians in 1745, 234. Concludes the peace of Dresden, 234. Refuses to hand over Neufchatel to Madame de Pompadour, 262. Discovers the Austro-French treaty, 262, 263. Concludes an alliance with England, 265. Number of his enemies, 266. Takes the field, 266. Occupies Dresden, 266. Marches into Bohemia, and defeats the Austrians at Lobositz, 267. Compels the Saxon army to surrender, 267. His dominions on the Rhine and in Westphalia occupied by the French, 269. Defeats the Austrians before Prague, 269. But is defeated by them under Daun, 269, 270. Retreats into Saxony, 270. Capitulation of the Duke of Cumberland at Kloster-Seven, 270. Repulse of his eastern army at Jägerndorf, 270. Defeats the French and Germans at Rosbach, 271. And the Austrians at Leuthen, 272. His troops defeated at Lutterberg, 278. Transfers the seat of war to Moravia, 279. Fails to take Olmütz, 279. Defeats the Russians at Zorndorf, 279. But defeated by them at Kunersdorf, 280. Loses Dresden, 280. Low ebb of his fortunes, 280. Defeats Daun at Torgau, 280. His desire for peace, 281. Learns that England proposes to make peace with Austria, 286. His English subsidy withdrawn, 286. Captures Schweidnitz, 287. End of the Seven Years' War, 288, 289. His contempt of religious bigotry, and denial of religious sentiment, 289. His adoption of Voltaire, 289. Refuses Pitt's request to form an alliance of the North, 313. Becomes the plotter and accomplicher of the partition of Poland, 315. His arrangements with the Emperor at Neustadt, 317. Goes to war with Austria for the integrity of Bavaria, 373. His death, 392. His tomb visited by Napoleon V., 131

Frederick William II., King of Prussia, invades Holland, iv. 393

Frederick William III., King of Prussia, vacillating conduct of, v. 127. Spoliation of, 138.

Frederick, King of Naples, when duke, lands an army at Rapallo, ii. 382. Defeated there by the Duke of Orleans, 382. Surrenders his kingdom for the duchy of Anjou, 412

Frederick Augustus I., King of Poland, his death, iv. 201

Frederick Augustus II., King of Poland, iv. 201. His claim supported by the Emperor, 202. Seated on the throne by the Russians, 203. Secured by the peace of Vienna, 206. His neglect of his Saxon dominions, 221

FUR

Frederick II., King of Sicily, his election, i. 301, 302. His kingdom invaded by Charles of Valois, who is compelled to return to France, 317

Frederick, Prince, leads the Dutch against Brussels, v. 427

Frederick of Austria joins Conradin, i. 256. Defeated and executed by Charles of Anjou, 256, 257

Frederick, a duke in Lorraine, i. 62. Becomes its duke, 63

Frederick Augustus I., duke of Saxony, signs the peace of Utrecht, iv. 116

Frederick, Count of Verdun, his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, i. 101

Fremont, General, establishes government of Ferdinand I. of Naples, v. 309

French language, formation and perfection of the, i. 90

Fréron, his atrocities at Marseilles, iv. 623, 625. And at Toulon, 625

Frey, La, Buonaparte's conduct at, v. 244

Freyburg, besieged and taken by Villars, iv. 118. Restored, 119

Freys, the, trial and execution of, iv. 642-644

Freytag, General, attacked by Houchard, iv. 615, 616

Friars, Mendicant. *See* Monks

Friedland, battle of, v. 137

Frisons, yearly expeditions of Pepin of Heristal against the, i. 13. Conquests of Charles Martel over the, 17

Frobisher, Admiral, his death, iii. 321

Fronde, commencement of the, iii. 587. Treaty of Ruel, and termination of the first war of the Fronde, 597. The multitudinous pamphlets of the Fronde, 612, *note*. End of the Fronde, 630. Meaning of the name, 631. Banishment of the leaders, 632

Fronsac, castle of, fortified and garrisoned by Pepin the Bref, i. 20. Repaired by Charlemagne, 23. The settlement of the question of Fronsac left to Philip the Fair, 305

Fructidor, 18th of, revolution of, v. 36

Fuenterabia, failure of Louis XII. to take, ii. 418. Reduced by the Spaniards, 478. Taken by the French, iv. 155

Fuentes, Count de, Spanish general, endeavours to take Ham, iii. 316. Captures Le Castelet, 316. And lays siege to Dourlens, 316. Defeats the French near the town, 316. Besieges and takes Cambray, 317

Fuentes, battles of, v. 178, 206

Fulques, Archbishop of Rheims, rears Charles the Simple, i. 51. Whom he proclaims king, 52. Slain, 54

Fumel, the seigneur, put to death, iii. 47

Furnes taken by Count Robert of Artois, i. 314. Death of the grandson of Guy de Dampierre at, 326. Acquired by France, iii. 667. Ceded to Holland, iv. 116

FUR

GAS

Furstenberg, Prince of, arrested by the Imperialists, iii. 687

Furstenberg, Bishop of Strasburg, helps Louis XIV. to seize Strasburg, iv. 24. Design of Louis to raise him to the archbishopric of Cologne, 29. Abandonment of his claim, 62
Fivizzano, taken by Charles VIII., and its garrison put to the sword, ii. 383

GABELLE, the, taken off by Philip the Long, i. 376. Insurrection in the West on the subject of the salt duties, ii. 599. Burdens on the, in 1626, iii. 470. The tax in 1774, iv. 338. Enquiries of Necker into its operation, 362. Repeal of the, 470. Clamour against it, 611. Abolished, 616

Gaeta, surrender of the French at the fortress of, to the Spaniards, ii. 418

Gaillard, Château, besieged, i. 164. And taken by Philip Augustus, 164

Gaillon taken by the Duke of Bedford, ii. 149

Galigai, Eleanor, favourite of Marie de Medicis, iii. 387. Her rapacity, 389. Murder of her husband, 414. Pillaged, and sent to prison, 415. Her trial and execution, 417
Galissonnière, La, sails for Minorca, and defeats Byng, iv. 264

Gall, St., his mission to the Franks, i. 17

Gallants of the court of Henry III., iii. 191

Gallian Church, speech of Pierre Flotte on the evil designs of the Church of Rome against the, i. 323. The Church consolidates its independence, and emancipates itself from Rome, ii. 76. Rapacity of the crown in exercising the right of patronage, 76. Publication of an edict forbidding the conferring of benefices upon foreigners, 217. The Pragmatic Sanction abrogated, 257. Council of the Church summoned at Tours, 431. Confiscation of its elective privileges, 459. Church bull of Innocent X., infringing the liberties of the, iii. 579. Declaration of its independence drawn up by Bossuet, iv. 13. This profession of independence retracted by Louis XIV., 58. See Assembly, &c.; Convention; Directory; Napoleon I., &c.

Galway, Lord, defeated at Almanza, iv. 98

Game laws of the Normans, i. 82. And of the Kings of France, 82

Ganneron, M., declares the Ordonnances legal, v. 392. Minister of commerce, 525

Garat, home minister, quiets fears of the Convention, iv. 581. Expostulates with Danton, 586

Garde Nationale Mobile, enrolled, v. 421, 607. Under Clary, puts down the Socialist insurrection, 622. Arrests the Committee of Government, 622.

Garde Meuble, plundered by the communes, iv. 520, 530

Garde des Sceaux, new law of sacrilege proposed by, v. 342, 343

Garganus, Mount, pilgrimages to, i. 85

Garibaldi, Giuseppe, heads a democratic insurrection at Rome, v. 639. Defeats General Oudinot, 640. Concludes an armistice, 640. Defends Rome, and at length withdraws with Mazzini, 641

Garnier-Pagès, M., and his 'History of the Revolution,' his statement as to Bugeaud's suspension of hostilities, v. 591. Becomes a member of the Provisional Government, 596. Installed as mayor, 605. Becomes minister of finance, 611. His tax on landed proprietors, 611, 612. Appointed one of the New Republican ministry, 618

Garter, Order of the, instituted, i. 420, 445

Gascony, appeals from, to the French court, i. 305. Losses of the French in Upper, 420. Ravages of the Black Prince in, 454. Disaffection of the Gascon nobles to him, 517, 519. Whose followers and friends are bought up by the King of France, 519. Surrender of nearly all the towns to the French, 541. Attacked by the French, ii. 228. And all the towns taken from the English, 229, 230. Impatience of the people under the French yoke, 229. Reduction of the malcontents by Charles VIII., 366

Gasparin, M., remonstrates against possession of Otaheite, v. 557

Gassion, Colonel (afterwards Marshal), his answer to Richelieu, iii. 550. At the battle of Rocroy, 557. Killed in Flanders, 573

Gastines, Cross of, demolished, iii. 120

Gaston, Duke of Orleans, younger son of Henry IV., his quarrel with his brother, Louis XIII., iii. 464. Heads an opposition to Richelieu, 465. His favourite, Marshal Ornano, arrested, 464, 465. Reveals a plot of his friends to murder Richelieu, 466. Marries the Princess of Montpensier, 466. Thwarted in his designs of marriage, 486. Retires to Lorraine, 487. Defies Richelieu in his own palace, and withdraws from court, 501. Flies into Flanders, 501. Craves aid from the Spaniards to enable him to invade France, 506. Joins Montmorency, 506. Defeated by Schomberg at Castelnaudary, 509. Enticed to return and be reconciled to the King, 511. Made governor of Auvergne, 512. Joins a plot to assassinate Richelieu, 514, 527. His part in a conspiracy against Richelieu, 535, 536. Confesses his guilt 539. Appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, 543. Reduces Gravelines, 570. Invades Flanders, 572. Endeavours to make peace between the Court and Parliament, 584. Attends the sittings of Parliament, 591. Joins the Prince of Condé in the investment of Paris, 595. Returns with the court to the city,

GAU

598. Obtains the lieutenant-governorship of the North, 602. Pressed by Parliament to propose terms of peace, 602. Influenced by De Retz, he turns against Mazarin, 603, 604. Orders the commanders of regiments to obey him, and not Mazarin, 605. Refuses to come to court without Condé, 605. His anger with Condé, 608. Whom he afterwards joins with several regiments, 618. The city of Orleans held by his daughter, 618. Makes overtures for peace with the King, 621. His indecision, or cowardice, in the struggle between Condé and the Royalists in the streets of Paris, 624. Bravery of his daughter, 624. Re-appointed lieutenant-general by parliament, 628. Makes his submission to the King, and retires to Blois, 629

Gaudin, finance minister, v. 75. His measures, 75, 76

Gaul. *See* France.

Gauls, how treated by the Burgundians on the Saône, and by the Goths on the Garonne, i. 3

Gaultier sans Avoir, leads an army of Crusaders to Asia, i. 105

Gautiers, insurrection of the, iii. 240

Gavre, battle of, ii. 240

Gaza, battle of, i. 227

Gelasius II., Pope, driven from Rome by the Emperor Henry V., i. 124. His death at Cluny, 124

Gem, Prince, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, ii. 384

Geneva, endeavours of Charles III. of Savoy to crush, ii. 534. The doctrines of the Reformation publicly adopted and proclaimed at, 534. Aided by Francis I., 534-535. Arrangements of France, Savoy, and Spain to destroy, 647. Attempt of the Duke of Savoy to take, iii. 275. The Duke of Savoy's fortress of St. Catherine near the city razed by the French, 349. Renewal of the Duke of Savoy's attempt, 389, 397. *See* Napoleon I. and III.; Convention; Directory.

Genghis Khan, his invasion of Poland and Hungary, i. 218

Génie, M., corruption of, v. 576

Genlis, partisan of Admiral Coligny, commands volunteers to support Mons, iii. 129. Defeated and made prisoner by Alva, 130.

Genoa, French influence in, at the end of the fifteenth century, ii. 403. Voluntarily hoists French colours, 405. Reception of Louis XII. and Caesar Borgia at, 416. Revolt against the French, 423. Who compel it to surrender, 424. Reverses of the French faction, 437. Lost to the French, 439. Again recognises French sovereignty, 457. Blockaded by the Venetian and French fleets under Navarro, 496. Proposal of Francis I. to supersede it by Savona, 503. Which has its fortifications razed, 504. Formally de-

GEO

manded of the Emperor by Francis I., 533. Promised by the Pope to the second son of Francis I., 526. Failure of an expedition from France and Savoy against, iii. 453. Bombarded by Louis XIV., iv. 27. Surrenders to the Austrians, 236. Revolution against them, 237. The consequent siege, 238. Finale restored to, 245, 246. Massena's surrender at, v. 84. *See* Napoleon I.

Genoese Fleet, hired by Philip the Fair against the Flemings, i. 333. Who are defeated, and Guy de Namur taken prisoner, 333. Buonaparte's advice to the Genoese, v. 33

Gensonné becomes member of the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. Draws up the reports on La Vendée, 470. Writes a letter to Boze proposing overtures to the King, 504. Votes the withdrawal of the *Fédérés*, 507. His trial and execution, 619, 620

Gent, M., defends M. Lacrosse against the Socialists, v. 642

Gentien, Benoit, his harangue at the meeting of the Estates, ii. 90

Gentilly burned by Sir Robert Knollis, i. 526.

Geoffrey, or Foulques, of Anjou. *See* Foulques.

Geoffrey II., Duke of Burgundy, the French in the Third Crusade entrusted to the command of, i. 159

Geoffrey of Charney, his endeavours to gain Calais, i. 438. Defeated by Edward III. and the Black Prince, 438

Geoffrey Plantagenet, his jealousy of his brother, Henry II. of England, i. 142. Breaks into open war, but crushed by Henry, 142. Becomes duke of Nantes, 143. His death, 143. Does homage to Louis VII. for Brittany, 146

Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, his power and extent of his possessions, i. 90. Defeats the sons of Eudes of Champagne, and obtains Touraine in recompense, 91. Invades Normandy, and seizes Domfront, 91. Besieged there by Duke William, 91

George I., King of England, when electoral prince at the battle of Oudenarde, iv. 100. His accession to the English throne, 131. His anger at the expedition of the Pretender, 145. Concludes an alliance with France and Holland, 148. League of Sweden, Russia, and Spain, against him, 151. Joins France, and declares war against Spain, 154. Declared a governor of the South Sea Company, 182

George II., King of England, agrees to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, iv. 200. His defeat of the French at Dettingen, 226, 227. Crosses the Rhine, and joins the Dutch at Worms, 228. Preparations for invading England and dethroning him, 228. Detaches Sardinia from France and Spain, 228. Concludes a treaty with Saxony, 229. Spurns peace with France, 244. But even-

GEO

tually agrees to peace, 245. Ingratitude of Maria Theresa to him, 261, 265. Repudiated by all his old allies, and turns to Frederick the Great, 265. With whom he signs a treaty of alliance, 265. Sends troops for the defence of his electorate, 266. For which he endeavours to obtain neutrality, 270. His death, 283

George III., his accession, iv. 283. His adoption of Bute's policy of peace, 283. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII

George IV., King of England, when Prince Regent, urges Prince Lieven to extreme measures, v. 224. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.

Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, his mode of treating the people of his government, i. 99

Gerard, Marshal, takes command of the troops, v. 403. Becomes war minister, 421. Resigns, 424. Heads the army for Belgium, 447. Besieges Antwerp, 476. Becomes president of the council, 487. Adopts the rallying word of the *Tiers parti*, 487. Resigns, 487. Ordered to occupy Paris with the army, 584. Countermanded by Duchatel, 585. Shows the King's abdication, 594

Gerberga, sister of the Emperor Otho, married to King Louis d'Outremer, i. 57. Her influence over King Lothaire, 61

Gerbert, brought to Rheims by Archbishop Adalbero, i. 63. Sent to Paris by Hugh Capet, 63. Educates Robert, son of Hugh Capet, 63, 80. Elected archbishop of Rheims, 80. His election declared by the Pope to be void, 80. Sketch of his life, 80. Attains the pontificate as Silvester II., 80. Recommends armed European resistance to the Mussulmans, 102

Gergeau, assembly of Huguenots at, iii. 362

Germain l'Auxerrois, St., church of, in Paris, rebuilt, i. 82. Destruction of, by the Paris mob, v. 436

Germain des Prés, St., burned, i. 488

Germain-en-Laye, St., royal residence of, burned by the Black Prince, i. 424

Germain's, St., assembly of, iii. 49. An assembly of notables summoned by Catherine de Medicis at, 156. Treaty of, 111

Germain's St., Count of, war minister, iv. 348

Germans, Irish, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the, i. 71. Their superiority in war to the races west of the Rhine, 41

Germany, in the eleventh century, compared with France, i. 17. Rivalry of the emperors and popes, and effects of the strife even at the present day, 129. Quarrels respecting the succession to the empire, 162. Condition of the empire at the early part of the fourteenth century, 373. Establishes its independence of Rome by positive legisla-

GHE

tion, 398. The political destiny of Germany contrasted with that of England and France, ii. 215. State of, in the middle of the fifteenth century, 215. Relations between France and Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century, 216. German mercenaries introduced into the French army, 340. Agitation caused by the preaching of Luther, 467. War between the Protestants and Catholics kindled, iii. 426. Alarm and precautions of Germany at the danger to Holland from England and France, 675. Rapine organised by Louis XIV., iv. 34. Neglect of the duty of Germany towards Poland, 314. For subsequent history of Germany *refer to* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and III., &c.

Gerona besieged by Philip the Hardy, i. 294. Surrenders, 295. Captured by the Duke de Noailles, iv. 48

Gerson, John, his character and abilities, ii. 73. His endeavours to establish or restore representative government in the Church, 73. Refuses to pay taxes, and takes refuge in the steeple of Notre Dame, 98. Denies the supreme power and infallibility of the Pope, 104. His ideas of an universal church, 105. His rancour against Huss, 106. Fails to obtain sentence of the Council of Constance against Jean Petit, 106. Failure of his efforts to obtain Church reform, 107, 108. Withdraws to monastic life, 108, *note*. His talents and errors, 141

Gertruydenberg, conferences of, iv. 104. Captured, 562

Ghent invaded by the Normans, i. 46. The combatants of, in the time of Philip Augustus, 153. Reduced by Philip Augustus, 188. Occupied by the allies of the Count of Flanders, 314. Refuses to join the insurrection against France, 326. Deserts its Count, 372. Its French leanings, 379. Causes of this, 387. The people true to Count Louis and France, 390. Rise of the people under James Arteveld, 400. Murder of Arteveld, 421. Rebellion against the Count of Flanders, ii. 15, 16. Besieged by the count, 19. March of the people under Von Arteveld to Bruges, which they take, and compel the Count to fly, 20, 21. Refusal of the town to acknowledge the Duke of Burgundy as count, 35. Submission of the Ghenters to the duke, 36. March of the citizens to assist at the siege of Calais, under Philip III. of Burgundy, 193. Return home disheartened, 194. Refusal of the people to pay the gabelle to the Duke of Burgundy, 238. Who defeats them at the battle of Gavre, 240. Its resistance to the yoke of Burgundy, 278. The Count of Charolais's peril in Ghent, 283. Submits to Charles the Rash, 287. Restoration of

GIA

the ancient rights of the Flemish towns by Mary of Burgundy at, 330. An embassy sent by the city to Louis XI. of France, 331. Maximilian, King of the Romans, seized by the people, 369. Revolt of the citizens, 544. Their offer to Francis I., 544, 545. The Emperor's punishment of them, 546. Besieged and taken by Louis XIV., iii. 698. Declares against France, iv. 95. Surprised by the French, 100. Taken by the Duke of Ormond, 115. Captured by Louis XIV., 233

Giac, favourite of Charles VII., put to death by the Constable, ii. 153

Gibraltar, captured by the English, iv. 93. Proposed cession of, to Spain, 174. The cession afterwards declined, 174, 175. Compact for wresting it, if necessary, from England, 193. Besieged, but the siege abandoned, 199. Besieged by Spain, 358

Gié, Marshal, seizes Anne of Brittany's jewels, ii. 420. His punishment, 420

Ginèvre, Mont, crossed by Charles VIII., ii. 381

Giralda, dame of Lavour, put to death, i. 181

Girardin, M. Emile de, accuses the ministry of corruption, v. 576. Demands the abdication of the King, 594. Arrested, 632

Girondists and Gironde, compose the majority of the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. Character and ability of its members, 467. Their objects as legislators, 468. Their confidence in Count Narbonne, 473, 477. Brissot, and his influence, 474, *et seq.* Concoct the Austrian despatch, 477. De Moleville attempts to bribe, 478. Prosecute De Moleville and Delessert, 478, 479. Roland and others of their party chosen by the King as ministers, 481. Their character unfits them for government, 482. Distrusted by Dumouriez, 482. Dumouriez recommends their alliance with Danton, 483. They dislike Dumouriez, 483. Suspect the King, 485. Celebrate liberation of Swiss soldiers, 485. Their ministers distrusted by the King, 486. Roland's letter to the King, 487. Servan's proposition for a camp at Paris, 487. Smother their sympathy for the King, 489. Insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine, 490 *et seq.* Encourage the arrival of the *Fédérés* of the South, 497. Cause the massacres at Avignon, 498. Arraign Louis XVI. and his measures, 499. Reconciliation of parties in the Assembly, 500. Dethronement of the King demanded, 500, 503. Camp of the *Fédérés*, 502. Change in their sentiments and aims, 503. Voting the adjournment for the King's dethronement, they are execrated by the Jacobins, 504. Make overtures to the King, 504. Warn the King of approaching insurrection, 504. Denounced by the Mountain, 504. Their temporising policy to suspend the King, 505. Manifesto of the Duke

GIR

of Brunswick precipitates measures, 505. Propose suspension of the King, and the succession of the Dauphin, 506, 508. Insurrection of the 9th of August, 509, *et seq.* Promise protection and safety to the King, 514. Dethrone and imprison the King and royal family, 514, 515. Do not despair of preserving and raising the monarchy, 517. Their measures and propositions for government, 518. Appoint their new ministry, 518. Their humane measures for the King counteracted by the Jacobins, 519. Intimidated by Robespierre and Marat, 519. Placed in the category of suspects by Robespierre, 523. Propose retiring to the south of France, 523. Massacres at the prisons, 524, 525. Massacre at Versailles, and their inability to prevent, 530. With other parties in the Assembly merge into the Convention, 518-535. Its fate anticipated by Vergniaud, 536. Denounced by Robespierre, 537. Move a Commission of Safety, 538, 539. Accuse Robespierre and Marat before the Convention, 540, *et seq.* Their fate foretold by Dumouriez, 544. Fail in their measures, 545. Proposed trial and death of Louis XVI., 546. Endeavour to save his life, 551. Propose an appeal to the people, 552. Their letter to Boze counselling Louis XVI. disclosed, 554. Their vote seals fate of the King, 554. Clamour for a general war, 558. Their superiority in the Convention, 561. Contend with the Montagnards at Lyons, 565. Protest against a revolutionary tribunal, 566. Their expulsion demanded by the Mountain, 566. Proposed assassination of, 567. Their press destroyed, 568. *Comité de Salut Public* formed, 570. Decline the alliance of Danton, who denounces them, 573. With the Mountain place the Orleansists under arrest, 574. Twenty of its ablest members demanded as a sacrifice, 574. Petitions for their proscription, 577. Violent proceedings of Robespierre against, 581. Close the sittings of the Assembly, but their places occupied by the Sections, 582. Their proceedings undone by the Mountain and Sections, 582. Insurrection of May 31, 584. Prosecution of twenty-two Girondists demanded, 585. Communes demand twenty-seven heads, 586. Overthrown by Mountain, 589, 590. Retreat of some members of, to Caen, who organise an insurrection under General Wimpfen, 593. Their army defeated at Evreux, 594. Advised by Wimpfen to make common cause with the Vendéans, 594. Retreat to Gironde, 595. Measures adopted against, 618. Their trials and executions, 619, *et seq.* Proposal to restore survivors of the, to the Convention, 665, 666. Again admitted into the Assembly, and join the Thermidorians, 667, 668.

GIS

- Giselbert, Duke of Lorraine, defeated by the Emperor Otho, and drowned in the Rhine, i. 57. His widow married to Louis, 59
- Gisors, fortress of, rebuilt by Henry I. of England, i. 118. Given by treaty to his son William, 118. Meeting of Pope Calixtus II. and Henry I. of England at, 125. Fortress of, obtained by Henry II. of England, 143
- Gisors, Count de, killed at Crevelt, iv. 278
- Gisquet, M., dismissed, v. 504. Discovers new society of conspirators, 'Des Saisons,' 516
- Gladsdale, Sir William, at the siege of Orleans, ii. 156. Defeated and killed by Jeanne d'Arc, 166
- Glatz taken by Frederick the Great, iv. 218. Ceded to him, 221
- Glendower, Owen, obtains aid from Charles VI. of France, ii. 49. Defeated at Shrewsbury, 49
- Gloucester, Duke of, younger brother of Henry V. of England, ii. 151. His marriage with Jacqueline of Holland, 151. And rash claims to the Low Countries, 151. Invades Hainault, and challenges the Duke of Burgundy to single combat, 151. Deserts Jacqueline, and re-marries, 152. Endeavours to reconcile him to his uncle, the Cardinal of Winchester, 155
- Gobel, Archbishop of Paris, gives up his cross and ring, iv. 634. Imprisoned, 640. Executed, 640, 646
- Godemar du Fay, defeated by Edward III. of England, i. 425
- Godfrey, the Norman chief, his march from the Scheldt to the Seine, and from the Seine to the Loire, i. 46
- Godfrey, Duke of Lower Lorraine, i. 63. His death in battle, 63
- Godfrey of Bouillon, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Efficacy of his army of Lorrainers, 106. Passes the winter at Buyukdere, 107. Passes over into Asia, 107. At the siege of Nicea, 107. At the siege and capture of Jerusalem, 111
- Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, killed at Courtray, i. 327
- Godoy the Guardsman, paramour of Queen of Spain, v. 152. His plans, 152. *See* Ferdinand VII.; Napoleon I.
- Gogo, the Austrasian noble, appointed major domus, i. 10
- Goisart, the judge, arrested, iv. 398
- Golden Fleece, order of the, instituted by Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 175
- Gondrin, La Mothe, Catholic governor of Valence, hanged by the Huguenots, iii. 57
- Gontram, son of King Clothaire, reigns in Burgundy, i. 8. His triumphs over the Lombards, 8
- Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, defeated at Forrova, ii. 389. Murders the Duke of Parma, 593

GRA

- Gonzaga, Princess Marie de, Cinq Mars aspires to her hand, iii. 535. Gives him notice of danger, 538
- Gonsalvo de Cordova, Aragonese general, defeated at Seminara, ii. 390, 391
- Goree, a French settlement, iv. 288
- Gorsas, deputy, expelled from the Convention, and his presses burnt, iv. 568
- Gothard, St., on the Danube, battle of, iii. 650
- Göthe, present at the battle of Valmy, iv. 534. Remark of a Prussian officer to, 534
- Goths, their mode of treating the Gauls on the Garonne, i. 3. Defeated by Clovis at Vouglé, 5
- Goualt, Chevalier, arrested and shot, v. 222
- Goudehaux, M., finance minister in the Second Republic, v. 605. Resigns, 611. Declares his inability to meet demands of state workmen, 625. Measures proposed by, 633
- Gough, Sir Matthew, sent with reinforcements to the English in Normandy, ii. 226. Escapes from the field of Formigny, 228
- Goujon, one of the Mountain, arrested and commits suicide, iv. 679, 681
- Government, Provisional, of Paris, formation of a, v. 596. Its members, 596. Reject adhesion of Louis Napoleon, 605. Take possession of the Hotel de Ville, 605. Opposition to the, 606, *et seq.* Form the *Garde mobile*, 607. Do not sanction Socialist demands, but consent to a compromise, 608. Originate a system of state employ for labourers, 608. Oppose the Red Republicans, 610. Adopt the tricolour flag, 610. Dissolve the chambers, 611. Their financial difficulties, 611. Measures of Garnier Pagés, 611. Counteract measures of Ledru Rollin, 614. Procession of the Clubs, 614. Defeat the Socialist plot, 615, 616. Abolish the octroi and salt duties, 616. Abolished by the New Assembly, and a Republic and New Government proclaimed, 617. *See* Assembly, New; Napoleon III.
- Gozlyn, Archbishop, his defence of Paris against the Normans, i. 50
- Grace, ecclesiastical squabbles respecting, iv. 124
- Grammont, Duchess de, mistress of Henry IV. of France, iii. 212. Discarded by Henry, 276
- Grammont, Cardinal de, sent by Francis I. on a mission to the Pope, ii. 525. Lessens the influence of Montmorency with the King, 528
- Granada, Emir of, charges brought against the, i. 374
- Grandella, battle of, i. 256
- Grandmesnil, implicated in Saumur plot, v. 317
- Grandruffe, the citizen of Paris, his wealth, i. 361, *note*
- Granson, castle of, taken by Charles the Rash,

GRA

- of Burgundy, ii. 319. Who is defeated there by the Swiss, 319, 320
- Granville, Cardinal, at the meeting at Cambridge, ii. 631
- Granville, Bishop of Arras, gives information of a Protestant plot, ii. 645
- Grasse, Admiral Count de, defeated by Rodney, iv. 367
- Grave, captured by the Prince of Orange, iii. 690
- Gravelines, captured by the Count D'Enghien, ii. 19. Who is put to death at Ghent, 19. Taken by the Crusaders under the Bishop of Norwich, 32. Battle of, 632. Reduced by the Duke of Orleans, iii. 570. Surrenders, 628
- Greece, liberation of, pressed by the ministry, v. 372. Established, 372. *See* Louis Philippe; Guizot; Palmerston, Lord
- Greek Fire, used by the Saracens in Egypt, i. 234, 236
- Greeks, ancient, their horror of caste, i. 34. Sympathy felt for the modern, by Canning, v. 349
- Gregory III., Pope, introduces an oath of allegiance to himself, i. 18. Offers the imperial supremacy to Charles Martel, 18, 19
- Gregory VII., Pope, his endeavours to dispossess the feudal noblesse, and its imperial and royal chiefs, of their possessions, i. 93, 95. Notice of his early life, 95. His scheme of opposing spiritual to imperial Cæsardom, 95. His mode of electing the pope by cardinals, 96. His plan for making the investiture of all European prelates dependent on the Holy See, 96. His denunciation of Philip I.'s mode of levying taxes, 97. Puts France under an interdict, 98. His quarrel with the Emperor of Germany, 101. His schemes of policy as to the Crusades, 102
- Gregory IX., Pope, endeavours to crush Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, i. 217, 218
- Gregory X., Pope, his election, i. 284. His desire to free Palestine, 284. His acts of hostility to the power of Charles of Anjou, 284. His death, 284
- Gregory XII., Pope, deposed by the Council of Pisa, but refuses to resign, ii. 76
- Gregory XIII., Pope, his approval of the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 147. His death, 204
- Gregoire, bishop of Blois, his noble conduct before the Convention, iv. 634. Nominated deputy for Grenoble, v. 297, 298
- Grenada, defeat of the Moors of, ii. 376
- Grenade, conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants at, iii. 47
- Grenoble, compelled to submit to Henry IV., iii. 275. Conspiracy at, v. 281. Insurrection at, 457. Defeat the prefect and troops, 457.
- Greppo, M., arrested, v. 661

GUE

- Gressel, Captain, discloses Babœuf's conspiracy, v. 12
- Grey, Lord, his defence of Guines, ii. 630
- Grignan, Count of, governor of Provence, proceedings instituted against him, ii. 594. Acquitted, 594
- Grimaldi, Rainier de, commands a Genoese fleet for Philip of Flanders, i. 333. And defeats the Flemings, 333
- Grimoald, the Austrasian noble, seizes the office of major domûs, i. 12
- Grisons, league formed to liberate the, from the house of Austria, iii. 440. Invasion of the, v. 55
- Grocers of Paris, emeute against the, iv. 565
- Grouchy, Marshal, fails in his attack on Blücher, v. 252
- Guadeloupe taken by the English, iv. 275. Restored to the French, 288
- Guadet, becomes member of the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. Has an interview with the King, proposing the alliance of the Gironde, 504. Applauding the conduct of the communes, prays that Pétion may be set at liberty, 518. Proposes the removal of the Convention to Versailles, 577. Urges the Convention to measures for its own safety, 578. Retreats to Caen, 593. His trial and death, 619, 626
- Guards, National. *See* National Guards.
- Guards, the Young, headed by Napoleon at La Rothière, v. 219
- Guasto, Marquis del, taken prisoner by the French at Naples, ii. 503. Causes the French envoys to be murdered, 552. Commands the Imperialists in Piedmont, 559. Defeated at Cerissoles, 560
- Guebriant, Marshal, death of, iii. 569
- Guelldres, proposal to give it to the Duke of Orleans, ii. 547. Seized by the Duke of Cleves, ii. 553. Ceded to Prussia, iv. 116. Evacuated by the French, and occupied by the Prussians, 288
- Guelldres, Duke of, his rivalry and disputes with Brabant, ii. 38. Sends a challenge to Charles VI. of France, 38. Who marches an army over the Meuse, and compels the duke to submit, 39
- Guerilla bands formed in Spain, to harass the French under Philip the Hardy, i. 295
- Guerrande, surprised by Louis of Spain, i. 415
- 'Guerres, Rosier des,' the, of Louis XI., ii. 345
- Guesclin, Bertrand du, his rules and mode of warfare, i. 504. Helps to recover Mantes for the King of France, 505. Commands the partisans of France at Cocherel, 505. Gains a victory there over the Navarrese, 506. Created count of Longueville, 506. Taken prisoner at the battle of Auray, 507.

GUE

GUI

Ransomed by Charles V., the Pope, and Henry of Trastamare, 510. Leads the Military companies against Peter the Cruel of Castille, 510. Marches to Avignon, and extorts a large sum from the Pope, 510. Places Henry of Trastamare on the throne of Castille, 511. Leads the companies at the battle of Navarrete, 513. Again taken prisoner by Chandos, 514. His memory hymned and immortalised by the French, 516. Enables Henry of Trastamare to recover the Castillian throne, 520. Witnesses the murder of Peter the Cruel by Henry, 520. Becomes commander of the French forces, and constable of the kingdom, 527. Defeats some of the English bands at Poutvalin, 527. His captures of towns from the English, 529. Takes the towns of Niost and Lusignan from the English, 533. Invades Brittany, 533. Takes several towns there, and puts the citizens of Hennebon to the sword, 534. Besieges Brest, and the castle of Derval, 534. Commissioned by the King to make war against the King of Navarre, 545. Attacks the Norman towns, 545. His brother killed before Cherbourg, 546. Charged with the office of aweing or inducing Rennes to submit to France, 547. Resistance of the Bretons, who take back their duke, 547. Du Guesclin's reply to his king, 547. Sent to capture castles in the south, 550. His death and funeral, 550

Guesclin, Du, brother of Bertrand, killed before Cherbourg, i. 546

Guienne, or Guyenne, designs of Philip the Fair on the duchy of, i. 302. Encroachment of the Parliament of Paris upon its judicial independence, 305. Philip's mode of tricking Edward I. out of the duchy, 307, 308. Arbitration of Pope Boniface VIII. as to the duchy of, 315. Restored to Edward I., 328. Occupied by French troops, 380. Restored to England, but some fortresses retained, 381. The English attacked by Philip VI., 392. Designs of Philip of Valois against, 399. Edward III.'s order to the authorities in, 417. An army sent to defend it against the French, 420. Frais des hommages paid to Edward III. and to his son, the Black Prince, 498, *note*. The duchy given by Louis XI. to his brother Charles, ii. 295, 296. Atrocities committed upon the Huguenots of, iii. 47. Montluc sent by Catherine de Medicis to, 48. Montluc succeeds in restoring order, 65. Given up to the Huguenots, 188. The war of the League carried into, 207. The government given to 'le grand Condé,' 609. Threatened extinction of the population from hunger, iv. 247

Guienne, Duke of. *See* Charles VII.

Guignes, battle of, v. 221

Guilford, Countess of, dismissed by Louis XII., ii. 443

Guilleminot, General, aide-de-camp, suspicions regarding him, but defended by d'Angoulême, v. 327. Sent ambassador to Constantinople, 330

Guinard, M., prosecuted by Périer, v. 444. Recovers his liberty, 493

Guinegate, battle of, ii. 339

Guines, secured by the Burgundians, ii. 275. Captured by the French, 630

Guise, taken by the Imperialists, ii. 540

Guise, Duke of, summoned by the Regent Louise to Lyons, ii. 486. Disperses the German Reformers in Lorraine, 516

Guise, Duke of (son of Duke Henry), escapes from prison, iii. 279. Request of the Union to marry him to the Infanta, 281. His poverty, 283. Supplied with money by the Prince of Parma, 283. His name put forward as a claimant for the crown, 298, 299. Obtains an army from the Spaniards, 309. Kills the Count of St. Pol, and submits to Henry IV., 310. Receives the government of Provence, 313. Obtains the adhesion of Marseilles, 320. His subsequent nullity, 360. Won over to the court by Marie de Medicis, 413. Lays siege to the grandes in Soissons, 413. Denounced by Richelieu, 502. Condemned to death as *contumace*, 504

Guise, Duke of (brother of the last), joins a league formed against Richelieu, iii. 533. Goes to Naples to serve French interests, 574

Guise, Dukes of. *See* Claude, Francis, Henry, Dukes of Guise

Guise, Cardinal of, establishes himself at Troyes, iii. 221. Murdered, 231

Guise, Chevalier de, kills the Baron de Luz and his son, iii. 390

Guises, the, obtain power under Francis I., ii. 550. Opposed by the Duchess d'Etampes, 550. Their influence at court, 641. Establish the Inquisition in full force, 641. Urged to action by the enemies of the Protestants, 645. Paramount under Francis II., iii. 7. Their endeavours to extirpate tolerance from town and country, 16. Hostility of all France to them, 23. Their plans counteracted and their power overthrown, 29. Withdraw to Lorraine to recover their lost authority by force, 46. Their combination with the Bourbons, 91. Recalled by Catherine de Medicis to court, 120. Doctrines of the lawyer David as to them, 178. Their negotiations with Catherine de Medicis, 204. Review of the acts of the family, 233. Henry IV.'s generosity to them, 311

Guiton, mayor of La Rochelle, his defence of the town, iii. 477, 479

Guitry announces to Henry IV. the adhesion of the Isle of France, iii. 251

GUI

- Guizot, M., his two classes of despots, i. 304.
 His constitutionalist proceedings, v. 257, 259. Describes the Chamber of Deputies, 283. Expelled from the council of state, 303. His speech on the proceedings of the Royalists, 304. His treatment by the Royalists, 311. Describes the new law of sacrilege, 344. His opinion of Villèle's policy, 350. His complaint against Villèle, 370. His observations on Prince Polignac, 383. Proposes a municipal government, 403. Becomes minister of the interior, 421. Resigns, 424. Charges Laffitte with incapacity, 437. Abets an hereditary peerage, 451. Becomes minister of public instruction, 473. Disagrees with the cabinet, and resigns, 487. But resumes, 487. Comparison of his domestic policy with that of M. Thiers, 499. Becomes again minister of public instruction, 504. Having resigned, on his re-appointment fails in forming a new cabinet, 510. Attacks Molé's government, 512, 513. His discussion with Lord Palmerston on the protective policy of France, 520. Appointed ambassador to London, 523, 533. Discusses with Lord Palmerston the Eastern question, 533. Forms a new cabinet in which he is minister for foreign affairs, 540. Proposes a speech adverse to M. Thiers, 540. Has an angry recrimination with M. Thiers, 540, 541. His policy induces strikes in Paris, 545. Signs the treaty of the Dardanelles, 546. His foreign policy, 551. His home policy called in question by Lamartine, 552. Succeeds in his efforts for suppressing the slave trade, 555. Surprised at the turn of affairs in Otaheite, 556. His conduct in that matter, 557. His intrigues about the Spanish marriages, 564, *et seq.* Considers Spain an appanage of France, 566. His terror as to the Coburg alliance put an end to by Lord Aberdeen, 568. Still carries on his intrigues as to the marriages, 568. His religious and educational policy, 570, *et seq.* His moral character unimpeachable, 576. His address to electors at Lisieux, 579. Refuses to ameliorate his measures, 581. His statement in his memoirs respecting reform, 581. Impeached by Barrot and his friends, 585. Resigns, 588.
- Gusman, tried and executed, iv. 642-644
- Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, his struggle with Poland and Austria, iii. 489. Subsidised by France, 489. Abandoned by the treaty of Ratisbon, 496. Defeats Tilly at Leipzig, 504. And again on the Danube, 505. His death at Lutzen, 510
- Gustavus IV., King of Sweden, dethroned, v. 172
- Guy of Auvergne, the Templar, i. 340, 351. His trial and death at the stake, 351, 352

HAL

- Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, proposal of Edward I. to marry his daughter, i. 310. Joins Edward and the Germans in war against France, 311. Induced to go to Paris, where he is treacherously thrown into prison, 316. Released to negotiate terms between the French and Flemings, 333. Returns to his prison, and dies, 333
- Guy of Flanders, captured at Cadsand, and sent to England, i. 400
- Guy of Juliers, chosen to lead the Flemings against the French, i. 325. At the battle of Courtray, 326
- Guy de Lusignan, married to Sybille, daughter of Baldwin V. of Jerusalem, i. 155. Falls into the hands of Saladin, 155. Liberated by Saladin, 159
- Guy of Namur, son of Guy de Dampierre, takes Courtray from the French, i. 326. At the battle of Courtray, 326. Opposes a Genoese fleet under Rainier de Grimaldi, but defeated and taken prisoner, 333
- Guy de Rochefort, his friendship secured by King Louis the Fat, i. 115. Helps to reduce the fortress of Montlheri, 115
- Guy Robert de Dampierre. *See* Robert III., Count of Flanders.
- Guyon, La Roche, taken by Henry V. of England, ii. 129
- Guyon, Madame, her system of quietism, iv. 68. Sent to the Bastille, 69

- H**ABEAS CORPUS, traces of the law of, in France, i. 263. The French, iii. 585
- Hagano, favourite of Charles the Simple, i. 53
- Hagenau, fortress of, abandoned by the French, iii. 694
- Hagenbach, appointed landvogt by the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 309. His tyranny, 309. Taken by the Alsatians and executed, 310
- Hague, treaty of the, iii. 461
- Hainault, the county of, passes into the family of D'Avesnes, i. 231, 246. Reaction against the French in, 327. Invaded by the Duke of Gloucester, ii. 151. Refuses to receive French garrisons in the towns, 337
- Hainault, Count of, compelled to do homage to Philip the Fair, i. 309. Joins Edward III. of England, 400. With whom he marches into France, 403. But goes over to Philip, 403. Who ravages his county, 408. His daughter married to John the Dauphin, ii. 118. Refuses to join the Duke of Burgundy against the Armagnacs, 118. Goes to Paris, 120
- Hakim, Khaliff of Egypt, his slaughter of the Christians and destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, i. 85, 100
- Halberstadt given to Brandenburg, iii. 576

HAL

Halifax, George, Marquis of, sent on a mission to Louis XIV. in Holland, iii. 682

Ham, given to the Duke of Burgundy by Louis XI., ii. 316. Surrenders to Louis XI., 329. The town taken by the Imperialists, 626. Won by the troops of Henry IV., iii. 316. Louis Napoleon imprisoned in the fortress of, v. 537

Hamilton, Marquis of, joins Gustavus Adolphus, and defeats Tilly, iii. 505

Hanau, battle of, v. 214

Hanover elected into an electorate, iv. 64, 81. Menaced by Peter the Great, 148. Treaty of, 193. Becomes neutral, 217. English troops sent, under the Duke of Cumberland, for the defence of Hanover, 266. Endeavours of George II. to obtain neutrality for it, 266, 270. Overrun by the French, 270, 271. Occupied by the French, 280

Harcourt, Count of, killed at Crecy, i. 428. Seized by King John at the castle of Rouen, 457. Carried off, and imprisoned in Paris, 459. His family go to England, 459

Harcourt, Count, afterwards Marshal, slain at the battle of Verneuil, ii. 150

Harcourt, Count, seizes Duke Charles, and escorts him into Rouen, ii. 276. His successes in Piedmont in 1640, iii. 516, 517. His successes against the Spaniards in Catalonia, 570. Fails to take Cambray, 598. Placed in command in Normandy, 601. Compels Condé to raise the siege of Cognac, 616. His mode of dealing with Mazarin, 636. Forces concessions from the court, 636. His adroitness at the court of Madrid, iv. 72. His protest, 75

Harcourt, Geoffrey of, accompanies Edward III. of England to France, i. 423. Urges Edward to land in Normandy, 423

Harcourt, Godfrey, his ravages in Normandy, i. 467. Killed by the parliamentary army, 467. His heir restored to his possessions, 490

Harcourt, M. d', ambassador at Rome, v. 639

Hardenburg, counsels with France, v. 127

Hardy, Admiral, commands the Channel fleet, iv. 358. Withdraws into port, 358

Harfleur, besieged by Henry V. of England, ii. 111. Surrenders, 111. Garrisoned by the English under the Duke of Exeter, 111. The English garrison attacked by Count Armagnac, who is defeated, 119. The town blockaded by the count, 120. But relieved by the King of England, 120. Recovered from the English, 194

Harlette of Falaise, mother of William the Conqueror, i. 90

Harley, Achille de, chief judge, his warning to the Duke of Guise, iii. 220, 226. Takes an oath in church, 236. Taken from court by the governor of the Bastille, 236

HEN

Harley, Earl of Oxford, his South Sea scheme, iv. 165

Haro, Don Luis de, Spanish minister, his alarm at the proposed marriage of Louis XIV., iii. 639. Meets Mazarin in the Isle of Pheasants, 642. His baseness, 659

Hasbain, battle of, ii. 61

Hase, defeat of the Saxons by Charlemagne on the, i. 27

Hastenbeck, battle of, iv. 270

Hatto, Archbishop of Mayence, renders the crown of the empire elective, i. 69

Haute Cour, established by the Legislative Assembly, iv. 478

Hautefort, Mademoiselle, Louis XIII.'s platonic affection for, iii. 529, 531. Banished from court, 531. Recalled to court by the Queen-regent, 555. Exiled, 561

Haute-Garonne, provincial assembly of, iv. 363

Hautpoul, M., war minister, v. 646

Havannah, the, taken by the English, iv. 285, 287. Exchanged by them for Flanders, 288

Havre declares for the Huguenots, iii. 57. Occupied by the English under the Earl of Warwick, 68, 70. Recaptured by the French, 80, 81. Aim of the Prince of Condé to get possession of, 600

Hawke, Admiral, his defeat of the French off Cape Finisterre, iv. 240. His destruction of the French fleet under Conflans, 277

Haxo, General, defeated and taken prisoner at Königstein, v. 210

Haye-Sainte, La, attack on, v. 253

Hébert, Red-Republican, enraged at the dignified deportment of the King, procures the attendance of constitutional priests at his execution, iv. 555. Arrested, 580. Released, 582. Driven to his wits' end by the famine, advises the communes to besiege the Convention, 612. His crusade against the clergy, 634. Denounces General Duquesnoy, 635. His measures disapproved of by Robespierre, 635. Assumes the character of Père Duchêne, 640. Insists on execution of the seventy-three deputies, 640. Arrested, 640. Executed, 640, 641. Execution of his wife, 648

Hébert, M., the new procureur-general, v. 550

Hedwige, sister of the Emperor Otho, married to Hugh the Great, Duke of France, i. 56, 61. Her influence over her children, 61

Heidelberg, ravages of Louis XIV. at, iv. 36

Heilsberg, battle of, v. 136

Helder, landing of British troops at, v. 65

Hellenes, sympathy manifested to the, by Caning, v. 349

Hemispoe, the Breton prince, created Duke of Le Mans by Charles the Bald, i. 46

Hennebout, the Countess of Montfort besieged by Charles of Blois in, i. 413, 414. Obstinacy of the siege, 411. Death of John of Montfort at, 422. Taken by Bertrand du

HEN

- Guesclin, 534. Who slays the citizens, 534. The Constable Clisson imprisoned by the Duke of Brittany in, ii. 38. Captured by the Spaniards, iii. 275
- Hennecourt, defeat of the Maréchal de Guiche at, iii. 538
- Henrietta Maria, daughter of Louis XIII., proposed marriage between her and Charles I. of England, iii. 442. Negotiations for the marriage, 447, 451. Quarrel about her French followers at the English court, 472
- Henrietta of England, married to the Duke of Orleans, iii. 649. Her intimacy with the King, 651. Her influence in obtaining a treaty between Louis XIV. and Charles II., 673. Her death, 674
- Henriot, the convict, leader of the sections, iv. 584. Attacks the Convention with his armed mob, 588
- Henriot, commander of the Communes, arrested, but released, iv. 657. Attacks the Convention, but fails, 658. Flung out of the window of the Hotel de Ville by Coffinhal, 659
- Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, his quarrel with the Pope, i. 102, 103. His death, 117
- Henry V., Emperor of Germany, his accession, i. 118. His marriage with Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, 118. Peace between him and the Pope effected by the treaty of Worms, or Wurzburg, 124. Excommunicated by the Council of Rheims, 125. Joins Henry I. of England against Louis the Fat, 125. His death, 125
- Henry VI., Asper, Emperor of Germany, imprisons, and subsequently releases, Richard I. of England, i. 160
- Henry I., King of France, recognised as Duke of Burgundy, i. 81. Succeeds to the throne, 87. Protected against the Count of Champagne by Duke Robert of Normandy, 88. Death of his protector, Robert, in the Holy Land, 90. Implores the protection of Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, 91. Quarrels with Duke William of Normandy, who surprises and defeats him, 91. Marries Anne, a daughter of the Czar of Russia, 92. Their son Philip, afterwards Philip I., 92. Henry's death, 92
- Henry II., King of France, when Duke of Orleans exchanged for his father by the Spaniards, ii. 491. Proposal to marry him to the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., 500. His liberation, 506, 519. Offered as a husband to Catherine of Medicis, 526. Conclusion of the marriage, 528. Proposal of Charles V. to give him the duchy of Milan, 543, 545, 546. The Low Countries proposed to be substituted for Milan, 547. Influence of Diana of Poitiers over him, 550. Sent to invade Rousillon, 553. His protests against the peace of Crespy, 565. His endea-

HEN

- vours to capture Boulogne from the English, 565, 566. His father's anger with him, 587. Death of his father, and his accession to the crown, 588-592. Portraiture of him, 592. His favourites, 593. Orders the condemnation of Verrins and De Biez, 596. His foreign policy, 596. Visits Piedmont, 599. Obtains Boulogne, 604. Betrothes his daughter Elizabeth to Edward VI. of England, 604. His alliance with Duke Maurice, of Saxony, against the Emperor, 607. His expedition to Lorraine, 609. Takes Metz and Nancy, 609, 610. Carries off the young Duke of Lorraine, 609. Opens the campaign of 1554, 615. Signature of the truce of Vaucelles, 619. Sends the army of the Holy League, under Guise, into Italy, 622. Defeat of his army at St. Quentin, 625, 626. Calais taken from the English, 628, 629. Marries the Dauphin to the Queen of Scotland, 631. The King's impatience of the control of the Guises, 631. Besieges Thionville, 632. Conclusion of the peace of Cateau Cambresis, 635. Henry restores Savoy to the Duke, 636. Motives influencing his policy, 638, 639. His opposition to the Reformers, 639. Promulgates the Edict of Châteaubriand, 640. Visits the Parlement, and orders the arrest of some of the Protestant judges, 646, 647. Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to Philip II. of Spain, 647. And of Henry's sister Margaret to the Duke of Savoy, 648. Death of Henry, 647, 648
- Henry III., King of France, proposal to marry him, when Duke of Anjou, to a Spanish princess, iii. 86, 87. Made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, 97. Courted both by the Catholics and Huguenots, 100. Leads an army against the Huguenots, 102. Gains the battle of Jarnac, 102, 103. And the battle of Montcontour, 105-107. Besieges St. Jean d'Angelys, 107. His difficulties for want of money, 108, *note*. Denounces the marriage of his sister Margaret with the Duke of Guise, 110, 112. Project to marry him to Queen Elizabeth, 112. Proposes the union of his sister Margaret with Henry of Navarre, 112. His efforts to make the Huguenots a stepping-stone to power, 112, 113. Proposes the conquest of Flanders, 112, 113. Jealousy of his brother, Charles IX., of him, 112. Wish of the King to marry him to Queen Elizabeth, 113. His religion, 122. His retreat from the English marriage, 125. Makes peace with Guise, and again becomes champion of the Church, 125. Offers made by Rome to him, 127. Opposes a rupture with France, 129. Suborns an assassin to murder Admiral Coligny, 136. Attends the council preceeding the St. Bartholomew massacre, 138. Wit-

HEN

nesses the murders, 143. Lays siege to Anjou, 152. Elected King of Poland, 153. Wounded at La Rochelle, 154. Takes his departure for Poland, 155. His accession to the throne on the death of his brother, Charles IX., 160. His journey to, and life in, Poland, 163. His letters to the Princess of Condé, 163. His escape from Poland, 163. His visit to Vienna and Venice, 164. His endeavours to arrest Damville, 164. His mother's advice to him as to his private conduct, 164. His want of activity, 165. Restores some fortresses to the Duke of Savoy, 165. His journey to Lyons, 165. His mummery there, 166. Suspected of a design of divorcing and marrying the Princess of Condé, 166. His coronation, 166. And marriage to Louise of Lorraine, 167. His extravagance, and discontent of the Catholic party, 167. Flight of his brother Alençon from court, 168. Seeks to persuade the King of Navarre to kill Alençon, 168. Whom the King forgives, 169. Conclusion of a truce with the Huguenots, 170. And of the Paix de Monsieur, 173. Formation of the Catholic League, 175. The King's crimes in the eyes of the Catholics and Parisians, 177. Doctrines of the lawyer David, 178. The King's inability to keep the balance between the contending parties, 179-180. Strives to defeat the League by placing himself at its head, 180. His adherence to the Catholics, and alienation of the Huguenot party, 181. Refusal of the Estates of Blois to grant him his financial demands, 182. Sends two armies against the Huguenots, 185. Concludes peace with them at Bergerac, 188. His puerile and flagitious tastes, 189. Decline of pure religious fanaticism in his reign, 190. The King's extravagance and effeminacy in dress, 191. His hatred for his younger brother, 191. Founds the order of the Saint Esprit, 192. His alternate asceticism and debauchery, 196. Gives the first offices of state to his new favourites, 196. His revenue, and modes of levying it, 196. A secret league of the Parisians formed against him, 197. Entreats the King of Navarre to conform to Catholicism, 197. Summoned both by the concordat of Magdeburg and by the ultra-Catholics to join them, 199. Offered the sovereignty of Flanders, 199. Resuscitation of the League, 199. Which he publicly declines, 200. His answer to the manifesto of the League, 203. Failure of negotiations with Henry of Navarre, 203. Musters an army to oppose Navarre, 209. Takes command of an army against the German auxiliaries of the Huguenots, 212. His triumphal entry into Paris, 214. Betrayed by his mother, 214, 215. And bearded by the Duke of Guise in Paris, 217. Insurrection of the Barricades, 218. Henry flies from

HEN

Paris to Chartres, 219. Summons the Estates at Blois, 221. Attacks of his ambitious neighbours at this time, 221. Comes to terms with Guise, 222. And signs the Catholic Union, 222. His revenue cut off by the Estates, 225. His views as to self-defence against Guise, 225. Whose assassination he meditates, 228. Murder of the Duke in the King's bed-room, 230. Struggle between the Loyalists and Leaguers throughout the kingdom, 236. Henry's difficult position, 238. Threatened with excommunication, 238. Rally of the nobility and gentry to him, 239. His letter to the Pope, 242. Comes to terms with the Huguenots, 243. And enters into an alliance with Henry of Navarre, 243. Attacked by the Duke of Mayenne, who is compelled by the Huguenots to decamp, 245. Regains his authority, and returns to St. Cloud, 244-246. From which he threatens Paris, 246. Murdered by Jacques Clement, 246, 247. Henry IV., King of France, proposal of Charles V. to marry him to an Austrian princess, ii. 644. Accompanies his mother with an army to join the Huguenots, iii. 101. Presented by his mother to the people of La Rochelle, 102. Project of marriage between him and the Princess Margaret, 112, 114, 116, 117. The marriage, 126, 133. Death of his mother, 127. Murder of his Huguenot followers, 143. Proposition to slay him, 144. Alternative offered him by the King, 145. Yields to the threats of the court, 150. Brought to the siege of La Rochelle, 154. His part in the plot against the Queen-mother, 156. His defence, written by his wife, 159. His submission to the King at Lyons, 165. Refuses to murder the Duke d'Alençon, 168. Escapes from court, 171, 172. Given the government of Guienne, 173. Refused admittance into Bordeaux, 179. Stays away from the Estates of Blois, 181. Inclines to a reconciliation with the court, 186. Motives which swayed him, 187. The League directed principally against him, 187. His religious indifference, 190. Declares war against France, 193. Besieges and takes Cahors, 194. Becomes heir to the throne, 195. Entreated by the King of France to conform to Catholicism, 197. Signs the concordat of Magdeburg, 199. His answer to the manifesto of the League, 203. And reply to the Edict of Reunion, 205. Excommunicated by the Pope, 205. Remains on the defensive, 206. Reaches La Rochelle, 207. Meets Catherine of Medicis at Cognac, 208. Joins the Count of Soissons, and marches to meet the Royalists, 209, 210. Whom he defeats at the battle of Coutras, 210, 211. Retires in disgust to Béarn, 212. Issues a declaration, 241. Enters into an alliance with the King, 243. His

HEN

accession to the throne of France, 248. Not recognised by the Royalists, 249. Difference between his court and that of the late King, 249. His answer to the treasurer D'O, 250, 251. His difficult position, 251. Gives hopes of his conversion to Catholicism, 254. His army diminished, 255. Marches to the coast to obtain supplies from England, 255. Collects an army to oppose the Duke of Mayenne and the League, 256. Whom he defeats at the battle of Arques, 257. Receives men and supplies from England, 259. Warned by Queen Elizabeth to throw the Cardinal of Bourbon into prison, 259. Which he executes, 259. Suddenly attacks Paris, 259. Pillages the suburbs of the city, 259. His growing popularity and success, 260, 261. The Cardinal of Bourbon declared King by the League, 262. Besieges Dreux, 264. Defeats the League at Ivry, 264-266. Invests Paris, 267. His crown declared forfeited by the League, 268. Raises the siege of Paris, 273. And retires to Creil and Clermont, 274. Intrigues and infidelity in his own Bourbon family, 276. Summons a council at Mantes to consider his going over to the Catholics, 277. Publishes the Edict of Tours, 277. Makes an attempt to surprise Paris, 279. Takes Noyon, 279. Joins the Viscount de Turenne with German troops, 279. Attends the marriage of Turenne, 280. His foreign auxiliaries, 280. Receives further supplies from Queen Elizabeth, and at her recommendation lays siege to Rouen, 280, 282. Leaves the siege to Biron, and marches to meet the Prince of Parma, 284. Wounded and defeated near Aumale, 284, 285. Compelled to raise the siege of Rouen, 286. Escape of his foe down the Seine, 287. Gets between the Prince and Paris, 287. His failure as a general, 288. Defection of many of the Catholic lords, 284. The King's losses in the south and west, 289. Advised by his most attached followers to offer to resume the Catholic faith, 289, 290. Convocation of the Estates in Paris for the purpose of electing another king, 290. His conference at Suresne with the Catholic leaders, 294. Summons a council of divines at Mantes, 295. His demands sent thence to Paris, 296. Besieges Dreux, 297. Which he carries by assault, 298. Pronounces his recantation in the cathedral of St. Denis, 299, 300. His reasons for his abjuration, 300. His character, 301. The great restorer of the monarchic principles, 302. Rally of all the chief Leaguers, except Mayenne, to him, 307-309. Implores Queen Elizabeth to leave him the English force still in France, 309. Crowned at Chartres, 310. His entry into Paris, 310. His amnesty, 311. His generosity to the Guises, 311. Dissatisfac-

HEN

tion of the Huguenots with him, 312. Besieges and captures Laon, 312. Attempt of Jean Châtel to assassinate him, 313. Ejects the Jesuits from Paris, 313. And abolishes the incapacity and exclusion from office of the Huguenots, 313. Turns his attention to the reconquest of the east and south, 313, 314. Declares war against Spain, 314. Drives the Spaniards over the Saone at La Fontaine Française, 315. Purchases the surrender of the castle of Dijon, 315. Enters Franche Comté, but withdraws to Lyons, 315. His anxiety about the north, 315, 316. Proceeds to Burgundy, and divides the command in the north, 316. Defeat of his troops by the Spaniards at Dourlens, 316. Loss of Cambrai, 317. Absolution and reconciliation of the Pope, 318. Receives the submission of the Duke of Mayenne, 318. His oburgation to Parliament, 319. Raises men and money, 320. And besieges La Fère, 320. Submission of the Dukes of Joyeuse and Epemon, 330. Presses the Protestant powers for aid against Spain, 320. Discontent of Queen Elizabeth with him, 321, 322. Loss of Calais, 322. His dismay at the successes of the Spaniards in his kingdom, 323. Borrows money from Queen Elizabeth, 324. His belief in none save his nobles, 324. Opens an assembly of notables at Rouen, 327. Capture of Amiens by the Spaniards, 329. Henry's measures, 329, 330. Besieges the Spaniards in Amiens, which surrenders, 330, 331. Endeavours of Pope Clement V. to make peace between France and Spain, 332. Henry's desire of obtaining a divorce from Margaret of Valois, 332. Reduces the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, 333, 334. His treatment of the Huguenots in the south, 334. Signs the Edict of Nantes, 339. And the treaty of Vervins, 345. Death of Gabrielle d'Estrées, 351. His divorce from Margaret of Valois, and marriage with Marie de Medicis, 351, 352. His new mistress, Henriette d'Entragues, 352. Birth of his son, the future Louis XIII., 352. Biron's treason, 354-357. His religious policy, 359. Resolves to humble Turenne, 361. Sends an expedition against Sedan, 363. Into which he makes his solemn entry, 364. His designs against the House of Austria, 364, 365. Sends Sully on a mission to James I. of England, 368. Loses the English alliance, 368, 369. His coquetting with religion, 369. Remodels his army, and determines to renew the war with Spain, 373, 375. Supports the cause of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count of Neuborg in the affair of Cleves, 374. Regains the alliance with Savoy, and wins that of Venice, 376. Becomes enamoured of the

HEN

Princess of Condé, 376, 377. Prepares to invade Juliers, 377. Fears and anger of the ultra-Catholics, 378. Assassinated by Ravailiac, 379, 380. His death lamented, 380, *et seq.* His character, 380

Henry I., King of England, defeats his brother Robert at Tinchebray, i. 117. And becomes Duke of Normandy, 117. Rebuilds the fortress of Gisors, 118. His wars with Louis the Fat, 119. Municipal privileges granted by him to towns, 120. Complained against by Louis VI. to the Pope, 125. Who meets Henry at Gisors, 125. Marries his son William to Matilda of Anjou, 125. Death of his son by shipwreck, 125. Joins the Emperor Henry V. against Louis the Fat, 125. Death of the Emperor, 125. And of Henry, 131

Henry II., King of England, when Duke of Normandy, marries Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis VII., i. 140. His accession to the throne, 141. His serious rivalry with Louis VII., 141. Source of weakness in his continental possessions, 141. Crushes his brother Geoffrey's rebellion, 142. Margaret, daughter of Louis VII., married to his son Henry, 143. Claims Toulouse, but desists from attacking it, 143. Takes Chaumont, 143. Concludes peace with Louis at Trencavel, 143. His quarrel with A'Becket, who is supported by Louis, 144, 145. Rebellion of his Aquitaine subjects, 145. Does homage, with his sons, to Louis, 146. Causes his son Henry to be crowned without his queen, Margaret, 146. Louis declares war in consequence, 146. Conspiracy of his sons and others for the King's spoliation, 146. The sons supported by Louis against their father, 146. Gives his son John an apanage in Anjou, 146. Marches with an army of mercenaries against Louis, 146. Whom he puts to the rout, 147. Returns to England, and defeats and captures William I. of Scotland and the Earl of Leicester, 147. Hastens to Normandy and relieves Rouen, 147. Makes peace with Louis, 147. Extends his sway over Berry, 147. Conducts King Louis to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 148. Death of his rival Louis, and accession of Philip Augustus, 148. Henry's noble conduct to the young King, 149. With whom he enters into a treaty of alliance and friendship, 150. Views with which he regarded his dominions, 150. Causes which alienated his provinces in the South of France, 151. Intervenes to put a stop to a war between France and Flanders, 153. His generosity to Philip Augustus how repaid, 154. Death of Henry's eldest son, 154. Story of Bertrand de Born, 154. Assumes the Cross, 156. Rebellion of his sons, 156. Besieged

HEN

by his son Richard in Tours, 157. Dies at Chinon, cursing his son John, 157

Henry III., King of England, his accession, i. 193. Defeats the French invaders and English barons at the Fair of Lincoln, 193. Compels Prince Louis to evacuate the country, 193. Loses La Rochelle, 198. Promises aid to the French barons, 207. His feebleness, 210. Invades Brittany, 214. Retreats, 215. Marries Eleanor of Provence, 216. His efforts to aid the Count de la Marche, 222. Refusal of his barons to grant a supply of money, 222. Embarks for France with a small force, 223. Defeated at Taillebourg, and retires to Bordeaux, 224. A five years' truce concluded, 224. Proposal of St. Louis to convert the truce into a lasting peace, 229. Henry's grievances at this period, 229. His loss of his queen's dowry, 230, 231. His treaty with St. Louis, 248. Who arbitrates between Henry and his barons, 252. Louis's decision set aside, 252. Claims Agen and Saintonge, 279. His death, 279

Henry IV., King of England, challenged by the Duke of Orleans, ii. 48. Who endeavours to stir up war with England, 49. Applied to by the Duke of Burgundy for aid against the Orleanists, 83, 85. Sends a force to the assistance of the duke, 85. Treasonable appeal of the Duke of Orleans to Henry, 86. Who sends a large force under the Duke of Clarence, 88. Enters into an alliance with the Armagnac party in France, 109

Henry V., King of England, when Prince of Wales, defeats Owen Glendower at Shrewsbury, ii. 49. His claims against France, 108, 109. Presses the completion of his armaments, 109. Receives an embassy from the French court, 110. Invades France, and besieges Harfleur, 111. Which surrenders, 111. Marches north, and meets the French army, 112. Which he defeats at Agincourt, 112-114. Orders the captives to be slain, 114. Proposes a three years' truce to the French, 120. His garrison of Harfleur attacked, 119. And blockaded by the Constable Armagnac, 120. Sends a fleet to relieve Harfleur, 120. Again invades France, 122. Procures the submission of the Cotentin, and lays siege to Caen, 122. Besieges Rouen, 127. His resolution to change the French dynasty, 127. His answers to the French envoys, 127, 128. Demands Flanders, 128. Surrender of Rouen, 128, 129. And of all the towns of Normandy, 129. Meeting of the English and French courts at Meulant, 129. Henry sees the Princess Catherine for the first time there, 129. His demands, 129. His character, 130. Breaking up of the conference, 130. Conclusion of a truce between England and France, 135. Spends

HEN

his Christmas in Rouen, 135. Concludes the treaty of Troyes, 136. Married to the Princess Catherine, and made regent and heir of the kingdom of France, 136. Besieges and takes Sens, 137. And Melun, 137. His public entry into Paris with his queen, 137. His arrangements for the government of the city, 138. His departure for England, 138. His brother Clarence defeated and slain by the Dauphin at Beaugé, 138. Returns to France, and relieves Chartres, 139. Completes the reduction of the North of France, 139. His death at Vincennes, 140. Causes of his successes in France, 144. His difficulty in garrisoning towns, 145. His character and demeanour, 146. Distributes the fiefs of France among his followers, 146

Henry VI., King of England, crowned at Paris, ii. 185. Proposals of the King of France at Arras, 190. Concludes peace with France, 214. Marries Margaret of Anjou, 215. Cedes Anjou and Maine to her father, René, 215. Resumption of war with France, 225. The English driven out of Normandy, 226-228. And also out of Gascony, 229-231

Henry VII., King of England, obtains a loan at the French court, and defeats Richard III. at Bosworth, ii. 363, 364. Lends the Bretons assistance against the French, 369. Supports the claim of D'Albret to the hand of the Duchess of Brittany, 370. His pique at the marriage of Charles VIII. of France, 375. Captures Damme, 375. Lands an army in France, but concludes the treaty of France, 375

Henry VIII., King of England, induced to take part in Austrian ambition, ii. 427. Joins a league against France, 433. Sends an army to join the Spaniards, 437. Invades France, and besieges Théroutanne, 439. Which surrenders to him, 440. Gains the battle of Spurs, 440. Takes Tournay, 440. Marries Catherine of Aragon, 441. And gives his sister Mary in marriage to Louis XII., 441. Concludes a treaty with Francis I. of France, 451. His sister married to the Duke of Suffolk, 452. Enters into an alliance with the Emperor Maximilian, 461. Concludes a treaty with Francis I., 462, 467. Betrothes his daughter Mary to the Dauphin, 462, 467, 469. Concludes a treaty with the Emperor Charles, 468. Meets Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 469. Enters into an alliance with the Emperor, 471, 472. Declares war against France, 477. Sends an army into Picardy, 478. Withdraws from Charles V. and the Duke of Bourbon, 481. Proposal to declare him King of France, 488. With-

HEN

draws from the Emperor, and concludes a treaty with France, 493, 494, 500. His policy and aims compared with those of the Emperor Charles V., 521. Shakes off the spiritual dominion of Rome, 522. His divorce from Catherine of Aragon, 522. His motives, 522. Opposition of the University of Paris to his divorce, 523. His treaty with Francis I. at Boulogne, 525. Divorces his queen, and marries Anne Boleyn, 526. Contempt of Francis I. for him, 551. Allies with the Emperor Charles V. against Francis, 556. Sends an English army to join Charles before Landrecies, 557. Invades France and captures Boulogne, 562, 563. Returns to England, 566. Makes peace with France, 569. His death, 569, 586. His views of the Reformation compared with those of Francis I., iii. 4

Henry, King of Navarre. *See* Henry IV., King of France.

Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, married to Margaret, sister of Francis I., ii. 517. Worsted by the *Pitiaux*, 600. Openly inclines to the Reformed religion, 641. His offers to Spain, 644

Henry, Duke of Austrasia, joins Charles the Fat in the murder of the Norman chieftains, i. 49. His death at the siege of Paris, 50

Henry of Castille, joins Conradin, i. 256. Defeated at Tagliacozzo, 256

Henry, Duke of Guise, son of Duke Francis, becomes grand master of the palace, iii. 84. Endeavours of Catherine de Medicis to patch up a peace between him and Coligny, 90. Injures his military reputation at La Roche Maille, 104. Besieged by the Huguenots in Poitiers, 105. His pretensions to the hand of the Princess Margaret, 109, 110. The proposed marriage denounced by the Duke of Anjou, 110. Guise ordered by the King to be slain, 110. Marries the widow of Prince Porcien, 110. Recalled to court, 120. Meets Coligny, 121. Makes peace with the Duke of Anjou, 125. Plays at ball with the King and Téliigny, 135. Ordered to massacre the Huguenots, 139. Goes to the hôtel of Coligny, and orders his murder, 141. Gives the Huguenot gentry of the east the choice of the mass or exile, 149. Raises troops, and defeats the Huguenot German auxiliaries, 169. Wounded on the field, 169. Nullifies the treaty of November, 170. Suggests the formation of the League, 175. His measures, 178, 179. His demands, 184. Raises an army, which marches to Poitou, 185. Triumph of the Huguenot party over him, 188, 189. Guise's religious indifference, 190. Forms a secret league of the Parisians against the King, 197. Resuscitates the League, 198, 199. His treason, 200. His

HEN

HIG

- political views and influence, 202. His negotiations with the Queen-mother, 204. Ordered to defend Champagne, 209, 210. Defeats the German auxiliaries of the Huguenots, 212, 213. Forbidden to accompany the King into Paris, 214. Set aside by the King, 214. His disaffection, 214. Attacks the Duke of Bouillon, and lays siege to Jametz, 214. Beards the King in Paris, 216. Erection of the barricades, 218. Demands of Guise, and flight of the King, 219. Guise's reduction of the fortresses in and around the capital, 219. Comes to terms with the King, 222. Advice of the Archbishop of Lyons to him, 223. Protest of his brothers against his extreme measures, 227. Demands the office of constable, 228. His assassination determined on by the King, 228, 229. Arrangements for the murder, 229. His death, 230. Review of his life and character, 232
- Henry, eldest son of Henry II. of England, married to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. of France, i. 143. Crowned king without his queen, 146. Does homage to Louis for Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, 146. Acts as seneschal at the coronation of Philip Augustus, 148. His death, 154
- Henry, Duke of Lancaster, his visit to Paris, i. 449. Challenges Otho of Brunswick to single combat, 449. Which Otho refuses, 449. Henry's attempt to establish peace between England and France, 449. Enters into an alliance with Charles II. of Navarre, 453. Has command of an expedition into Brittany, 453. And into Normandy, 459. Advises Edward III. to accept the terms offered by the French, 489. Lands at Calais with 1,000 men, 524. Marches to Honfleur, and returns to Calais, 524. Sent by Edward III. to the assistance of the Black Prince, 526. Sent by Edward with an army to march through Burgundy to Guienne, 535. His plight at the end of his march, 536. Goes into Flanders to negotiate a peace, 536. Leads an army to Normandy, and besieges St. Maloes, 545. Raises the siege, 546
- Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Brunswick, marries Matilda, daughter of Henry II. of England, i. 162
- Henry VII. of Luxembourg, elected Emperor of Germany, i. 346
- Henry Plantagenet, becomes Duke of Normandy, i. 136
- Henry Plantagenet, son of Richard, Duke of Cornwall, murdered, i. 278
- Henry of Trastamare (afterwards Henry II., King of Castile), i. 509. Assists in liberating Du Guesclin, 510. Placed on the throne of Castile, 511. An army marched against him under the Black Prince, 512. His forces, 513. Defeated by the Prince at the battle of Navarrete, and escapes from the field, 513, 514. Enabled by Du Guesclin to recover the throne of Castile, 520. Murders his brother Don Pedro, 520. Engages to join Charles V. of France in equipping a fleet for the invasion of England, 523.
- Hérault, M., enrolment of the rich by, for the wars, that the poor might get their property, iv. 591
- Hérault, Séchelles, member of Committee of Public Safety, iv. 609. Arrested, 642. Tried and executed, 643, 644
- Hérem, Saint, refuses to allow the murder of the Huguenots in Auvergne, iii. 149
- Heresy, persecution of, in the eleventh century, i. 86.
- Heresy of the thirteenth century in the South of France, i. 173. Introduction of the Paulician doctrines, 173. Nature of the Albigenian heresy, 173, 174. And of the doctrines of the Waldenses, 174. Laws of the Inquisition for the detection and punishment of heretics, 212, 213.
- Heribert, Count of Troyes, son of Heribert, of Vermandois, his feud with the Church, i. 62. Assists Lothaire to take Verdun, 66
- Heribert, Count of Vermandois, assists in routing the forces of Charles the Simple at Soissons, i. 54. His quarrel with King Raoul, or Rodolph, 55. Takes Charles the Simple captive, 55. His death, and division of his estates, 57
- Heribert, Count of Vermandois, feud of his sons with the Church, i. 62
- Herluin, Count of Montreuil, aids the Duke of Normandy, and driven out of Montreuil by Count Arnulph, i. 57
- Herman, the Emperor Otho's lieutenant, defeats Dukes Eberhard and Giselbert on the Rhine, i. 57
- Herman, administrator of Cologne, ii. 311. Besieged by Charles the Rash in Neutz, 311
- Herrings, battle of, ii. 158
- Hervilly, Count d', commander of the Royalist forces, defeated by General Hoche, iv. 674
- Hesdin, surrender of, to Louis XI., ii. 331. Besieged by the English, 477. Given up to the Emperor Charles V., 506. Captured by the Imperialists, but recaptured by De Coligny, 612. Taken again by the Imperialists, 614. Captured by the French, iii. 517
- Hesse, Landgrave of, meets Francis I. at Barle-Duc, ii. 529. Raises an army, and defeats the troops of the King of the Romans at Lahfen, 529. Inexorably and cruelly treated by the Emperor, Charles V., 607
- Higonnet, ambassador from Mary of Burgundy to Louis XI., orders the surrender of Arras, ii. 331. Tried and executed by the Flemings, 333

HIL

Hildebrand. *See* Gregory VII., Pope
 Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto, holds his duchy under the suzerainty of the Pope, i. 25
 Hilderic, last Merovingian king, formal deposition of, i. 19
 Hilperic, King of Neustria, defeated at Viney by Charles Martel, i. 15
 Hire Vignolles, La, assists in the defence of Orleans against the English, ii. 156. Joins the Count of Clermont at the battle of Herings, 158
 Hoche, General, commands in Brittany, and defeats the Marquis de Puissaye and the Royalists, iv. 674. His sanguinary measures, 675. His successes in La Vendée, v. 14, 15. Commands expedition to Ireland, 27. Summoned to Paris with his army, and surprises the Directory, 35. Being unsupported, indignantly withdraws, 36
 Hoehstedt, battle of, iv. 87
 Hocquincourt, Marshal, takes a councillor of parliament prisoner, iii. 617. Takes Angers from De Rohan, 618. Put to the rout by Condé, 619. His mode of dealing with Mazarin, 636. Forces concessions from the court, 636. Deserts to the Spaniards, 637
 Hogue, La, landing of Edward III. with an army at, i. 423. Battle of, iv. 43
 Hohenlohe, General, intrigues with Dumouriez, iv. 543
 Hohenlohe, Prince, defeated by Napoleon, v. 129, 130
 Holland refuses to accept the treaty of Vervins, iii. 344. Fortifies Ostend, 366. Abandoned by England, 368. Concludes a truce with Spain, 370. Toledo's proposals to the court of France, 371. A treaty between France and England for aiding the Dutch concluded, 447. Sends a fleet to assist the French in the subjugation of the Huguenots, 457, 458. Concludes the treaty of the Hague with England, 461. Holds its own against Spinola, 467. Spanish scheme of forming a navy against them, 468. Treaty of alliance between France and Holland, 512. State of the republic during the government of John de Witt, 660. Breaking out of war with England, 661. Joins England and Sweden in the Triple Alliance, 665. The Dutch hated by Louis XIV., 669, 672. Colbert's commercial enmity to them, 670. His prohibitive system, 670, *note*. Secret treaty of England with France against Holland, 673, 674. Invaded by Louis XIV., 677. Revolution in, 679. The sluices opened, 679. Offers of submission of the Dutch, 680. Proclamation of the Prince of Orange as stadtholder, 683. Peace concluded with England, 687. Successes of the Dutch at sea, 694. Treaty with England, 699. Conclusion of peace with France, 700, 701. Immigration of

HÔP

learned Huguenots into, iv. 20. Colbert's restrictions on trade with, 23. Conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, 60-63. Conclusion of the Barrier Treaty, 104. Offers of the French King, 105. Indignation of the Dutch at the negotiations between England and France, 109. Peace of Utrecht, 109-116. Signs an alliance with England and France, 148. Junction of the Dutch with the King of England at Worms, 228. Invasion of Marshal Saxe, 238. Revolution in consequence, 238. Marshal Saxe's opinion as to the ease of the conquest of the Dutch, 246. Disavows England, and accepts neutrality, 265. Eagerness of the Dutch to profit by the troubles of England, 358. Designs and efforts of Joseph II. in, 373. Who comes into collision with the Dutch, 374. Invasion of the Republic by Prussia, 393. Invaded by Dumouriez, 559, 562. Louis Buonaparte, King of, v. 143. His abdication of the throne, 172. Divided by Napoleon into French departments, 172. War with Belgium, 448. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe
 Holland, Lord, sent to France, iii. 461. Quarrels with Buckingham about France, 473
 Holy Alliance, formation of the, v. 322. Their interference in Spanish affairs, 322. Defied by San Miguel, 322. Resuscitation of the, anticipated, 488
 Holy Land, pilgrimages to the, in the eleventh century, i. 101
 Homburg offered to France, iii. 506
 Homel, Huguenot pastor, his execution, iv. 16
 Hondschoote, victory of, iv. 615, 616
 Honfleur besieged by the English under the Earl of Somerset, ii. 207. Capitulates, 208. Surrendered to the French, 226
 Honorius III., Pope, his zeal against the Saracens, i. 197. Refuses to excommunicate Raymond VII. of Toulouse, 197. His correspondence with King Louis VIII. in consequence, 197. His policy of reconciliation with Louis, 199. Proclaims a new crusade against the Albigenes, 199. Languedoc virtually subdued, and the authority of the Pope virtually established in it, 200
 Honorius IV., Pope, prevents peace between France and Aragon, i. 301
 Honour, Legion of, created, v. 100
 Hood, Admiral, blockades Toulon, iv. 623. Surrender of the town to, which is retaken by Carnot and Napoleon, 624. Retires after burning the French fleet and forts, 624, 625
 Hôpital, Michel de l', Chancellor, iii. 25. Issues the edict of Romorantin, 25. Advises a national council, 26. Saves the Prince of Condé, 32. His influence in favour of tolerance, 36. His harangue to the Estates, 34. Prepares the edict of Orleans, 37. His un-

HÔP

popularity, 38. Complaints of the Provincial Estates against him, 39, 40. Avoids the question of tolerance, 42. Summons the assembly of St. Germain's, 49. Promulgation of the Edict of January, 49. L'Hôpital abused by the Cardinal of Lorraine, 84. Who endeavours to procure his removal, 87. Promulgates his Edict of Moulins, 89

Hôpital, Maréchal de l', appointed military mentor to the Duke d'Enghien, iii. 557. His part in the battle of Rocroy, 557. Governs Paris for the King, 620, 625. Removed, 627
Horn, Count, imprisoned by Alva, iii. 91. Execution of, iv. 171

Hortense, Queen, her son proposed as Buonaparte's successor, v. 117. Her disagreements with Louis Buonaparte, 172. *See* Napoleon I. and III.

Hospitallers, Knights, put to death in Jerusalem by Saladin, i. 155. Their quarrel with the Templars at Jerusalem, 232. Exterminated there by the Infidel, 232. The property of the Templars ordered to be handed over to them, 350. Their removal to Rhodes, which they conquer and make a stronghold, 350, 351

Hôtel Dieu, in Paris, built, i. 194. Visited by the King and his ministers, v. 462

Houchard, General, opposes the Duke of York, iv. 615. Advances on Freytag, 616. Forced to retreat, 616. Re-attacks Freytag, 616. His partial success does not save him from the guillotine, 616

Houdancourt, La Mothe, becomes viceroy of Catalonia, iii. 519. Raises the siege of Tarragona, 573

Hougoumont, Chateau, attack on, v. 235

Howard, John, Lord, arrested by Edward IV., ii. 340

Howard, Admiral Sir Edward, drowned, ii. 441

Howard of Effingham, Lord, at the peace of

Cateau Cambresis, ii. 634

Howe, Admiral Lord, his engagement with

Count d'Estaing, iv. 357

Hubert, M., declares New Assembly dissolved,

v. 622

Hubertsburg, peace of, iv. 288

Hudson's Bay ceded to England, iv. 117

Hugh the Great, son of King Robert, routs the forces of Charles the Simple, i. 54. Confers the crown upon Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, 54, 55. Invites Louis d'Outremer to assume the crown on the death of Charles the Simple, 56. Marries the sister of the German Emperor Otho, 56. Interferes in the affairs of Normandy, 59. Occupies Evreux and Bayeux, 59. Defends France against Otho, 59. Declines the crown on the death of King Louis d'Outremer, i. 60. Arranges the succession of Lothaire, son of Louis d'Outremer, 60. Death of Hugh, 61

HUG

Hugh, younger son of King Robert II., crowned during his father's lifetime, i. 87. His death, 87

Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, i. 61. Influence of his mother Hedwige, 61. Origin of his surname, 61. Succeeds to the duchy of France and Poitou, 61. His disgust with Lothaire, Count of Laon, 65. Visits the Emperor Otho II. in Italy, 66. Crowned King of France, 69. Little importance conveyed by his title of king, 72. His attempt to reduce Poitou, 77. Answer of the Count of Perigord to him, 77. His conciliation of the Church, 77. Associates his son Robert with him in the kingdom, 76. Captures and imprisons Charles, the last of the Carolingians, 78. Deposes and imprisons Arnulph, Archbishop of Rheims, 80. His death, 80

Hugh, brother of Philip I., King of France, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Carried a prisoner to Constantinople, 105. Liberated at the request of Godfrey of Bouillon, 106. At the capture of Antioch, 109. Leads the advance against the Turkish army of relief, 109. Sent from Antioch to the Emperor Alexis at Constantinople, 110. Returns to France, 110

Hugh, Baron of Le Puiset, besieged and made prisoner, i. 116. Released, 116

Hugh III., Duke of Burgundy, war of Philip Augustus against, i. 154

Hugh IV., Duke of Burgundy, goes to the Holy Land, i. 219. Abandons the Crusade and returns home, 219

Hugh de Lusignan. *See* Marche, Count de la

Hugo, Victor, declares Louis Napoleon *hors la loi*, v. 663. *See* Provisional Government; Napoleon III.; Lamartine

Hugh, Abbot of Tours, his defence of Paris against the Normans, i. 50

Huguenots, the first, ii. 515. The first martyr, 515. Some burned in France, 516. Huguenot placard affixed to the door of the King's chamber, 530. His severities in consequence, 531. Chancellor Duprat's ordonnance against them, 532. Origin of their name, 534. Pains and penalties under which the Huguenot Church grew up, 640. Edict of Chateaubriand, 640. Acquisition of powerful chiefs by the Huguenots, 641. Seizure of a Protestant congregation by the mob in Paris, 642. Execution of Madame de Luns, 643. Character of the Protestant leader Coligny, iii. 11. Persecution of the Cardinal of Lorraine, 13. Favourite arguments of the Huguenots, 14, 15. Answer of Catherine of Medicis to them, 14, 15. Execution of Dubourg, 16. Persecution in Lorraine, 16. Increase of Protestantism throughout the country, 17. Murder of the preachers at Aignes Mortes, 17. Assembly at Méridol, 17. Their hostile movements, 17. The conspiracy of An-

HUG

boise, 19. Execution of Castelnau and Mazères, 22. Discontent of the provinces in consequence, 23. Seizure of La Sague, and disclosure of a Huguenot plot, 29. Public use of their places of worship demanded at the meeting of the Estates, 36. Tolerance promoted by the Chancellor L'Hôpital, 36. Insurrections caused by the Catholic triumvirate, 40. Temporary submission of the court to the triumvirate, 42. Colloquy of Poissy, 44. Cruelties inflicted upon them in Provence, 47. And in Languedoc and Guyenne, 47. Proceedings of the Protestant synod of St. Foy, 48. Riot of St. Medard, 49. Assembly of the delegates from the Huguenot churches of the kingdom, 49. Edict of January, 49, 50. Massacre of Vassy, 53, 54. Their churches destroyed in Paris, 55. Junction of their chiefs at Meaux, 56. Erect their standard on the Loire, 56. Their reprisals on the Catholics, 57. The massacre of the Huguenots at Sens, 57. Their execution of La Mothe Gondrin, 57. Their iconoclastic fury, 58. Reasons why the Huguenots had the advantage at first, 59, 69. Mistakes of the Protestant chiefs in their mode of levying soldiers for their defence, 62. Their colours in the civil war, 63, *note*. Progress of the war, 64-75. Defeat and capture of Condé at Dreux, 71, 72. Siege of Orleans, 72. Treaty of Amboise, 75. Impossibility of accord between the creeds, 77. Non-execution by the Catholics of the treaty of Amboise, 83. Simultaneous alarm and outbursts of the Huguenots, 93. Their attempt on the person of the King, 94. Muster their forces at Claye, 94. And fight the battle of St. Denis, 97. Treaty of Longjumeau, 99. Resumption of hostilities, 101. Defeat of Jarnac, and death of Condé, 102, 103. Siege of Poitiers, 105. The defeat of Moncontour, 105-107. Concessions obtained by the treaty of St. Germain's, 111. Mission of Cossé to La Rochelle, 114. Envoys sent from La Rochelle to court, 115. The King's edict allowing the Huguenots to return home, 115. Their demands in their General Articles granted by the King, 117. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, 121, 140. Seizure of Mons and Valenciennes by the Huguenots, 129. Defeat of their partisan, Genlis, 130. Arguments of the Huguenots to intimidate the King, 131. Massacres in the provinces, 148. Risings of the Huguenots in various places, 151. The only Huguenots spared by the King, 151. Siege of La Rochelle by the Duke of Anjou, 152. Conclusion of peace with the court, 154. Rising of the Huguenots, 158. A two months' truce concluded with Catherine de Medicis, 161. Power of the Huguenots in

HUG

the South, 167. Elect Marshal Damville their captain-general, 167. His manifesto, 167. Defeat of the German auxiliaries, 170. Who are paid and dismissed by the court, 170. Conclusion of a truce, 170. And of the Paix de Monsieur, 173. Formation and objects of the League, 175. Causes of the ill success of the Huguenots in 1576, 186. Mixed Catholic and Protestant courts of law established, 189. Mende seized by the Huguenots, 193. Siege of Cahors, 194. Resuscitation of the League, 300. Renewal of the Civil War, 202. Battle of Contras, 210. The German auxiliaries defeated, 213. Alliance between the Huguenots and Royalists, 244. Wane of Protestantism in France, 252. Causes of this, 253. Battle of Arques, 257. And of Ivry, 264. Discontent of the Huguenots, 276. Publication of the Edict of Tours, 277. Recantation of Henry IV., 300. Their cause of dissatisfaction with Henry IV., iii. 312. Meeting at Fontenoy, 312. Edict of Henry IV. abolishing the incapacity and exclusion from office of the Huguenots, 313. Henry IV.'s treatment of them in the south, 334. Their synods and demands, 337. Their *complaint*, 337. Massacre of them in La Chataignerie, 338. Edict of Nantes, 339. Resistance to the Edict of Nantes, 347, 358. Religious policy of Henry IV. and of his chief counsellors, 359. Synod of Chatellerault, 362. And of Gergau, 362. Termination of the struggle between Protestants and Catholics, 371. View of the whole struggle, 372. Oppression and diminution of the Huguenots under Marie de Medicis, 391. Causes of the decrease of Protestantism in France and in Germany, 393. Assembly at Saumur, 395. Refusal of the Queen to grant the requests of the assembly, 395. But the demands from La Rochelle granted, 396. Exasperation of the Huguenots at the Spanish marriages, 407. The Assembly of Nismes, 408. Interception of the King with his bride, 408. Abandoned by Condé, 408. Determination of the first government of Louis XIII. to deprive the Bearnese Huguenots of their ecclesiastical property, 420. Suspension of the obnoxious edicts, 422. Huguenot demands of the King in 1619, 420. March of the King into Bearn and reduction of the Huguenots, 429. Open rebellion of the Rochellois, 430. The King recommended to continue hostilities, 433. Assembly of an army at St. Foy, 434. Plans of the Rochellois, 434. Defeats of the army under Soubise by the King, 435. Who attacks several Huguenot towns, 435. Massacre of the people of Negrepeleisse, 436. The Huguenots abandoned by their leaders, 437. Peace of Montpellier, 439. The Huguenots

HUL

henceforth fallen, 439. Endeavours of Salençay to cause those of Montpellier to rebel, 441. Blamed for the failure of the Italian expedition, 454. Attitude assumed by them and Soubise, 455. Soubise's capture of the royal fleet at Blavet, 456. Defeat of Soubise's fleet, 458. Cruelty of Themines at St. Pol, 459. Richelieu's promise to the Huguenots guaranteed by England, 462. Diversion caused by the Duke of Buckingham at the Isle of Rhé, 474, 475. Siege and surrender of La Rochelle, 479. The successful arms of the King and Richelieu turned against the Huguenots, 481. Massacre of Privas, 482. Reduction of Alais, 482. Treaty of peace with the court concluded at Orleans, 483. Refuse to join Montmorency in his revolt, 506. Disliked by Louis XIV. and his mother, iv. 6. Forbidden to hold colloquies, 6. Severity with which they were treated, 7. Forced conversions to the Catholic faith, 8, 9. Edict of Louis XIV. against *relaps*, 11. His abrogation of the mixed courts established by the Edict of Nantes, 11, 12. Colbert's intervention for the Protestants, 12, 13. The dragonnades, 13, 14. Destruction of Protestantism in Montpellier, 15. And in the Vivarais, 16. Foucault's atrocities, 16, 17. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 18. The great Exodus of the Protestants in consequence, 19. The rising in the Cévennes in 1703, 87. The chiefs bought off by Louis XIV., 94. Protestantism replaced by libertinism, 69. Revival of the persecutions against them, 123. Threaten a rising in the south, 141. Abandoned by the Regent Orleans, 141, 142. Revival of the persecutions under Louis XV., 254, 255. Huguenot persecutions in the middle of the eighteenth century, 291. The *bagnes* of Toulon crowded with Protestants, 292. Calonne's proposals to remove their disabilities, 385. Massacre of the Protestants of the Cévennes by the Royalists, v. 264. Massacre at Nismes, 264

Hullin, commander of Paris, shot by Malet, v. 196

Humanists, their controversy with the Monks, ii. 512

Humann, M., announces reduction of five per cents., v. 498. Resigns, 498. Becomes finance minister, 540. His plan for collecting the taxes, 548

Humbercourt, ambassador from Mary of Burgundy to Louis XI., orders the surrender of Arras, ii. 331. Tried and executed by the Flemings, 333

Humbert, the last dauphin, i. 439. Cedes his province to France, 440. And goes to the Holy Land, 440. Returns and fails to recover his patrimony, 440. Retires into a convent, 440

Humières, D,' promises Henry IV. the alle-

IND

giance of gentlemen of Picardy, iii. 251. Slain in taking Ham, 316

Humières, Marshal D,' loses Mayence, iv. 36

Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, compelled to pay homage to Charles Martel, i. 17. Conquered by Pepin the Bref, 19. Refuses to submit to Charlemagne, 22

Hundred Days, its history, v. 242, *et seq.* See Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.

Hungary invaded by Genghis Khan, i. 218. Support of the Hungarians of the cause of Maria Theresa, iv. 218

Hungary, master of, raises insurrection of the Pastoureaux, i. 239. Killed, 240

Huns, a tribe of, defeated by Siebert, King of Austrasia, i. 8. Their plunder of Europe, 28. Defeated by Eric, Duke of Aquileia, who penetrates the Ring and kills the Chagan, 28. Lands taken from the, by the Carolingians, given to Louis, younger son of Louis the Debonnaire, 38

Hurugues, St., iv. 434. Arrested, 434. Leads the insurrection of the 20th of June, 490. Harangues the assembly, 492

Husbands, tax levied on, for living with their wives, i. 397

Huss, John, his doctrines and protests against the Papal power, ii. 74, 75. His ideas of a universal church, and respecting the Pope, 105. Condemned and burnt by the Council of Constance, 106. Persecution of his followers, 216. Ziska, 216

Hutchinson, General, succeeds Abercrombie, and concludes the Egyptian campaign, v. 95

Hutten, Von, his controversy with the Monks, ii. 512

Huy, town of, besieged and taken by the people of Liege, ii. 285

Huys, Drouyn de l', foreign minister, v. 637

IBRAHIM PACHA, ravages the Morea, v. 372. Progress of his arms and rule in Egypt and Syria, 490, 491

Iconoclasts, fury of the, iii. 57, 58

Ideas, antagonism of, replaces that of persons, iii. 1

Ildefonso, San, Philip V. of Spain at, iv. 189

Imola reduced by Caesar Borgia, ii. 406

Importants, the party so called, iii. 556. Their enmity to Mazarin, 560. Their defeat, 561. Rallied by the Duke of Beaufort, 584

Income-tax imposition of a, i. 456. That of Paris Duvernay, iv. 194. Insurrections against it, 194. Abolished by Fleury, 197

Incontinence, tax levied on, i. 397

Incurables, Hospital of, designation of the Upper Chamber by the '*National*,' v. 546

Indes, Campagne des, formed, iv. 169. Becomes the chief investment of the day, 260

India, failure of the French in, iv. 27. War

IND

ISA

- between the English and French in, in the middle of the eighteenth century, 241, 259
- Indulgences, Papal, denounced by Wicliffe and Huss, ii. 74, 75
- Indult, right of, iii. 402
- Ingeburge of Denmark, married to Philip Augustus, i. 161. Divorced, 161
- Ingoldsby, Colonel, his cowardice at Fontenoy, iv. 232
- Inheritance, law of, in the thirteenth century, i. 265
- Innocent II., Pope, crowns Louis VII. at Rheims, i. 128. His quarrel with Louis VII., 133. His unworthy manœuvre, 134. Condemns Abelard and Arnold of Brescia to perpetual silence, 136
- Innocent III., Pope, despatches envoys into Languedoc, to collect evidence of heresy, i. 175. Proclaims a crusade against the Albigenses, 176. Summons the Fourth Council of Lateran, 184. And establishes the Inquisition, 184. Dethrones the Emperor Otho IV. and John of England, 187. Makes a present of England to Philip Augustus, 187. That country and its king, John, made over to the Pope, 188
- Innocent IV., Pope, leaves Rome and takes refuge in France, i. 226. Excommunicates the Emperor Frederick, 228. Preaches a crusade against the Emperor Conrad IV., 239. Advises St. Louis to invade England, and dispossess Henry III., 229. Proclaims a crusade against the Emperor Conrad IV., 238
- Innocent VIII., Pope, his interference in the affairs of Naples, ii. 380
- Innocent XI., Pope, outraged by Louis XIV., iv. 28, 29. Refuses to receive the envoy from Louis XIV., 30. His reconciliation with Louis XIV., 58
- Innocent XII., Pope, his advice as to the Spanish succession, iv. 77
- Innocent XIII., Pope, gives a Cardinal's hat to Dubois, iv. 181
- Inquisition, establishment of the, and its laws, canons, and directions, i. 212. The two chief inquisitors, Arnaud and Stephen, put to death by the Albigenses, 224. Conduct of the chief inquisitor, Foulques, 337. His quarrel with the King's seneschal, John of Piquigny, 337. Ordonnance of Philip the Fair against the Inquisitor, 337. Expulsion of, from France, ii. 247. Again introduced into France, 580. Insurrection of the Neapolitans against the, 598. Proposal of the Duke of Guise for its establishment in France, 619. Refusal of Parliament to register the decree, 619. But introduced, 631. Proposal of the Guises to establish it in full force, 641
- Interim, the, accepted by the German Diet, ii. 604. Rejected in the north. 605
- Invalides, Hôpital des, attacked by the mob, iv. 424. Napoleon's remains buried in, v. 522, 536
- Investiture, right of, demanded of the Pope by Philip VI., i. 399
- Ireland, missionaries from the Celtic Church of, to the Gallo-Franks and Germans, i. 17
- Irish, the, at the battle of Crecy, i. 429
- Irmensul, the idol of the Saxons, burnt by Charlemagne, i. 24
- Iron Mask, Man with the, his supposed parentage, iii. 615, *note*; iv. 32
- Isabeau, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., married to Charles IX., iii. 111
- Isabel of Aragon, Queen of Philip the Hardy, her death, i. 278. Her children by Philip the Hardy, 296
- Isabel, Countess de la Marche, 'carried away from her husband by King John of England, i. 207. Returns to him with the county of Angoulême, 207
- Isabella, Queen of Castile, her failing health, ii. 419. Her death, 422
- Isabella II., Queen of Spain, v. 489. Intrigues to marry her to the Duke of Montpensier, 564. To Prince Leopold, 565. To son of Don Carlos, 566. To Count Trapani, 567. To Don Enrique, 568, 569
- Isabella of Bavaria, married to Charles VI. of France, ii. 35. Returns with the King to Paris, 63. But withdraws on receipt of the news of the battle of Hasbain, 63. Arrangements with respect to her and to her son, 79. Her brother and connexions arrested by the Parisians, 96. Goes with the Dauphiness and the Armagnacs to the residence of the Dauphin, and takes away the companions of his pleasures, 102. Charged by the Constable Armagnac with dissoluteness, and imprisoned at Tours, 121. Gains her freedom, and joins the Duke of Burgundy, 123. Their public entry into Paris, 126. Meets Henry V. of England at Meulan, 129. Breaking up of the conference, 130. Her alleged intimacy with the Duke of Orleans, 50. Carries off the King to Melun, 50. Denounces her son Charles for his murder of the Duke of Burgundy, 135
- Isabella of Hainault, mother of Louis VIII., i. 194
- Isabella, daughter of Edward III. of England, proposal to marry her to Louis II. of Flanders, i. 433
- Isabella, daughter of John II. of France, married to the son of the Duke of Milan, i. 491
- Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, married to Edward II. of England, i. 380. Joins Roger Mortimer in France, and prepares an expedition against her husband, 380. Her success, 381. Her imprisonment, 392
- Isabella, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, the

ISN

crown of France demanded for, iii. 263, 278. Acknowledged as Queen of France, 284. Proposal of the Duke of Mayenne to proclaim her queen, 297

Isnard, becomes member of the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. And president of the Convention, when he threatens the sections and communes, 581. His reply on the arrest of a sectional president, 582. Insulted by Chabot, 588. Imprisoned, 618. Trial and death, 620

Issoire, taken by the Duke d'Alençon iii. 185. Defeat of the Leaguers before, 266

Italy, condition of, at the time of Charlemagne's visit to Rome, i. 25. The government of, entrusted by Charlemagne to his son, Pepin, 31. Revolt of Bernard, King of Italy, against the Emperor, who causes his death, 39. The regal dignity, on the death of Charles the Fat, assumed by Berenger, 51. Effects of the strife between Popes and Caesars, even at the present day, 129. Internecine strife in, in the Middle Ages, 172. Charles of Anjou the first French prince in Italy, 247. Condition of the peninsula in the thirteenth century, 253. The Italian republics taken under the protection of the Pope, 253. Sicily and Naples offered to, and accepted by Charles of Anjou, 255. Condition of the country at the early part of the fourteenth century, 373. Relieved from papal influence during the residence of the Pope at Avignon, 398. Causes of the admixture of French and Italian politics in the fourteenth century, 549. Domination of the civic classes at the close of the fourteenth century, ii. 12. Condition of, in the fifteenth century, 57. Authority of the papacy in Italy at the commencement of the fifteenth century, 69. Designs of Charles VIII., 372, 377. State of the country at this time, 377. Rise and fall of the Republics, 378. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, 381. Character of Italian troops, 385. Irritation of the people against the French, 386. League of the Italians against them, 387. Who retreat from Naples, and defeat the Venetians at Fornova, 387, 389. Evacuation of the French, 391. Projects for carrying on the French war in Italy, 392. Tendency and desire of the French to extend their empire over the Italians, 404. The Alps crossed by Louis XII., 405. An end put to French domination in South Italy by the Spaniards, 418. The French driven out of the Milanese and Genoa, 439. Surrender of the remaining French strongholds, 440. Condition of the peninsula at the commencement of the sixteenth century, 445. Military events in, in 1523, 472. Evacuated by the French, 504. Establishment of the

JAC

power of the Emperor, Charles V., in, 519. Sultan Solymán's plan of operations for the subjugation of, 541. Effect of the successes of Charles V. in Germany in, 597. Invaded by the army of the Holy League, 622. French interference in, deprecated by Marie de Medicis, iii. 487. Regarded by Richelieu as the vulnerable point in the empire of the House of Austria, 488. Commencement of the War of the Spanish Succession in, iv. 83. Liberated by the King of Sardinia, 235. Evacuated by the French and Spaniards, 236. Invasions of, *see* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I., &c.

Ivan of Wales blockades Soubise by sea, i. 530

Ivrea, capture of, v. 84

Ivry, surrender of, to the Duke of Bedford, ii. 150. Battle of, iii. 264

JACKSON, General, warring with the banks, deprives the French of their Transatlantic market, v. 545

Jacobin Club, declares for the monarchy, iv. 461

Jacobins, Anti-, form a constitutional club in the Hôtel de Salm, v. 9. Its members, 9. *See* Convention; Gironde; Jacobins

Jacobins, their reduced members, v. 10, 11. Massacred by the Anti-terrorists, 11. Conspire against the Convention, 13. Conspirators dispersed, tried, and executed, 13. *See* Convention; Directory; Gironde; Robespierre; Napoleon I. and III.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.; Louis Philippe; Provisional Government.

Jacqueline, Countess of Holland, ii. 151

Jacqueminot, M., commander of National Guard, insists on occupation of Paris by the troops, v. 586. Fails in his measures to help the government, 587, 588

Jacquerie, rise and defeat of the, i. 477, 478. Its characteristics, 478

Jacques, St., battle of, ii. 220

Jacques de Bourbon, friendship of John II. for, i. 446. Becomes constable, 455. Commands an army in the south, 455. Allows the Black Prince to ravage the country, 455. Killed at Poitiers, 464

Jacques de Bourbon leads an army against the Tardvenus, i. 498. Defeated by them, and killed at the battle of Brignais, 499

Jacques of Bourbon (son of the preceding), placed in nominal command of an expedition against Peter the Cruel, i. 510

Jacqueville, appointed captain of the Paris butchers, ii. 93. Forces his way into the palace, and insults the Dauphin, 94. Arrests Duke Louis of Bavaria and the ladies of honour at the palace, 96. Breaks into the palace, and quarrels with George de la Tremouille, 99. Stabbed by the Dauphin, 99

JAF

- Jaffa, Saladin defeated by Richard I. at, i. 160
 Jägerndorf, battle of, iv. 270
 James I., King of England, his accession to the throne of England, iii. 368. Mission from France to him, 368. Concludes a treaty of marriage between his son and Henrietta Maria of France, 451. His tortuous policy, 452. And its consequences, 453
 James II., King of England, assistance rendered by Louis XIV. to, iv. 37, 38. Endeavours of Louis XIV. to replace him on the throne of England, 42
 James I., King of Aragon, agrees with St. Louis as to their respective boundaries, i. 247
 James, King of Sicily, i. 300. Becomes king of Aragon, and abandons the Sicilians, 301
 James Fitzjames, Prince of Wales and Duke of Berwick, recognised by Louis XIV. as King of England, iv. 83. Defeats Lord Galway at Almanza, 98. Accepts the command of the army against Spain, 154. Takes Passages, 155. Takes Fontarabia, 155. Compels the dismissal of Alveroni, 155. Leads a French army over the Rhine against the Emperor, 203. Killed at Philipsburg, 205
 James the Pretender, his preparations for war with England, iv. 144. Stopped by the Regent Orleans, 145. Defeated at Sheriffmuir, and returns to France, 145. Exiled from France, 148
 Jametz, besieged by the Duke of Guise, iii. 214. And by the Duke of Lorraine, 220
 Jane of Flanders, Countess of Montfort, her brave defence of Hennebout, i. 413. Goes to England, and returns with an army under Robert of Artois, 415
 Jansenists, the, iv. 5. Jansenism forbidden by Louis XIV., 69. Compared with the Molinists, 124. Persecution of the, 124. Crushed by the sovereign power, 125. Agitation of the Jansenists, and miracles at the tomb of the Deacon Paris, 200. Difficulties between the Jansenists of Paris and the clergy, 257. Their quarrel with the Jesuits, 298, 299
 January, edict of, iii. 49
 Jargeau, retirement of the English from Orleans, ii. 167. Taken from them by Jeanne d'Arc, 167, 168. Affair of the bridge of, iii. 619
 Jarnac, Guy Chabot, Sieur de, ii. 595. His duel with Chataignerai, 595
 Jarnac, battle of, iii. 102
 Jaubert, Count, his conduct at trial of conspirators of April, v. 493. Takes office with M. Thiers, 525
 Jaucourt, M., escapes from the Abbaye, iv. 524
 Jay, Le, judge, becomes a partisan of the Prince of Condé, iii. 407
 Jean d'Angely, St., town of, besieged and taken by John II., i. 448. Surrenders to the French, 530. Besieged by the Duke of

JEA

- Anjou, iii. 107. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, 170. Plot for depriving De Rohan of the government of, 396. Capitulates to Louis XIII., 431
 Jean de Vienne, governor of Calais, his defence of the town, i. 432. Surrenders, 435, 436
 Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret of Navarre, proposal to marry her to Philip II. of Spain, ii. 547. Betrothed to the Duke of Cleves, 553. Educated in the Reformed doctrines, 643. Married to Antoine, Duke of Vendôme, 643, 644; iii. 10. Her character, 10. Brings a force with her son Henry to the Huguenots in La Rochelle, 101. Presents Henry to the people there, 102. Goes to court, 116. Her negotiations there, 127. Her death, 127
 Jeanne, heiress of Navarre, married to Philip the Fair, i. 290
 Jeanne of Navarre, Queen of France, withdraws to Burgundy, i. 469. Surrenders Melun to the King of Navarre, her brother, 485
 Jeanne d'Arc, appearance of, ii. 161. Effect of Merlin's prophecy upon her imagination, 161. Her visit to the King at Chinon, 162, 163. Her sign, 163. Her divine mission recognised by the King, 163. Harassed with questions by the doctors at Poitiers, 164. Conducts a convoy into Orleans, 164. And sends a letter to the English commandant, summoning him to raise the siege, 164. Her supernatural character believed by the besiegers as well as besieged, 165. Takes the fort of St. Loup from the English, 166. Storms the intrenchments, and causes the Earl of Suffolk to raise the siege, 166. Drives out the English from Jargeau, and takes Suffolk prisoner, 167, 168. Marches with the Duke of Alençon to clear the English from the Loire, 168. Defeats them at the battle of Patay, 168. Conducts the King triumphantly to Rheims, 169, 170. Failure of her attack on Paris, 171, 172. Lays down her arms, and declares her mission ended, 173. Persuaded to accompany the King in his retreat behind the Seine, 173. Joins the Royalists at Compiègne, 174. Taken prisoner in a sortie there, 174. Brought to the quarters of John of Luxemburg, 174. And sent to Rouen for trial, 175. Treachery of her accusers, 176. Articles of accusation brought against her, 177. Her illness, 177. Her contrition and recantation, 178. Her relapse, 179. Her execution, 180. Authorities as to her treatment while in prison, 181, *note*. Review of her career, and events under which she appeared, 182
 Jeanne, daughter of Baldwin IX. of Flanders, married to Ferdinand of Portugal, i. 187. Has the government during the imprisonment of her husband, 191. Her husband

JEA

- released by Queen Blanche, 207. Leaves the duchies to her sister Margaret, 231.
- Jeanne, Duchess of Burgundy, her death from plague, i. 440
- Jeanne d'Evreux, married to her cousin, Charles IV. of France, i. 378
- Jeanne of Franche Comté, married to Philip (afterwards Philip the Long), i. 353. Charged with falsehood to her marriage vows, but acquitted, 353
- Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., arrangement made respecting her claim to the throne, i. 368, 369
- Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI. of France, married to Louis, Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis XII.), ii. 351. Her endeavours to obtain the liberation of her husband, 372. Divorced from Louis XII., 396. Created Duchess of Berry, 396
- Jeanne, daughter of the Count of Toulouse, her death, i. 279
- Jeanne, daughter of Charles of Valois, married to Count Robert of Artois, i. 433. Who is found guilty of forgery, and escapes to England, 395
- Jeannin, President, his negotiations in Holland, iii. 370. Appointed to the superintendence of finance, 388. Recalled to office, 416
- Jemmappes, battle of, iv. 546
- Jena, battle of, v. 129
- Jerusalem, pilgrimages to, in the middle ages, i. 85. Effect of the news of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on the production of the Crusaders, 85. Siege and capture of, by the Crusaders, 111. Taken from the Christian princes by Saladin, 155. King Baldwin afflicted with leprosy, 155. The Templars and Hospitaliers put to death, 155. The King liberated by Saladin, 159. Recovered from the Infidels by Frederick II., 217. Retaken by the infidel Khorasmins, 226, 227
- Jesuits, foundation of the Society of the, ii. 580. Ejected from Paris, iii. 313. Re-established by Henry IV., 358, 359, 361. Not admitted into Holland, 371. Banished from Venice, 376. Jesuitism forbidden by Louis XIV., iv. 69. Uphold the ideas of the Molinists, 124. Become persecutors, 124. Crushed by the King, 125. The Jesuits as preceptors in the eighteenth century, 294. Their quarrel with the Jansenists, 298, 299. Their greed and immorality, 299, 300. Help to drag down the Church, 300. Expelled from Portugal by Pombal, 301. And banished from France, 302. Denounced by M. Montlosier, v. 348, 353. Their seminary made subject to the University, 370
- Jeunesse dorée*, proceedings of the, iv. 665
- Jews, the, maltreated, i. 86. Banished from France by Philip Augustus, 152. Murdered by him, 160. Who recalls them from banish-

JOH

- ment, 161. Persecuted by Edward I. of England and Philip III. of France, 296. Withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition by Philip the Fair, 337. Permitted by Louis X. to reside in certain cities, 367. Murdered by the second Pastoureaux, 373. And upon charges brought against them by the Lepers, 374. Sack of the Jews' quarter in Paris, ii. 9. Vindictiveness of the Maillotins against them, 23
- Joachim-Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, his claim to the duchy of Clèves, iii. 374
- Joan of Castille, her husband's neglect of her, ii. 419
- Joanna, Queen of Navarre, her death from plague, i. 440. Her daughter married to Philip VI. of France, 440
- Joinville, Prince de, reduces the castle of St. Jean d'Ulloa, v. 511. Sails from St. Helena with the remains of Napoleon, 536. His return from Algeria, 550. His character, 563. Expressing his fears, ordered to the Mediterranean, 574. His letter on the aspect of affairs, 574, *et seq.* His opinion as to the Spanish marriages, 575. Repeal of the law of exile of, 650. His candidature for the presidentship contemplated, 650
- John I., King of France, his death a few days after his birth, i. 369
- John II. the Good, King of France, marries the daughter of the King of Bohemia, i. 395. When Duke of Normandy, joins Charles of Blois against John de Montfort, 412. Compels Edward III. of England to retire to Vannes, 416. Sent by his father with an army against Lord Derby, 422. Recovers Angoulême, and besieges Aiguillon, 422. His agreement with the people of Normandy for the invasion of England, 424. Raises the siege of Aiguillon, and goes to Paris, 432. His son Charles appointed Dauphin, 440. Death of his duchess from the plague, 440. Marries a duchess of Burgundy, 441. Ascends the throne at the death of his father, 441. Enjoined by his father on his deathbed to defend his right against the King of England, 441. Extent and condition of France at this period, 442. His policy with regard to the nobility, 444. His affection for his councillors and lieutenants, 446. Puts the Count d'Eu to death, and confers the office of constable upon Charles of Spain, 447. His coronation at Rheims, 447. His progress south, 447. Grants franchises and immunities to all towns requiring them, 447, 448. His manipulation of the coin, and its consequences, 448. Recommencement of the war with the English, 448. Besieges and takes St. Jean d'Angely, 448. Defeat of his troops by the English, 448. Murder of his friend, Charles of Spain, constable of the

JOH

kingdom, by Charles the Bad, of Navarre, 453. John urges the Counts of Foix and Comminges to invade Navarre, 453. Great preparations of Edward III. for the invasion of France, 453. Charles of Navarre joins the English, but is induced to proceed to Paris and become reconciled to the King, 454. Ravages of the English in the north and south, 455. John summons the Estates of the Langue d'Oil, and obtains an aide, 455. Resistance of the commons to his fiscal measures, 456. A property or income tax voted, 456. Surprises the King of Navarre and his friends at a banquet, and beheads them, 457-459. Pursues Henry of Lancaster to Cherbourg, 459. Advances to meet the Black Prince, 460. Whom he outmarches and intercepts, 461. Defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 463. Sum fixed for his ransom, 469. Brought to England by the Black Prince, 470. His entry into London, and residence at Windsor, 470. Cancels thence the acts of the Estates, 470. Sends terms to Paris, where they are rejected by the Estates, 486, 487. Conclusion of the peace of Bretigny, 490. Price of the marriage of his daughter Isabella with the son of Galeaz Visconti, 491. His liberation, 491. His dominions ravaged by the Free Companies, 498, 499. Instals himself Duke of Burgundy and gives the dukedom to his son Philip, 500. Difficulties of the remaining years of his reign, 501. Visits the Pope at Avignon, 501. Assumes the Cross there, 501. Preparations of Charles of Navarre for war, 501. Visit of John to the English court, 502. His illness, and death, 502.

John, King of England, when prince, a marriage negotiated for, and an appanage in Anjou given to, by his father, i. 146. Cursed by his dying father, 157. Rebels against his absent brother, Richard, 160. Gives up Evreux and its French garrison to his enraged brother, 160. Death of his brother Richard, and his accession to the throne, 162. His treatment of his old ally, Philip Augustus, 163. Who embraces the claim of Arthur to Brittany, Maine, and Anjou, 163. His war with Philip, 163. Agreement of the two monarchs, 163. War between them recommenced, 164. John carries off the wife of the Count de la Marche, 164. Takes Arthur, Duke of Brittany, prisoner, 164. And murders him at Rouen, 164. Loses Normandy, 165. Raises fleets and armies for the defence of his provinces, 165. Quarrels with the Pope, 166. Lands in France, and gains some successes, 166. Concludes a two years' truce with Philip Augustus, 166. Excommunicated, and his kingdom made a present to Philip Augustus by the Pope, 187. As-

JOH

sembles an army upon Barham Downs, 187. Makes over himself and his realm as liege to the Pope, 188. Supports the Emperor Otho IV., 189. Lands with a force at La Rochelle, and is opposed by Prince Louis, 189. Concludes a truce with Philip Augustus, 191. His kingdom offered by his barons to Prince Louis of France, and accepted, 192. Louis lands in England, 192. John's death, 192.

John d'Albret, King of Navarre, dispossessed by Ferdinand V., ii. 437. Negotiations respecting him, 467. Taken prisoner at Pavia, 485. Support of Francis I. withdrawn from him, 491.

John VI., King of Portugal, his death, v. 349.

John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, his daughter married to John, son of Philip VI. of France, i. 395. Assumes the Cross, 395. Killed at the battle of Crecy, 429. His crest and plumes worn ever afterwards by the Prince of Wales, 429.

John of Luxembourg, besieges Compiègne, ii. 172. Repulsed there by Jeanne d'Arc, 174. Who is taken prisoner, and brought to his quarters, 174. Sent to Rouen, 175.

John, the Dauphin, son of Charles VI., married to Jacqueline of Holland, ii. 118, 151. His death, 120.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, his efforts to acquire a kingdom in Spain, ii. 10. Meets the Duke of Berry at Calais, to arrange peace, 34.

John Francis II., Marquis of Mantua, leads a French army towards Naples, ii. 417.

John, younger brother of Louis IX., betrothed to Yolande of Brittany, i. 206. But dies before the marriage, 208.

John of Artois, killed at Poitiers, i. 464.

John, Archduke of Austria, commands the Austrian army, v. 89. Defeated at Hohenlinden, 89. Defeats Prince Eugène upon the Tagliamento, 162. Defeated by Eugène at Raab, 165.

John of Beauvais, defeats Roger Trencavel, i. 220.

John, Duke of Bedford, sent by his brother, Henry V. of England, to relieve Harfleur, ii. 120. Defeats the French and Castilian fleet, 120. Sent to the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, 139. Drives back Charles the Dauphin, 139. Concludes alliances with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, 147. Secures the Burgundian frontier, 149. Turns his attention to the borders of Normandy and Anjou, 149. Defeats the French and Scotch at Verneuil, 150. Difficulties created by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, 151, 155. Compels the Duke of Brittany to sue for peace, and sign the treaty of Troyes, 154. In England in 1426 and 1427, 155. Returns

JOH

to France, and commences the siege of Orleans, 155. Rejects the proposal of the Duke of Burgundy, 159. Who withdraws his officers from before Orleans, 159. Appearance of Jeanne d'Arc, 161. The siege of Orleans raised, 166. Renewal of the pact between the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Bedford, 170. Bedford's force for retrieving the disaster at Orleans, 170. Challenges the King to battle at Montereau and Dammartin, but fails to induce him to fight, 171. Goes to Normandy, 171. Charges made against him as to Jeanne d'Arc, 182, *note*. His efforts for defending the English conquests, 184. Hands over Paris to the Duke of Burgundy, and keeps his court at Rouen, 184. Takes vengeance upon Beauvais, and captures Xantrilles, 186. Loses the castle of Rouen, but recovers it, 186. Death of his wife, and marriage with the daughter of the Count of St. Pol, 186. Coldness between him and the Duke of Burgundy in consequence, 187. Pressed on all sides by the French, 187. Unsuccessfulness of the English arms, 188. Death of Bedford, 189. And desertion of the Duke of Burgundy from the English alliance, 192

John, fourth Duke of Bedford, goes to France to negotiate peace, *iv*. 287. Limitation of his powers, 288

John, Duke of Bourbon, taken prisoner at Agincourt, *ii*. 114

John II., Duke of Brabant, reaction in his duchy against the French, *i*. 327. Undertakes to negotiate between the French and Flemings, 334

John III., the Triumphant, Duke of Brabant, induced by Philip VI. to assume the Cross, *i*. 395

John II., Duke of Brittany, taken prisoner by Robert of Artois, *i*. 309. Induced to join Philip the Fair in his war with Flanders, 312. Induced by Philip VI. to assume the Cross, 395. Arranges to set aside appeals from his courts to Paris, 395. His death, 411

John V., Duke of Brittany. *See* Montfort, John de.

John VI., Duke of Brittany, goes to Paris to endeavour to reconcile the Burgundians and Armagnacs, *ii*. 118. Seized by the party of the Dauphin, 135. Who are compelled to liberate him, 135. His brother Arthur married to the sister of the Duke of Burgundy, 147. Sues for peace to the Duke of Brittany, and signs the treaty of Troyes, 154

John of Montfort claims the duchy of Brittany, *i*. 411. Acknowledged by Nantes and Limoges, 411. Goes to England and does homage for Richmond, 412. Summoned to Paris, which he leaves secretly, 412. Defeated by Charles of Blois, and sent prisoner to the Louvre, 413. His rights defended by his

JOH

wife, who stands a siege in Hennebont, 413. And sends Amaury de Clisson for English succour, 413. Which arrives, and relieves the town, 415. His countess goes to England and returns with Robert of Artois and an army, 415. His escape from the Louvre and death at Hennebont, 422. War between him and his rival, Charles of Blois, 506. Who is killed at Auray, 507. John recognised as duke of Brittany, 507

John of Brittany, son of Charles of Blois, his liberty purchased by the Constable Clisson, *ii*. 38

John sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, when Count of Nevers joins a crusade against the Turks, *ii*. 45. Defeated and taken prisoner at Nicopolis, 46. Ransomed, 46. Succeeds to the throne on the death of his father, 48, 49. His feud with the Duke of Orleans, 49. Opposes a general contribution, 49. Carries off the Dauphin to Paris, 50. His strife with the Duke of Orleans, 51. Obtains the government of Picardy, 52. Besieges Calais, but fails, 52, 53. Causes Orleans to be murdered, 53. Acknowledges his crime, and escapes, 55. His public entry into Paris, 58. His defeat of the Liegeois at the battle of Hasbain, 61. Oration of the Abbé de St. Fiacre in condemnation of the murder of Orleans, 63. Effect in Paris of John's victory at Hasbain, 63. His return to Paris, 64. Concludes peace with the princes and the Orleans family, 65. Causes Montagu to be arrested and executed, 78, 79. Privileges granted by him to the Parisians, 79. Their repugnance to him, 80. The Duke's project of reform, 80. Revival of the feud between the Orleans party and that of Burgundy, 80. Preparations of the two parties for war, 80. Gradual extension of the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, 81. Inability of the Duke to raise an army to resist the advancing Orleanists, 81, 82. His licentious Brabanters, 82. Concludes peace with the Orleanists at Bicêtre, 82. The peace ruptured, and the Duke compelled to arm, 83. Applies to Henry IV. of England for aid, 83, 85. Ascendancy of the Count de St. Pol and the Paris butchers, 84. The Duke detained in the north by the Flemings, who desert him, 85. A force sent to his assistance by the King of England, 85. Drives the Armagnacs out of Picardy, 85. Enters Paris, 85. And defeats the Armagnacs, 85, 86. Concludes peace with the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, 88. Reconciliation of the court and the Orleanists, 99. The Duke opposes peace with the Armagnacs, 100. Gives up the keys of the Bastille, 101. The Armagnacs becoming masters of Paris, he escapes to Lille, 101. But returns to besiege

JOH

JUD

- the Armagnacs in Paris, 102. Retires northwards, 102. His party besieged and taken at Soissons, 103. Makes peace at Arras, 103. Approaches Paris after the battle of Agincourt, 117. But forbidden to enter the capital, 117. Loiters at Lagny, 118. Defeat of his plans by the death of the Dauphin and the Duke of Berry, 120. Makes war against the Armagnacs, 122. Invests St. Cloud and threatens Paris, ii. 122. Which he is unable to enter, 122. Liberates Queen Isabella from imprisonment, 123. Abolishes all taxes save that of salt, 123. The gates of Paris opened to his party, who destroy the Armagnacs, 124. His public entry, with the Queen, into the city, 126. His suppression of the excesses of the Parisian mob, 126. Surrender of Normandy to Henry V. of England, 129. Meeting of the two courts at Meulant, 129. Breaking up of the conference, 130. The Duke's reconciliation with the Dauphin, 130. His patriotism and unselfishness, 131. Meets the Dauphin on the bridge of Montreuil, 132. Where he is murdered, 133, 134. His character, 142
- John-Frederick, Duke of Saxony, defeated and captured at the battle of Muhlberg, ii. 597
- John William, Duke of Saxony, marches into France against the Huguenots, iii. 98
- John William, Elector Palatine, signs the treaty of Loo, iv. 83
- John, Count of Berri, takes a command at Poitiers, i. 461. Flies from the field, 463
- John III., Count of Flanders, refuses to do homage to Philip V. of France on his accession, i. 370. Killed, 379
- John Tristram, Count of Nevers, son of St. Louis, dies at Tunis, i. 272
- John of Bavaria, Bishop of Liege, ii. 60. Rebellion of the Liegeois against him, 60. The rebellion put down at the battle of Hasbain, 61
- John of St. John taken prisoner, i. 309
- John XXII., Pope, stigmatised as heretic by the Sorbonne, i. 361, *note*. Excommunicates the Duke of Milan, 373. His nephew-in-law, the Lord of Casaubon, hanged, 378
- John XXIII., Pope, election of, ii. 76. Convoques the Council of Constance, 103. Driven from Rome by King Ladislas of Naples, 103. Deposed, 104. Denounces the Council of Constance, 106
- John of Troyes, the surgeon, one of the leaders of the Paris butchers, ii. 84. His address to the Dauphin at the palace, 94. His entreaty to the King, 96. Desires to make terms with the Armagnacs, and get security for his party, 100. His character, ii. 141
- Jollivet the deputy, killed by the troops, v. 592
- Jonquière, La, defeated by Hawke off Cape Finisterre, iv. 240
- Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, his death, iv. 107
- Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, sums paid by England to secure his election as King of the Romans, iv. 261. His alliance with Russia, 373. Object of his ambition, 373. His views for the emancipation of the Scheldt, 374. His quarrel with Holland, 374. Extorts five millions from France, 374.
- Joseph, the Capucin friar, dissuades violence against Marie de Medicis, iii. 423. His political tendencies and friendship with Cardinal Richelieu, 446. At the diet of Ratisbon, 493, 495. Signs the treaty at Ratisbon, 496
- Josephine, the Empress, her divorce contemplated, v. 116, 117. Crowned by Napoleon, 118. Divorced, 157. Her death, 249.
- Joubert, General, encounters Suwarrow at Novi, v. 63. His death, 63
- Jourdan de Lille, Lord of Casaubon, his crimes, i. 378. Tried at Paris, condemned, and hanged, 378
- Jourdan, General, afterwards Marshal, leads the army of Vaucluse at Avignon, iv. 498. Succeeds Houchard, 616. Heads a division at Wattignies, and leaves the command to Carnot, 616. Lays siege to Charleroi, 661. Defeats the Prince of Cobourg, and gains Brussels, 661. Defeated by the Archduke Charles, v. 24. Again defeated at Stochach, 55
- Jourdan, Camille, elected a deputy, v. 288. Created a peer of France, 295. His amendment on law of elections, 305
- Jovel, John, enters the service of Charles of Navarre, i. 505. Killed at the battle of Cocherel, 506
- Joyeuse, favourite of Henry III., created admiral, iii. 196. Marries the Queen's sister, 196. Sent on a mission to the King of Navarre, 197. Commands a Catholic army in Poitou, 205. Entrusted with an army to oppose the King of Navarre, 209. Defeated and killed at Contras, 210, 211. His submission to Henry IV., 320
- Joyeuse, Cardinal of, sent on a mission to Rome, iii. 324
- Juan, gulf of, landing of Napoleon at the, v. 242
- Juan II., King of Aragon, murders the Prince of Viana, ii. 259. Gives the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne in pledge to Louis IX., 259
- Judges, King Clothaire's edict against the arbitrary conduct of, i. 7. Nature of Charlemagne's judicial arrangements, 29. Commencement of the French system of judicial centralisation, 170. The right of self-election obtained by the Parlement, ii. 77. The judiciary reorganised by Charles VII., 224. The judicial reforms of St. Louis, i. 258. Difference between the French and English systems, 260. Treatment of Louis XI. of the

JUD

KNI

judges and of judicial functions, 348. Louis XII.'s improvements in the administration of the law, 399. Judicial appointments in the reign of Francis I., 460, 574, 575. The judicial body favours tolerance in religion, 641, 642. Their tolerance of Protestantism, 645. Visit of the King to their 'mercurial,' 646. Some of the Protestant judges arrested by order of the King, 647. Endeavours of De l'Hôpital to reform the judicial office, iii. 37. Three judges beheaded by the Sixteen, 281. Effect of their right to sell their offices, 406, 407. Their opposition to the government of Mazarin, 579-585. Their meeting and resolutions in the Salle St. Louis, 585. Arrest of Broussel, and commencement of the Fronde, 587. Arrangement come to between the court and judges, 590. Attacks on them by the Paris mob, 622, 626. The massacre in the Hôtel de Ville, 626, 627. Their enmity to Law and his schemes, iv. 166, 177. Their remonstrance against his decree as to the rate of interest, 177. Sanction the persecution of the Protestants, 256. Corruption of the judges of the reign of Louis XV., 292. Sent into exile by Louis XV., 325. Declared elective by the National Assembly, 448. *See also* Convention; Napoleon I.; Parliament. Judith, Princess of Guelf, married to the Emperor Louis the Debonnaire, i. 39. Julien, San, Austrian envoy, persuaded by Talleyrand to sign agreement for peace, v. 88. Juliers, invaded by the Archduke Leopold, iii. 377. Surrenders to a French army under De la Châtre, 388. Julius II., Pope, when Cardinal, urges Charles VIII. to invade Italy, ii. 381. Election of, 417. His alarm at the French conquest of Genoa, 425. Takes the field, and secures Bologna, 423. Declares for the Venetians against the French, 431. Recovers the Romagna, 431. Marches in person against the French, 432. Takes Mirandola, 432. Loses Bologna, 432. Retires to Rome, 432. Joins a league against France, 433. His territories defended by Cardona with a Spanish army, 433. His troops defeated at Ravenna, by De Foix, 435. Opens the Council of Lateran, 436. Takes Parma and Piacenza, 437. Regains Bologna, and takes Reggio, 437. Success of his policy, 438. His death, 438. His breach with Henry II. of France, 607. Julius III., Pope, endeavours to effect peace between Charles V. and Henry II., ii. 616. Junot, Marshal, invades Portugal, v. 152. His defeat and expulsion from Portugal, 156. Jurien, Pierre, publication of his 'Lettres Pastorales,' iv. 20. Just, St., returned member of the Convention, iv. 535. Proposes instant immolation of Louis XVI., 548. Member of Committee of

Public Safety, 609. Proposes law of *suspects* and other revolutionary measures, 612. Reports on internal plots, 640. His enmity to Danton, 641. Arrests Danton and his friends, and procures their execution, 642-644. Proscribes all nobles and strangers, 646, 647. Threatens Carnot, 651. Demands the dictatorship for Robespierre, 652. His report to the Convention on its members leads to a tumult, in which his arrest is voted, 656, 657. Rescued by Henriot, 657. Re-arrested and executed, 659. Juste Milien principle ruling the power of Louis Philippe's government, v. 461. Justice, mockery of, in the fourteenth century, i. 450.

KALOUGA, Russian army encamped on the, v. 189.

Karl, William, or Callet, leader of the Jacquerie, i. 477. Entrapped and put to death, 477.

Kaunitz, Prince, furious at the terms of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 245. His promotion of an alliance between Austria and France, 262.

Kehl taken by the Marshal Crequy, iii. 703.

Kellerman, General, engages the Prussians at Valmy, iv. 533. Besieges Lyons, 597. Defeated by Austro-Piedmontese, v. 16. Divides command with Buonaparte, 20. Charges the Austrians at Marengo, and turns the battle in favour of Buonaparte, 86.

Kent, Earl of, slain at the battle of Beaugé, ii. 138.

Kersaint, the Girondist, attacks the Anarchists, iv. 538. Execution of, 636.

Khevenhüller, Austrian commander, retakes Linz, iv. 219.

Khorasmins, the, i. 227. Take Jerusalem, and exterminate the Christians, 227.

Khosrew, governor of Constantinople, dismissed, v. 533.

King, difference in the power of the, in England and in France, ii. 1. Weakness of the sovereign best remedied by classes and institutions, 2.

Kirgener, General, death of, v. 203.

Kleber, General, commands veterans of Mayence, iv. 602. Gains battle of Torfou, 602. Superseded by the Convention, yet defeats and crushes the Vendéans at Chollet, 602. Left in command of army of Egypt, v. 66. Signs treaty of El Arisch, 93. The treaty broken, and fights battle of Heliopolis, 94. Assassinated by an Arab fanatic, 94.

Kloster-Seven, capitulation of, iv. 270. Set aside, 272.

Knighthood, religious and feudal ceremony of, i. 88. Dignity of, 261.

KNO

Knollis, Sir Robert, dispatched by Edward III. on a marauding expedition into France, i. 523. Marauding expedition from Calais to Paris, 526. Pursues his way southwards, 526. Retires into Brittany for the winter, 527. Besieged in Brest by Bertrand du Guesclin, 534. Relieved by Lord Salisbury, 535. His treatment of the French hostages, 536

Knyvet, Sir Thomas, slain, ii. 441

Koch, Dutch banker, imprisoned and executed, iv. 640

Kollin, battle of, iv. 269

Konieh, battle of, v. 529

Konig, Pierre, the Flemish weaver, thrown into prison by the French, i. 324. Knighted on the field of Courtray, 326

Körner, the poet, death of, v. 209

Königsberg, surrender of, v. 137

Königstein, battle of, v. 210

Korsahoff, defeat of, at Zurich, v. 65

Kray, General, defeats Scherer at Magnano, v. 57. Gains battle of Cassano, 58. Supersedes Archduke Charles, 83. Defeated by Moreau at Moeskirch, 83. Defeated at Blenheim, 88

Kremlin, the, occupied by Napoleon, v. 188

Krudener, Madame de, her prayer-meetings, v. 267

Kunersdorf, battle of, iv. 280

Kutusoff, General, encounters the French at Olmutz, v. 123. Defeated at Austerlitz, 124, 125. Succeeds Barclay de Tolly in command of Russian army, 186. Defeated at Borodino, 186, 187. Retreats on the Kalouga, 189. Harasses the French retreat, 191. His conversation with Sir Robert Wilson, 191. His reasons for not overwhelming the French, 191. His death, 200

Kyriel, Sir Thomas, sent with reinforcements to France, ii. 226. Taken prisoner at Formigny, 228

LABÉDOYÈRE, COLONEL, joins Napoleon, v. 244. Arrested, 262, 266. Executed, 267

Labourdonnaix, governor of the Mauritius, iv. 241. Takes Madras from the English, 241.

His imprisonment and death in France, 242

Lacave-Laplagne, M., resigns, v. 578

Lacretelle, expatriation of, v. 37

Lacretelle, royalist academician, loses his pension, v. 357

Lacroix, arrested, iv. 642. His trial and execution, 643, 644

Lacrosse, M., encounters the Socialists, v. 642.

Defended by M. Gent, 642

Ladislav, King of Naples, drives Pope John XXIII. from Rome, ii. 103

Lafayette, Marquis de la, joins the Americans in the civil war, iv. 356. Asks for a National Assembly, 389. Commands the Na-

LAG

tional Guard, 427. His efforts to enforce tranquillity, 433. Saves the Marquis de la Salle, 433. Disperses a deputation to Versailles, 434. Arrests St. Hurugues, 434. Leads the march on Versailles, 437. Brings the royal family to Paris, 440. His resistance to the Anarchists, 441. Disperses a mob in the Champs de Mars, 463. Removed from command, 464. Denounced by Robespierre and the Jacobins, 483. Marches into Belgium, 484. His unsuccessful campaign and return, 484. Forwards a menacing letter to the Assembly, 489. Appears with petitions before the Assembly, whom he addresses on the late insurrection, 495. Reproved by Guadet, 495. Proposes to have a review of the National Guards, 496. Visits the King and royal family, who receive him coldly, 496. Retires to the army, being unable to carry out his plans, 496. His scheme for carrying away the King, 497. Fails in his measures in Flanders, 499. Excites the indignation and alarm of the Assembly, 499. Accused by the Jacobins, 503. Acquitted by the Assembly, 508. Compels his generals and army to repeat their oath of allegiance to the King, 532. His soldiers refusing, he flies to the Austrians for safety, 532. Released from prison, v. 40. Defends the Chamber of Peers, 428. Saves Polignac and other ministers from death, 430. For further history, *see* Fayette, La, General

Laffite, M., elected a deputy, v. 283. Forms a provisional government, 397. Ready to accommodate with King's proposals, 405. Warns the Duke of Orleans to beware of St. Cloud, 407. Agrees to recognise the duke as king, 407. Sends vote of the chambers to the Duke of Orleans for his elevation, 410. Becomes minister of state, without office, 421. And president of the council, 424. Retains office, in spite of the conduct of Louis Philippe, 432. Dissolves artillery companies of the National Guards, 432. Introduces a series of laws to the chambers, 432. Fails in his measures, 433. Charged by Guizot with incapacity, 437. Seeks to make up a ministry with the Left, 438. His plans of finance rejected, 438. Suspends payment, 438. Helped by the King, 438. Quits office, 439. His character and government, 439. Waits on Louis Philippe, 471

Lagny, taken from the English by the Royalists, ii. 186. Besieged and taken by the Prince of Parma, iii. 272, 273

Lagos, defeat of the French off, iv. 277

Lagrange, M., republican, resists the troops at S. Bonaventure, v. 484. His violent conduct before his triers, 492. Pockets the abdication paper of Louis Philippe, 594. Arrested, 661

LAH

- Laharpe, exiled, v. 37
 Lainé, M., his measures for consideration of the chambers, v. 286
 Lajard, minister of war, opposes revolution in Belgium, iv. 532
 Lallemand, M., shot by the Guards, v. 305
 Lallier, conspires to make over Paris to the Armagnacs, ii. 149
 Lally, Count, loses Pondicherry, iv. 275. His trial and execution, 276
 Lally Tollendal, his escape from the Abbaye, iv. 524
 Lamarlière, execution of, iv. 636
 Lamarque, General, denounces Perier and his measures, v. 449. Funeral of, 468. Procession of Buonapartists at, 468, 469. Riots at, 469-471
 Lamartine, M. de, his character of the Chamber of Deputies, v. 270. Proposal of admitting him to Molé's cabinet, 511. Defends Molé, but looked upon as an amateur, 513. Reproaches M. Guizot's government, 552. Becomes a member of the Provisional Government, 596. And minister for foreign affairs, 605. His retort to those demanding his head, 607. Opposes the Terrorists, 610. His noble opposition to the Terrorists meets a grateful reward, 611. Defeats the Socialist plot of Blanqui, 615. His attachment to Ledru Rollin leads to his being rejected as chief of the new republican government, 618. Forms one of the new ministry, 618. Warns his party on the exclusion of the Socialists, 619. Deprecates attempt to revolutionise other nations, 620. His attempts to harangue the Socialist mob, but prevented, 621. Congratulates the Assembly on its deliverance, 622. At the head of Garde Mobile arrests the committee of government, 622. Sends them to Vincennes, 622. Seeks to exile Louis Napoleon, 623
 Lamballe, Princess de, massacred, iv. 528. Her head presented to Marie Antoinette, 528
 Lambesc, Prince of, charges the people in the Tuilleries gardens, iv. 423
 Lamennais, condemnation of, v. 547
 Lameths, secret councillors of the King, iv. 472
 Lamoignon, becomes chancellor, iv. 387. Adopts the recommendations of Calonne, 389. His speech to the Parliament, 395. Fills his pockets when resigning, 403
 Lamoricière, General, engaged in putting down insurrection of the ateliers, v. 627. Minister of war, 630. Attacked by the Moors, 560. Receives the submission of Abd-el-Kader, 562. Tries to pacify the people, but fails, 592. Risks his life, 593. Arrested, 661
 Lamothe, Madame de, iv. 377. Becomes mistress of the Cardinal de Rohan, 377. Her

LAN

- part in the story of the *collier*, or necklace, 377. Her punishment, 379. Escapes to England, 380
 Lamourette, Bishop of Lyons, urges reconciliation of parties in the Assembly, iv. 500. His reconciling measure, denominated 'Lamourette's kiss,' 501
 Land, law of the descent of, i. 265
 Landau taken and retained by the French, iv. 118
 Landais, minister to the Duke of Brittany, his hostility to the nobles of the province, ii. 362. His part taken by the Duke of Orleans, 362. Put to death, 363
 Landed proprietors, increased taxation levied on, by Garnier Pagés, v. 611, 612
 Landrecies besieged by the Anglo-Imperialists, ii. 557. Invested by Prince Eugène, iv. 114
 Land-tenure, the northern system of, extended by Charles Martel, i. 15
 Language of the Troubadours and its origin, i. 172. The French language in the eighteenth century, iv. 208
 Languedoc, condition of the province in the thirteenth century, i. 172. How the clergy were regarded at that period, 173. Papal envoys sent into, to collect evidence of heresy, 175. Legacies to the Church refused in, 175. Tithes paid to lay chiefs in, 175. The papal crusade against the Albigenses proclaimed, 177. The massacre at Beziers, 177. Capture of Toulouse, and transfer of the sovereignty to Simon de Montfort, 183. This sovereignty confirmed by the Council of Lateran, 184. Refusal of the Languedocians to submit to him and the monks, 185. The standard of war raised by the deposed Count Raymond and his son, 185. Who recover Toulouse from De Montfort, 185. Termination of the struggle, 186. Crusade of Louis VIII. for the subjugation of, 199. Reduction of Avignon, but Toulouse untouched, 199, 200. The country virtually subdued, and the authority of the Pope established in, 200. Queen Blanche's mitigation of the severity of the government in, 242. Mode in which the province was annexed considered, 244. Lapses to the French crown, 279. Popularity of Philip the Fair, 338. Subsequent turbulence of some of the cities, 338. The powers of the crown usurped by the Estates in, 467. Placed under the government of the Duke of Anjou, 497. Rising of the Languedocians against the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou, 548. Causes of this, 548, 549. The Duke of Berry appointed to the government of, ii. 9. His march into, and defeat in, 10-12. His cruelties there, 12. Rise of the Languedocians against the Armagnacs, 86. Courage and capacity of the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.) in, 206.

LAN

- Atrocities committed upon the Huguenots of, iii. 47. Crussel sent by Catherine de Medicis to, 48. Increase of the tallage from the time of Louis XI. to that of Charles IX., 155. Power of the Estates of, 503. Which are suspended by Richelieu, 503, 504. Power of the Duke of Montmorency in Languedoc, 506. His revolt there, 509. Restoration of its estates by Richelieu, 510
- Lanjuinais, threatened by Legendre, iv. 583, 587. Enters the Archevêché in disguise, and reveals conspiracy of the communes, 584. His reply to the insult of Chabot, 588. Proposes to *cancel* trial of Louis XVI., 551. Votes for his detention or exile, 554. With other Girondists, retreats to Caen, 593. Denounced by Tallien, 680. Elected president of the chambers, v. 250
- Lannes, General, heads the army of Italy, v. 84. Encounters General Ott at Montebello, and gains his title, 84, 85. His gallant conduct at Essling, 163. His death, 164
- Lannoy, the Viceroy, follows the French invaders towards the Lake Maggiore, ii. 479. At the battle of Pavia, 484. Removes the captive Francis I. to Pizzighetone, 486. His letter to the Emperor, 487. Repels Vaudemont from Naples, 496
- Lanterne, party of, denounced by Camille Desmoulins, iv. 637. *See* Convention; Mountain; Robespierre
- Lanusse, General, defeats Austrians at Dego, v. 18
- Laon, power and wealth of the church of, i. 77. The town betrayed by Arnulph, 77. Plundering propensities of the people of, 120. The liberties of the town abrogated by the King, 123. Massacre of the nobles and ecclesiastics in consequence, 123. Restoration of its municipal rights, 123. Its liberties abolished by Charles the Fair, 387. Besieged and captured by Henry IV., 312
- La Peyrouse, his voyage round the world, iv. 380
- Larche, judge of parlement, beheaded by the Sixteen, iii. 281
- Lasource, one of the Gironde, attacks Danton, iv. 573. Compelled to welcome and compliment Marat, 575
- Lateran, Fourth Council of, summoned, i. 184. Resolutions of the, 184. Its establishment of the Inquisition, 184. Council of, ii. 437
- Latilli, Bishop of Chalons, charged with having caused the death of Philip the Fair by sorcery, i. 363. Imprisoned and tortured by Charles of Valois, 363
- Latour Maubourg, chosen minister, v. 298. His army policy, 311
- Lau, Sire de, escapes from prison, ii. 289. Takes succour to the Duke of Normandy, 291

LAW

- Laubardemont, partiality of Cardinal Richelieu for him, iii. 549. His treatment of the people of Loudun, 549, 550
- Laufeldt, battle of, iv. 239
- Laufen, defeat of the troops of the King of the Romans at, ii. 529
- Laura, of Petrarch, her death, i. 439
- Laurens, Puy, favourite of Gaston of Orleans, iii. 509. Created a duke, 511. Sent to prison, 511
- Laurent, San, village of, occupied by the Emperor Charles V., ii. 539
- Lauriston, ambassador, signs treaty of peace at London, and drawn in triumph by the city mob, v. 96
- Lautrec, Marshal, despatched to Milan, ii. 472. His difficulties with his mercenaries, 472, 473. His unpopularity, 473. Dispersion of his army, 473. Repulsed at the Bicocca, 473. Deserted by his infantry, and returns to France, 474. Sent with an army into Italy, 501. Takes Alexandria, and carries Pavia by storm, 502. Winters at Bologna, 502. Besieges Naples, 502-504. Where he dies, 504
- Lavalette, Father, the Jesuit, his counting-house at Martinique, iv. 301
- Lavalette, Count, warns Buonaparte of the Assembly, v. 36. His arrest, 267, 273. Condemned, but escapes, through his wife and daughter, 273, 274
- Lavaur, besieged and taken by Simon de Montfort, i. 181
- Laverdy, controller-general, his management of the finances, iv. 308
- Lavoisier, judge of the revolutionary tribunal, executed, iv. 646
- Law, John, his influence, iv. 146. Resisted by Parliament, 154. His history, 160. His first bank, 162. Formation of the Company of the West, 165. Law's recoinage opposed by the Parliament, 166. But this opposition set aside, 168. Law becomes minister of finance, 168. Sets the example of time bargains, 169. Success of his schemes, 169. Becomes comptroller-general of France, 172. His credit shaken, 172. His violent and unjust decrees, 172, 175. Arrested, but liberated, 176. Ejects d'Argenson, 176. Obtains the banishment of the Parliament, 177, 178. Assailed by the mob in Paris, 178. His flight from France, 178. And death in poverty, 179
- Law, Roman, revival of the study of the, i. 170
- Law, Courts of: rise of the class of legists under Louis IX., i. 275. Importance of the legists in the reign of Philip the Fair, 299. Philip the Fair taught by his legists the difference between temporal and spiritual power, 319. Rise and power of the legists under Philip the Fair, 357. The Haute

LAW

- Cour established by the Legislative Assembly, iv. 478. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.
- Law of Love, enactment of the, v. 357, 360
- Laybach, meeting of sovereigns at, v. 309
- Lead, staple of, fixed by Edward III., i. 437
- League of the Barons against Queen Blanche, i. 206. Members of the league, 206. Aid promised them by Henry III. of England, 207. A short-lived reconciliation effected, 207. Renewal of their turbulence, 208. Their purposeless aims, 209
- League of Cambray formed, ii. 427
- League, Catholic, dissolution of the estates of the League, iii. 305, 306. Rally of the chief Leaguers, with the exception of Mayenne, to Henry IV., 307. Endeavours of Rome to bring back Charles IX. to the terms of the, 127. Formation of the League, 175. Its objects, 175. And arrangements, 179. The King's endeavours to defeat it, 180. Offensive demands of its chiefs, 184. Its provisions directed principally against Henry of Navarre, 187. Resuscitation of the League, 198, 199. Signed by Henry III. under the name of the Catholic Union, 222. Declares the Cardinal of Bourbon king, 263. Defeat of the Leaguers at Ivry, 264-266. And at Issouire, 266
- League, Holy, invades Italy, ii. 622
- League of the Public Good, formed, ii. 266-269. Mode of proceeding of the malcontents, 268
- League for restoring the authority of the Estates, formed, ii. 366
- League of the Italians against the French, ii. 387
- League, plan of a, for humbling the House of Austria, iii. 449
- League of the Rhine formed, iii. 640
- Lebas, the Terrorist, returned member of the Convention, iv. 535. Marries Duplay's daughter, 645. Arrested, but released by the communes, 657. Re-arrested, and commits suicide, 659
- Lebon, returned member of the Convention, iv. 535
- Lebrun, appointed foreign minister by the Assembly, iv. 518. Arrested, 585. Becomes third consul, 78. Created arch-treasurer, 118
- Lechelle, sansculotte general, supersedes Kleber in La Vendée, iv. 602. His incompetency, 602
- Leck, defeat of the Suabians and Bavarians by Pepin the Bref on the, i. 20
- Leclerc, Perrinet, opens the gates of Paris to the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 124
- Leclerc, the wool-carder of Meaux, ii. 515. Burned for his Protestantism, 515

LEG

- Leclerc, General, clears the Convention, v. 71. Captures Toussaint, 96
- L'Ecluse, naval battle of, i. 409. Meeting of Edward III. and the Flemish magistrates at, 421
- Lecointre, arrest and deportation of, iv. 672
- Lecoq, Robert, Bishop of Laon, one of the two leading spirits of the Estates, i. 466. One of a triumvirate to place Charles of Navarre on the throne of France, 471
- Lectoure, fortress of, lost to the Huguenots, iii. 429
- Ledru Rollin, elected for Sarthe, as a republican, v. 549. Becomes a member of the Provisional Government, 596. Minister of the interior, 605. Patronises Madame Sand's Socialist journal, and excites insurrection, 612. Objects to expel the Moderates, 613. Annuls election of officers to the National Guard, and decrees their uniforms to be alike, 613, 614. Rescinds his measures, 614. Reveals Blanqui's plot to Lamartine, 615. His attachment to Lamartine, 618. Forms one of the new ministry, 618. Favours schemes for revolutionising other nations, 619. Arrests, by the Garde Mobile, the committee of government, and sends them to Vincennes, 622. Defends the Socialist prisoners, 632. In discussions as to who shall govern, proposes that there shall be no president and no elections, 634. Impeaches Louis Napoleon's first cabinet, 638. Opposed to the new president, he heads a Socialist insurrection, 642. Failing in this, he sails for England, 643. Confesses his incapacity to lead an insurrection, 644
- Lefèvre created a peer of France, v. 295
- Left and Right of the Chambers, the division. *See* Deputies, Chamber of; Convention, &c.
- Legacies to the Church, considered as an imperative duty, i. 175. Refused in Languedoc, 175
- Legations, Italian, occupied by the Austrians, v. 449. Arbitrary government of the Pope, leads to insurrection in, 459. Invasion of, by Austrians, who take Romagna, 459
- Legendre the Butcher, leads the insurrection of the 20th of June, iv. 490. Enters the presence of the King whom he threatens, 493. Threatens Lanjuinais, 583, 587. Endeavours to save Fonfrède, 589. Witnesses against the Hébertists, 640. Seeks to save Danton, but prevented by Robespierre, 642. Flings open the prison doors and releases the proscribed, 663. At the head of the Sectionist forces defends the Convention, 679
- Leghorn surrendered to France, ii. 383
- Legislative Assembly. *See* Assembly, Legislative
- Legion of Honour created, v. 100
- Legists, rise of the class of, i. 170, 275. Their

LEI

- introduction into the King's council, 170. Their influence curtailed under Philip of Valois, 395. Their proposed remedies for the abuses of the clergy, 397. Their power and influence in the commencement of the seventeenth century, iii. 401. Quarrels between them and the other orders in the Estates, 442, 403. *See* Judges
- Leibnitz, his influence in the counsels of the Elector of Brandenburg, iii. 664. His state paper on the treaty between England and France, 675
- Leicester, Earl of, lands, with an army of Flemings, to oppose Henry II. of England, i. 147. Defeated and captured, 147
- Leipzig, battles of, iii. 504, 515; v. 201, 212
- Lemair, Cauchois, recommends the Duke of Orleans to bid for the throne, v. 365
- Le Mans, duchy of, given by Charles the Bald to Hemispoe, the Breton prince, i. 46. Municipality of, founded, 99. Its independence destroyed by William the Conqueror, 100. Stormed by Richard, son of Henry II. of England, 157. Taken and sacked by King John of England, 163
- Lenoir, lieutenant of Paris police, dismissed, iv. 347
- Lens, taken by the Archduke Leopold, iii. 574. Battle of, 574
- Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna, his disregard of the authority of the Pope, i. 26
- Leo III., Pope, election of, i. 28. Maltreated by the Romans in the street, 28. Crowns Charlemagne at Rome, 28
- Leo X., Pope, when cardinal taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, ii. 436. Elected pope, 438. Concludes a treaty with Francis I. at Bologna, 456. His negotiations with Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V., 470
- Leoben, treaty of, v. 31
- Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, his election, iii. 640. Claims the Infanta for his bride, 640. Marries the second daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, 662. Efforts to induce him to join the Triple Alliance, 673. Roused to a sense of danger, 676, 682. Adheres to the treaty of Nimeguen, 703. Expostulates with Louis XIV. on his ambition, iv. 24. Joins a league against France, 25. Signs the peace of Ryswick, 60-63. His claim to the Spanish succession, 71, 72. Rejects the Spanish partition treaty, 79. His anger at the elevation of the Duke of Anjou to the Spanish throne, 81. Signs the treaty of Loo, 83. His general, Prince Eugène, 84
- Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, chosen king of the Belgians, v. 447. His throne rendered secure by arrival of the French, 448
- Leopold, Prince of Saxe-Coburg, intrigues as to his marriage with Queen Isabella, v. 564, *et seq.*

LEY

- Leopold, the Archduke, invades Juliers, iii. 377. Takes Lens, 574. His army defeated by the Prince of Condé, 574, 575
- Leopold, Duke of Austria, takes Richard I. of England prisoner, i. 160
- Lepaux, one of the five directors, v. 5
- Lepelletier, appointed finance minister to Louis XIV., iv. 55. Resigns, 56
- Lepers, the, accused of poisoning, and tortured, i. 374. And many put to death, 375
- Leprosy, spread of, from Palestine to France, i. 374
- Le Puiset, fortress of, destroyed by Louis the Fat, i. 116
- Lerac, M. de, his life saved, iii. 145
- Lerida, recaptured by the Spaniards, iii. 570. Besieged unsuccessfully by the Prince of Condé, 573
- Lescun, De, opposes the demands of Anne Beaujeu, ii. 365. Succeeds to the chief influence with the Duke of Brittany, 366. Joins the conspiracy against the court, 366. Withdraws from the court of Brittany, 370. His attack on Reggio, 472. Capitulates to Prosper Colonna, 474
- Lescure, M. de, death of, at the battle of Nantes, iv. 601
- Lesdiguieres, Marshal and Constable, his struggles in Dauphiné, iii. 261. Subdues the Catholics there, and takes Grenoble, 275. Placed in command of an army to invade Lombardy, 377. His army dissolved, 388. But reformed against Savoy, 397. Negotiation with him for his conversion to Catholicism, 431. Instructed to treat with the Huguenots, 436. Abandons them, and receives the office of constable, 437. Failure of his expedition to Genoa, 453. His death, 468
- Lesparré, leads an army into Navarre, ii. 470. Killed, 471
- Leszczynska, Stanislas, his residence in Paris, iv. 192. His daughter, Marie, married to Louis XV., 193
- Leszczynska, Marie. *See* Marie.
- Letellier, Chancellor, appointed by Louis XIV. secretary of state, iii. 652. Signs the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, iv. 18
- Letes, rise of the, i. 36, 37
- Letourneur, one of the five directors, v. 5
- Lettres de Cachet abolished by Parliament, iii. 585. Malesherbes' proposed reform in the issue of, iv. 348. The abolition of, demanded by the judges, 397
- Leuchtenberg, Duke of, proposed as king of the Belgians, v. 434
- Leuthen, battle of, iv. 272
- Levasseur, arrest and deportation of, iv. 672
- Leyva, Antonio di, Spanish general, his defence of Pavia against Francis I., ii. 483. Makes a sortie, 484. Defeats the French

LIB

- under St. Pol, whom he takes prisoner, 504. Spanish general besieges the French in Turin, 538. His death, 540
- Libertins, the, of the close of the seventeenth century, iv. 69. Rise of the sect of, 209. Their increase in Paris, 224
- Liberty, conflicting principles of Absolutism and, iii. 2. Liberty in the north, 2
- Liberty, statue of, Madame Roland's exclamation on seeing, iv. 622
- Liberty (or Reason) Goddess of, her worship substituted for the national religion, iv. 635
- Library of Charles V. in the Louvre, i. 503
- Lichtenstein, Prince de, crosses the Alps with an Austrian army, and invades Provence, iv. 235, 236. Defeats the Spaniards near Piacenza, 236
- Lichtenstein, Prince of, demands an armistice, v. 125
- Liege, Bishop, lords of, ii. 60. Rebellion of the people of, against John of Bavaria, ii. 60. Who is assisted by the Duke of Burgundy, 61. Defeat of the citizens at the battle of Hasbain, 61. Hostilities of the people of, to the House of Burgundy, 276, 278, 279. Their wrongs, 279. Choose Marcus of Baden their chief and commander, 280. Who will not lead them, 280. Their insurrection put down by the Count of Charolais, 281. The people stirred up by the King of France, 284. Besiege and take the town of Huy, 285. The people defeated by the count (now duke), and the city taken, 286. Deprived of their liberties, and taxed seven times their previous amount, 287. Rebellion of the citizens, 291. Destroyed by the Duke of Burgundy, 293. Captured by Marlborough, iv. 86. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I., &c.
- Ligny, battle of, 252
- Ligny, De, at Milan, ii. 406. Takes Ludovico Sforza prisoner, 407
- Ligonier, Sir John, taken prisoner at Laufeldt, iv. 239
- Lille, town of, taken by Philip Augustus, and retaken by the Flemings, i. 188. Besieged by Philip, but the siege raised, 334. Handed over to the French, 335. Redemanded by the Flemings, 354, 364, 372. Given up to the French, 372. Ceded by Charles V. to the Flemings, 521. Taken and fortified by Vauban, iii. 663. Ceded to France, 667. Besieged and taken by Prince Eugène, iv. 100. Retained by France, 116. Bombarded, 546. Louis XVIII. retires to, but expelled, v. 246
- Limoges, opens its gates to the French, i. 527. Capture and massacre of the population of, by the Black Prince, 528
- Limoux, massacre of the Huguenots of, iii. 66
- Lincaster, his sermon to the dignitaries of the Parliament of Paris, iii. 235

LON

- Lincoln, the French, under the Count de Perche, defeated before, i. 193
- Lincoln, Earl of, taken prisoner by Robert of Artois, i. 309
- Lindet, Robert, member of committee of Public Safety, iv. 609. His arrest and trial, 680
- Lindsay, Lord, commands a fleet sent to succour the Rochellois, iii. 478
- Linz occupied by the French and Bavarians, iv. 217. Retaken by the Austrians, 219
- Lionne, appointed by Louis XIV. master of diplomatic and foreign relations, iii. 652
- Lippe, Count de la, commands a corps for the defence of Lisbon, iv. 286
- Literature, revival of, in Italy, ii. 511. Of the Troubadours, and its birthplace, i. 172. French, in the eighteenth century, iv. 208
- Loan, the first state, in France, i. 367
- Lobau, island of, occupied by the French, v. 163-165
- Lobau, Marshal, defeats the Red Republicans, v. 471. Attacks populace in insurrection of 1834, 484
- Lobkowitz, Prince, besieges the French in Prague, iv. 222
- Lobositz, battle of, iv. 267
- Locarno seized by the Swiss, ii. 437
- Loches, fortress of, taken by Philip Augustus, i. 165
- Lodi, Bridge of, defended by Beaulieu, v. 19. Battle of, 20
- Logrono besieged by the French, ii. 471. Who are defeated by the Castilians, 471
- Loheac, Marshal, joins the league against Louis XI., ii. 267. Has a command in the regular army, 275
- Loiseau, obtains a confession from Jeanne d'Arc by treachery, ii. 176
- Loix, battle of, i. 12
- Lombards, hired by Philip the Fair, against the Flemings, i. 333. Their claim of tribute from Rome, 20. Compelled by Pepin the Bref to make restitution to the Pope, 21. Their mode of warfare, 21. Capture of Pavia and of the Lombard king Desiderius by Charlemagne, 25. Many of the Lombard dukes left by him in possession of their duchies, 25
- Lombardy conquered by the Venetians, ii. 426. Overrun by the French, iv. 204
- Lonato, battle of, v. 22
- London, charter of, granted by Henry I., i. 120. Prince Louis of France acknowledged sovereign of, 192. Lends him money on his departure, 193
- Longjumeau, treaty of, iii. 99
- Longueville, Duke of, proposes a marriage between Louis XII. and the Princess Mary of England, ii. 442. Acts as proxy, 443
- Longueville, Duke of, routs the Parisians under the Duke of Aumale, iii. 246. Recognises

LON

- Henry IV. as king, 254. Wavers in his allegiance to the King, 288. Reconciled to the court, 409. Obtains Amiens and Picardy, 409. Seizes the fortress of Péronne, 412. His power in Normandy, 599. Arrested by Mazarin, 600.
- Longueville, Duke de (son of the last), killed at the Lech, ii. 678.
- Longueville, Duchess of, secured by De Retz, iii. 592. Demands Mazarin's exile, 595. Coldly received at court, 599. Holds out at Bordeaux for the Fronde, 633
- Longwy, capture of, by the Duke of Brunswick, iv. 523
- Loo, treaty of, iv. 83
- Loretto, our Lady of, Buonaparte strips her of her jewels, and sends them to Paris, v. 32
- Lorges, Marshal de, loses Mayence, iv. 36
- Loria, Roger de, takes service under Peter III. of Aragon, i. 285. Takes command of an Aragonese fleet to Africa, and thence to Sicily, 285, 289. His defeat of the Angevin fleet near Malta, 292. Kills the Angevin admiral Cornut, 222. Insults Naples, 292. And defeats the Prince of Salerno, whom he takes prisoner, 293. Carries on the war against France after the death of Peter III., 300. Defeats the French fleet in the Bay of Naples, 300
- Lorraine, Charles, Cardinal of. *See* Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine
- Lorraine, aversion of the people of, to both the French and German races, i. 55. State of, at the end of the tenth century, 63. Suzerainty of the Emperor Conrad II. over, 91. Bequeathed to René of Anjou, ii. 185. Who is defeated by the Count of Vaudremont at the battle of Brenneville, 186. Territories and towns of, ceded to the Duke of Calabria, 275. Invaded by Charles the Rash of Burgundy, 316, 317. Invaded by German Reformers, 515. Expedition of Henry II. of France to, 609. Invaded by the French, 609. Persecution of the Protestants of, iii. 16. Reduced by Henry IV., 313. Invaded by Louis XIII. and Richelieu, 505. Made subject to France, 506. Finally crushed by Richelieu, 511. Becomes virtually French, 519, 520. Negotiations for the restoration of, 575. The superiority of the French established in, 603. Invaded again by the French, 676. Restored to its dukes by the peace of Ryswick, iv. 63
- Lorraine, Duke of (temp. 1641), joins a League formed against Richelieu, iii. 535. Fails to join in the field, 535
- Lothaire I., son of Louis the Débonnaire, his succession to the Empire reserved by his father, i. 38. Struggle between the father and sons, 39. The cause of his father embraced by Lothaire, 39. Death of Louis the Débonnaire, and accession of Lothaire, 40.

LOU

- Lothaire's struggle with his two brothers, and the antagonistic principle of local sovereignty, 40. Crosses the Alps with an army of Lombard followers, 40. His claims as emperor supported by the clergy, 40. Supported also by the great nobles of the centre of France, 40. Victory of the Germans and French, under his brothers Louis and Charles, at Fontenailles, 40, 41. Union of Louis of Bavaria and of Charles the Bald to cast off the Emperor's authority, 42. His subsequent efforts to resist his brethren, 42. Concludes a treaty of partition with them at Verdun, 42. His territory, 43. Plays the part of Italian emperor at Rome, 43. His death, 43
- Lothaire, son of Louis d'Outremer, becomes King of France, i. 60. Under the guardianship of Gerberga, sister of the Emperor Otho I., 61. His attempt to surprise Otho II., 64. His disgust with Hugh Capet, 65. Waives his pretensions to Lorraine, 65. In league with Henry of Bavaria, endeavours to take Lorraine, 66. Takes Verdun, 66. His death, 66.
- Lotteries in France in the middle of the eighteenth century, iv. 249, 251
- Louchet, member of the Convention, moves arrest of Robespierre and his party, iv. 657
- Loudun, conference of, iii. 408. Assembly of the Huguenots in, in 1619, 428. Laubardemont's treatment of the people of, 549
- Louis IV., of Bavaria, Emperor of Germany, agrees to assist Edward III. of England against France, i. 400. War of the Popes against him, 403. His meeting with Edward at Coblenz, 403. Creates Edward his vicar-general in the Low Countries, 403. Joins Edward in his campaign of 1339, 403. Recalls his grant of the vicariat, 415.
- Louis I., the Débonnaire, son of Charlemagne, assigned by his father to the government of the South of France, i. 32. Death of his brothers, 32. Crowned by his father at Aix, 32. Succeeds to the empire, 32. His character, 33. Rise of feudalism at this period, 33. And the blow given by it to his empire, 35. His division of the empire amongst his three sons, 38. His marriage with Judith, Princess of Guelph, 39. His son Charles, afterwards Charles the Bald, 39. His struggle with his sons, 39. Thrown into captivity by his sons, 39. His death, 40
- Louis IV., d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, invited to assume the crown, i. 56. His policy and enemies, 56. Marries a sister of the German Emperor, Otho, 57. Endeavours to obtain possession of the duchy of Normandy, 58. Made captive by Hugh the Great, 59. Regains his liberty on giving up his possessions, 59. Induces the Empe-

LOU

ror Otho to invade France, 59. Comes to terms with Hugh, 60. His death, 60

Louis V., le Fainéant, i. 66. Crowned during his father's lifetime, 66. Marches to reduce Rheims, 67. His death, 67

Louis VI., the Fat, his early life, i. 112. Treachery of his mother-in-law, Queen Bertrade, 113. Associated by his father with him in the kingdom, 113. Opposes William Rufus in his invasion of the Vexin, 112. His early relations with Henry I., of England, 113. His mode of raising the royal prerogative, 114. Defends the clergy against the barons, 114. Compels Burchard of Montmorency to submit to the Abbey of St. Denis, 114. Defends the churches of Orleans and Rheims against the noblesse, 114. Reduces the barons and castles around Paris, 115. The two periods into which his reign and policy may be divided, 117. His struggle with Henry I. of England, 117, 118. And with Theobald, Count of Chartres, 118. Beaten at Brenneville, and withdraws to Paris, 119. Summons the nobles and population to assist him, 119, 120. Municipal privileges granted by him to towns, 120. Grants charters to towns in order to humble the nobles, 122. Abrogates the liberties of Laon, but subsequently regrants them, 123. His accusations at the Council of Rheims against Henry I. of England, 125. Ordered by the Pope to keep the truce of God, 125. Collects an immense national army at Rheims to oppose the Emperor and Henry I. of England, 125. Enforces French suzerainty beyond the Loire, 126. His methods of promoting the growth of his power, 127. His minister, Suger, 127. Divorces his wife, 127. And marries the daughter of Anne of Savoy, 127. Associates with him his son Philip, who is crowned, 127. But who is killed soon after, 128. His second son Louis crowned by Pope Innocent II., 128. Marries his son to Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, 128. His death, 128. Institutions which arose in his reign, 129

Louis VII., King of France, crowned during his father's lifetime, i. 128. Marries Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, 128. Condition of his dominions as compared with Germany and England, 129, 130. His treatment of the citizens of Orleans, 132. And of Sens, 132. Crowned at Bourges, 133. His unsuccessful siege of Toulouse, 133. His breach with Innocent II., 133. Excommunicated, 133. At war with the Count of Champagne, 133. Accident at the siege of Vitry, 133. Makes peace with the count and beseeches pardon of the Pope, 134. Favours the cause of King Stephen in England, 136. Assumes the Cross and joins the Second Crusade, 137. Joined by his wife, 137. His ill-success, 138,

LOU

139. Returns to France, 139. Divorces his wife Eleanor, and marries Constance of Castille, 140. Marries his sister to the Count of Toulouse, 140. His serious rivalry with Henry II. of England, who had married his divorced queen, 141. Makes an attempt on Normandy, but repelled by Henry II., 142. Gives his daughter, Margaret, in marriage to the son of Henry, 143. Defends Toulouse against Henry, 143. Fortifies Chaumont, which is taken by Henry, 143. Concludes peace at Trencavel, 143. Loses his wife, and marries Adele, daughter of the Count of Blois, 143, 144. Birth of his son, Philip Augustus, 144. Embraces the cause of Archbishop A'Becket, 145. His daughter, Margaret, not crowned with her husband, 146. War begun by Louis in consequence, 146. Takes Verneuil and sets fire to it, 146. Put to the rout by Henry, 147. Lays siege to Rouen, which is relieved, 147. Makes peace with Henry, 147. Struck by paralysis, 147. Causes his son Philip Augustus to be crowned, 147, 148. Makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of A'Becket, 148. His death, 148

Louis VIII., King of France, King John of England's possessions in Berry given up to, i. 163. His marriage with Blanche of Castille negotiated, 163. Interferes between the Albigenes and their persecutors, 184. Takes La Rochelle from King John, 186. Besieges Toulouse, but fails to take it, 186. Supports the Emperor Frederick II. against Otho IV., 189. Opposes King John of England at La Rochelle, 189. Accepts the offer of the English barons of the crown of England, 192. Lands in England, 192. Defeated at the Fair of Lincoln, 193. And compelled to conclude a treaty with Henry III., 193. Obtains a loan from the citizens of London and returns to France, 193. His accession to the crown on the death of his father, 193, 196. His descent, through his mother, from Charlemagne, 196. Energy and intelligence of his queen, Blanche of Castille, 196. Accepts Amaury de Montfort's offer of his claim to the county of Toulouse, 197. Fails to induce Pope Honorius III. to excommunicate Raymond VII. of Toulouse, 197. His designs against that county baffled in consequence, 198. Turns his arms against Henry III. of England, 198. Takes La Rochelle and drives the English entirely out of France, 198. Honorius' policy of reconciliation with Louis, 199. Receives from the Pope the mission to lead a new crusade against the Albigenes, 199. Assembles his army at Bourges, 199. Besieges and takes Avignon, but does not attempt Toulouse, 199, 200. His death at Montpellier, 200. His provision for his sons, 200

LOU

Louis IX., the Saint, his accession to the throne, i. 200. His character, 204. His age at the death of his father, 205. Regency of his mother, Blanche of Castille, 205. His coronation, 206. The League of the Barons against his mother, 206. Feebleness of the court during his minority, 210. Brittany invaded by Henry III. of England, 214. Louis marches into Brittany, 215. And concludes the truce of St. Aubin, 215. The possessions of the Count of Champagne made over to the crown of France, 216. Louis's marriage with Margaret of Provence, 216. Extent of his dominions and power at this period, 217. His ambition, 217. Suppresses the hostility of Raymond of Toulouse, 220. Invests his brother Alphonso with knighthood and the county of Poitou, 220. Rebellion of the Count de la Marche, 221-224. Louis summons a parliament to defend Poitou, and crush De la Marche, 222. Defeats his enemies at Taillebourg, 224. Reduces Poitou and takes the castle of Mirabeau, 224. Review of his acts as a legislator, 225. His line drawn between the French and English noblesse, 225. His ordinance against the right of private war, 225, 249. Receives news of the success of the Infidel at Jerusalem, 226. Flight of the Pope, Innocent IV., to Lyons, 227. Louis refuses to follow the Pope's advice, 228. Louis's illness, 228. He assumes the Cross, 228. And induces his brothers and courtiers to join him, 228, 229. His interview with the Pope at Cluny, 229. His proposals to Henry III. to convert the truce into a lasting peace, 229. His acquisition of Provence, 230, 231. His decision on the disputed succession to Flanders and Hainault, 231, 246. Finds the town of Aigues Mortes, 232. His preparations for the Crusades, 232. Joined by several English, 232. His embarkation on the Fifth Crusade, 233. Winters in Cyprus, 233. Lands in Egypt and takes Damietta, 233. Debauchery and licence of his chiefs, 233. Marches to Cairo, 234. His valour at the battle of Mansourah, 236. Fights a defensive battle and retreats, 236, 237. His illness, 237. Taken prisoner and ransomed, 237, 238. Sets sail for Acre, and effects the liberation of the imprisoned crusaders, 238. State of his dominions during his absence, 238-241. Death of his mother, 240. Returns home, 241. His edict repressing magisterial abuses, 242. His desire for the salvation of his own soul and the sanctification of his country, 245. His settlement of the boundary between France and Spain, 247. His treaty with Henry III. of England, i. 248. His restitution of lands to that King, 248. Abolishes trial by single combat, 249.

LOU

His établissements, 250. His judgment in the case of De Coucy, 250, 251. His arbitration between Henry III. and his barons, 252. His decision set aside, 252. Offered by the Pope the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, but refuses, 255. Determines to undertake another crusade, 257. His judicial and administrative reforms, 258. Severity of his penal code, 263. His military regulations, 263. His publication of the Pragmatic Sanction, 266. His negotiations with the Pope respecting judicial privileges, 267. His arrangements for the magistracy and police of Paris, 268. And for the coinage, 269. Review of his aims as a monarch, 269, 270. Sets out on a crusade, 271. Lands at Tunis, 272. There he loses his son John Tristam, 272. Louis's death at Tunis, 272. Canonised by Boniface VIII., 317. His character contrasted with that of Philip the Fair, 354.

Louis X., Hutin, King of France, when King of Navarre sent to crush the Lyonnese, i. 350. Dissolute life of his wife, Margaret of Burgundy, 353. Who was strangled in the castle of Andelys, 353, 364. His accession to the crown of France, 362. His fondness for rude pastimes, 362. Influence of his uncle, Charles of Valois, over him, 362. Louis's marriage with Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel, of Naples, 364. A war with Flanders threatened, 364. Louis's concessions of power and rights to the noblesse, 365. For the first time in the history of France money is borrowed on the credit of the state, 367. Raises and marches an army into Flanders, 367. But compelled by rain to retreat, 367. Anarchy in the kingdom in consequence, 367. Louis's death at Vincennes, 368. His daughter Jeanne, 368. His posthumous son, John, 369.

Louis XI., King of France, examples of his courage and capacity when Dauphin, ii. 205, 206. Raises the standard of revolt against his father, Charles VII., 206. Submits and is pardoned, 207. Dauphiné restored to him, 207. Taken with the King on his war against the nobles, 211. Defeats the English at Dieppe, 214, 219. Appointed by his father commander between the Seine and is Somme, 214. Overcomes Armagnac's rebellion in the south, 219. Leads the military mercenaries to aid Austria against Switzerland, 219. Defeats the Swiss at the battle of St. Jacques, 220. Concludes peace with them at Ensheim, 220. Hated and feared by the King's court, 233. Fate of his wife, Margaret of Scotland, 234. Calumnies invented against him, 234. Withdraws to Dauphiné in disgrace, 235. Marries the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, 235. Jealousy and anger with which he looked upon

LOU

the upstarts of the court, 241. His life in Dauphiné, 242. His quarrel with his father, 242, 243. His flight to the court of Burgundy, 243, 244. Death of his father, 245. Character of Louis, 250. His coronation, 252. His reception in Paris, 253. His persecution of his father's ministers, 253. And reward of his friends, 253, 254. His fondness for the chase, 254. His dislike of finery and airs, 254. His friendship with the Count of Charolais, the future Charles the Rash, 254. Grants to towns and nobles all their requests, 255. His first fiscal measure, 256. Abrogates the Pragmatic Sanction, 257. His habits and predilections, 258. Marries his sister Margaret to the son of the Count of Foix, 259. His acquisition of the Roussillon, 259. His English policy, 259. Regains the towns lost by the treaty of Arras, 262-264. Seizes and imprisons Philip de la Bresse, 265. Charged with having suborned Rubempré to kill the Count of Charolais, 265. His rupture with Burgundy, 266. Formation of a league of princes and high noblesse against him, 266. Reasons why he was deserted by his friends, 267. Mode of proceeding of the malcontents, 268. Louis's preparations for war, 268, 269. Receives assistance from the Duke of Milan and Lorenzo di Medici, 269. Marches against the rebels, 269. Offers them battle at Riom, which they decline, 269. Occupies Montlhéry, 270. Gives the enemy battle, 270. Retires to Corbeil, 271. Enters Paris, to which he makes concessions, 272. Meets the Count of Charolais, and negotiates the treaty of Conflans, 274. By which he is forced to give up Normandy to the Duke of Berry, 274. And makes other concessions to the rebel princes, 275. His position after all the arrangements were completed, 276. Replaces his councillors, 277. And recovers Normandy, 277. Incites the Flemish subjects of the Low Countries to insurrection, 284, 285. His preparations to stand a siege, if necessary, from the Burgundians, 285. His suppers with the citizens and their wives, 285, *note*. His mistress, Perette de Chalons, 285 *note*. Preparations of Charles of Burgundy for war, 287, 288. Louis summons the estates of his provinces at Tours, 288. Puts the Sieur de Melun to death for treason, 289. Amuses the Duke of Burgundy with embassies and negotiations, 289. Compels the Duke of Brittany to submit, 289. Visits the Duke of Burgundy with a safe-conduct, 290. Louis thrown into prison, 291. Terms by which he regains his freedom, 292. Marches with the Duke to Liege, which is destroyed, 293. Returns to France, 295. His arrangement with his brother, as to his

LOU

fief, 295. His punishment of Cardinal Balne for treason, 295. His intrigues in English affairs, 296. Recovers the towns of the Somme, 298. Concludes a truce for a year, 299. Death of his brother, the Duke of Guyenne, 300. Rupture of the treaty in consequence, 300. Again concludes a truce with Burgundy, 302. His position and the Duke's compared, 303. Sends envoys to Treves to cause dissension between the Emperor and the Duke, 306. Causes the murder of the Count and Countess of Armagnac, 307. At war with Ferdinand of Aragon respecting Roussillon, 307. Peace concluded between them, 307. Louis sends French agents to the Rhine to prompt resistance to the Duke of Burgundy, 310, 312. Promotes an alliance between Austria and the Swiss, 310. Pays the Swiss soldiers, who drive the Duke of Burgundy out of Alsace, 312. Invasion of France by Edward IV. and a formidable army, 313. Interview between the two Kings at Picquigny, and conclusion of a truce for seven years, 314. Obtains possession of the Constable St. Pol. and executes him for treason, 316, 317. Goes to Lyons to be near the theatre of war, 320. His generosity to the victorious Swiss, 321. Obtains the release of his sister, the Duchess of Savoy, 323. Death of his enemy, Charles of Burgundy, 324, 325. Louis seizes the towns of Picardy and Burgundy, 327. Claims the hand of Mary of Burgundy for the Dauphin, 328. Adhesion of various towns sent in to him, 329. Proceeds towards Flanders, 329. Endeavours to enter Arras, 330. The city of which is handed over to him, but not the town, 331. His policy with respect to Mary of Burgundy, 331. Purchases and pensions the nobles of Burgundy and England, 332. Sends Olivier le Daim, his barber, on a mission to Ghent, 332. The King's treachery to the Duchess of Burgundy, 332, 333. And its consequences to himself, 334. Tournay tricked by his barber into receiving a royal garrison, 335. Louis puts to death the envoys from Arras, 335. His delight in spilling blood, 335, 336. His treatment of the Duke of Nemours, 336. Makes a friend and pet of Tristan, the executioner, 337. Sends reapers into Artois instead of soldiers, 337, 338. Takes Condé, but refuses to meet Maximilian in the field, 339. Concludes a truce, 339. Invades Franche Comté, sacks Dôle, and compels the submission of Besançon, 339. His general, Crevecœur, loses the battle of Guinegate, 339. Louis abolishes his franc archers, 340. Concludes a peace with Maximilian, 341. Acquires Provence, 342. His views of centralisation and absolutism, 343,

LOU

344. His last illness, 344. His paternal advice to his son, 345. His death, 345. His character, 345. Public men of his time, 350
 Louis XII., King of France, when Duke of Orleans, ii. 351. Married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI., 351. Made governor of the Isle of France, Picardy, and Champagne, 352. Shares in the confiscations of the late King's favourites, 352. Suggests the convocation of the States-General, 354. Urges the Estates to seize a portion of the executive power, 358. Appointed to preside in the royal council during the absence of the King, 361, 362. His discontent, and efforts for the recovery of his influence, 362. Goes to Brittany, but returns to the coronation of Charles VIII., 362. René of Lorraine, raised up by Anne of Beaujeu as a rival to him, 363. Aid afforded him by the Duke of Brittany, 363. Who deserts him, 363. Compelled to submit at Beaugency, 363. His complaints to the royal council against the Lady Anne and her husband, 364. Escapes from arrest in Paris, 364. Joins the conspiracy to restore the authority of the Estates, 366. Escapes to Rheims, 366. And to Nantes, 367. His offers of submission to the King rejected by the Regent, 367. Meets the Royalists at St. Aubin, 367. Defeated and taken prisoner, 368. Liberated by Charles VIII., 372. And reconciled to the Lady Anne, by the King, 372. Joins Charles VIII. in his expedition to Italy, 382. Defeats the troops of Naples near Genoa, 382. Falls ill, 382. Advances claims on the duchy of Milan, 387. His hostilities with Ludovico Sforza, 389. Besieged in Novara, 389. Liberated by the treaty of Vercelli, 391. Destined to inherit the crown of France, 392. His magnanimity on his accession, 395. Peers present at his coronation, 395, *note*. His divorce from Jeanne, 396. And marriage to Anne of Brittany, 396, 397. His diminution of the taxes, 397. His objection to assembling the Estates, 397. Humbles the Parliament and the University, 398. His judicial reforms, 399, 400. Restores and observes the Pragmatic Sanction, 400. Effect of his equity, consideration, and economy on French institutions, 400. Growth of despotism and a rampant aristocracy, 400. Domestic progress of the French people during his reign, 401. His appointment of a prime minister, 401. His claim to the duchy of Milan, 403. His proposals to Venice, and to the House of Savoy, 403. Crosses the Alps with an army, 405. Occupies Milan, 405. His treatment of the duchy, 405, 406. His alliances in Italy, 406. Loses Milan, 406. His severity to foreign princes, and

LOU

clemency at home, 408. Timidity of his minister, D'Amboise, 409. Louis's treaty with Ferdinand of Aragon for the partition of Naples, 410. Sends an army to Naples, 411. Which is taken, 411. Treaty of partition concluded, 412. His daughter Claude affianced to Charles of Luxembourg, 412. The French driven out of Naples by the Spaniards, 413-415. Refusal of the Emperor to grant the investiture of Naples to Louis, 416. Enters into an alliance with Cesar Borgia, 416. His army again defeated by the Spaniards in Naples, 417, 418. And the French dominion in South Italy put an end to, 418. Louis's failure to take Pontarabia and reduce Roussillon, 418. His ill health, 418, 421. Concludes a three years' truce with Ferdinand of Aragon, 419. Concessions made by his Queen to Maximilian, 420, 421. Invested with the Milanese, 421. Breaks off with Maximilian, and affiances Claude to Francis d'Angoulême, 421. To which he obtains the sanction of the Estates at Tours, 422. Marches with an army against Genoa, 423. Which surrenders to him, 424. Alarm of the Pope and Emperor in consequence, 424. Louis's interview with Ferdinand of Aragon, 425. Induced by D'Amboise to quit Italy, 425. Joins the League of Cambray, 427. His answer to the Venetian envoy, 428. Raises an army, and taxes Florence and Milan for its pay, 428. Leads an army against the Venetians, 428. And defeats them at Agnadello, 428, 429. Reaction in favour of the Venetians, 430. Enemies raised up against Louis by the Pope and Ferdinand of Aragon, 431. Sends another army into Lombardy, 431. Summons a council at Tours, 431. Takes Bologna, 432. But forbears to follow up his success, 433. Formation of a league against him, 433. Sends Gaston de Foix into the Roman territories, 435. Gaston defeats the Romans and Spaniards at Ravenna, 435. Louis's losses and reverses beyond the Pyrenees and Alps, 437. Sends another army into Italy, 438. Where they are defeated by the Swiss at Novara, 438. Loss of the Milanese and Genoa, 439. Invaded by his neighbours on all sides, 439. Loses Théroanne and Tournay, 440. Surrender of the French strongholds in Italy, 440. Death of Anne of Brittany, 442. Marries the Princess Mary of England, 442. His death, 443. And character, 446
 Louis XIII., King of France, his birth and parentage, iii. 352. Assassination of his father, 379, 380. Holds a bed of justice, 385. Affianced to Anne of Austria, 396. His journey south, 399. Declares himself of age, 400. And delegates all power to his

LOU

mother, 400. State of the finances at this time, 404. His marriage, 408. Intercepted on his return by the Huguenots, 408. Kept in seclusion by his mother and Concini, 410. His favourite, De Luynes, 410. Sends secret assurances to the rebellious nobles in Soissons, 413. Causes the assassination of the Maréchal d'Ancre, 414. Receives the homage of his subjects for the first time freely, 415. His parting with his mother, who is compelled to quit the court, 416. Formation of his council of state, 418. Escape of his mother from confinement, 422. Accord between her and the court, 423. Marches to reduce the Queen-mother and nobles in Angers, 424. Which is taken, 425. Terms granted to the Queen, 426. Secures the Dukes of Epemon and La Force, 426. Pressed to march to the reduction of Bearn, 426. Embassy and proposals from the Emperor Ferdinand II., 427. Marches into, and reduces, Bearn, 429. Defiance of the Rochellois, 430. Leads his army in person, 430. Takes St. Jean d'Angely, 431. Captures Clerac, 432. Besieges Montauban, which he is compelled to raise, 431. Alienated from De Luynes, 431. Who is carried off by fever, 432. Recommended to continue hostilities against the Huguenots, 433. Hurries from Paris, and beats them, under Soubise, 434. Reduces the Dordogne, 436. And massacres the inhabitants of Negrepelisse, 436. Besieges Montpellier, 436. Makes peace with the Huguenots at Montpellier, 439. Joins Savoy and Venice for the liberation of the Grisons and the Valteline, 440. Appoints La Vieuville finance minister, 440. His religious and political policy, 441. Offer of marriage from the heir to the English throne, 442. Admits Richelieu into the council, 442. Induced by Richelieu to arrest and imprison his minister, Vieuville, 448. His jealousy and zeal for Catholicism, 450. Conclusion of the marriage treaty with England, 451. Failure of an expedition to Italy, 454. Capture of his fleet at Blavet by Soubise, 455. Who is subsequently defeated, with the assistance of the Dutch fleet, 458. Complete estrangement of the English and Dutch courts from that of France, 459, 460. Richelieu's private promises guaranteed by England, 462. The King makes peace with Spain, and gives up the Valteline in spite of Richelieu, 463. His quarrel with his brother Gaston, 464. State of his finances in 1626, 468. Quarrel about the English Queen's French followers, 472. Concludes a treaty with the King of Spain for the invasion of England, 473. His preparations for the attack on La Rochelle, 473, 474. Commencement of the

LOU

siege, 475. The King before the city, 475. Richelieu's dyke, 476. Return of the King to Paris, 477. Marches into Dauphiné, forces the pass of Susa, and reduces the Duke of Savoy, 481. Concludes peace with England, and turns his arms against the Huguenots, 481. His massacre of the Huguenots of Privas, 482. Concludes peace with the southern Huguenots, 483. Retirement of his brother Gaston to Lorraine, 486. Influence of bigoted counsels over him, 488. Nominates Richelieu prime minister and lieutenant-general, 490. Sends an army, under the cardinal, into Italy, 490. Conclusion of the treaty of Ratisbon, 496. Louis's illness and recovery, 497. Promises his wife and mother to dismiss Richelieu, 498. Dismisses him, but restores him the same day, 499, 500. Invades Lorraine with him, 505. Lorraine finally crushed, 511. A French army sent to aid the Germans, 511. Louis reconciled to his brother Gaston, 511. Results of the campaign of 1635, 512. Hands over Alsace to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, 513. Disastrous campaign of 1636, 513. Advance of the Spaniards to the Oise, 513. But are driven within their own frontier, 514. Alsace secured to France, 516. Louis goes to Roussillon, 519. Which he obtains, as well as Catalonia, 519. His Platonic amours, 529. Birth of his son, the future Louis XIV., 531. His favourite, Cinq Mars, 532. Louis's disgust of the policy and person of Richelieu, 536. With whom he marches into Catalonia, 536, 537. Gradually alienated from Cinq Mars, 537. Whom he gives up to Richelieu, 539. His interview with the cardinal at Tarascon, 539. Death of Richelieu, 541. Louis's last illness, 542. Proclaims the Queen regent, 542. His death, 544. And character, 544. Louis XIV., King of France, his birth, iii. 531. His answer to his father after his christening, 543. Death of his father, 544. His journey with his mother to Paris, 554. Holds a bed of justice, 569. Omer Talon's address to him, 582. Flies from Paris to St. Germain's, 592. Returns to Paris, 598. Declares himself of age, 615. Puts himself at the head of his army, and marches to Bourges, 615. Witnesses the conflict between Condé and Turenne in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 624. Removes from St. Denis to Pontoise, 628. Re-enters Paris an absolute king, 629, 630. Banishes the leaders of the Fronde, 632. His marriage with the Infanta proposed, 639. Endeavours of Mazarin to procure him the imperial crown, 639. The hand of the Infanta offered by the King of Spain, 641. Enamoured of Mazarin's nieces, 642. Concludes the treaty

LOU

of the Pyrenees, 642. His marriage, 643. Death of his minister, Mazarin, 644. Louis's character, 646-648. His habits and relations, 648. His foreign policy, 649. Purchases Dunkirk from England, and triumphs over Spain and Rome, 649. Sends an army against the Turks on the Danube, 650. His morals, 650. Mademoiselle de la Vallière, 651. His ministers after the death of Mazarin, 652. His punishment of Fouquet, 655. His new finance minister, Colbert, and his reforms, 655-657. His army and navy, 657, 658. His revival of pretensions to the supremacy of Charlemagne, 658. His negotiations as to the Spanish succession, 659. Claims Brabant by right of *evolution*, 659, 660. His negotiations with John de Witt, 661. Joins the Dutch against England, but lukewarm, 661. Makes secret peace with Charles II., 662. And invades the Low Countries, 662. His successes, 662, 663. Alarm and jealousy of Germany in consequence of, 663. Treaty of partition with Austria, 664. Formation of the Triple Alliance, 665. Louis's conquest of Franche Comté, 666. Signs the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 667. His mistress, Montespan, 668. His taste for fastuousness and privacy, 668. His bigoted policy, 669. His enmity to the Dutch, 670. His measures taken for their destruction, 672. Obtains the alliance of England against them, 673, 674. Sends an army into Lorraine, 676. His reasons for attacking Holland, 676. Secures Sweden and the Emperor, 676, 677. Marches for Holland, 677. Captures Maesyk, and crosses the Lech, 677, 678. Surrender of Zutphen, 679. Opening of the sluices, 679. Louis rejects the offers of submission of the Dutch, 680, 681. His demands, 682. Returns to France, 684. And presents the Prince of Orange with an army, 684. Makes peace with Brandenburg, 686. Desertion of England, 686. Alliance formed against him, 687, 688. Defeat of his troops under Condé, 689. And under Turenne, 691. Louis's losses, 692. And successes in 1676 and 1677, 696. His army in 1678, 697. State of his enemies, 697. Besieges and takes Ghent, 698. Concludes peace with the Dutch, 700, 701. And with the Emperor, 703. Compels the Elector of Brandenburg to give up his Swedish conquests, 704. Splendour and genius of his court compared with the misery and ignorance of his people, iv. 1, 2. Mania for reglementation at this period, 2. Debaucheries of his court, 4, 5. His dislike of the Huguenots, 6. Confirms the Edict of Nantes, 6. But forbids colloquies to the Protestants, 6. His mistresses, 10. His conversion, or change in life, 10.

LOU

His edict against *relaps*, 11. His dragonnades, 13, 14. His treatment of the Duke de Rohan, 17. Revokes the Edict of Nantes, 18. His treatment of foreign powers, 22. Grasps at portions of Germany, 22, 23. Takes Strasburg, 24. Purchases Casale, 24. Formation of a league against him, 25. Watches the progress of the Turks from the Rhine, 25. Turns his arms north, 25. Takes Courtray and Dixmunde, 25. Bombarde Oudenarde and takes Luxemburg, 26. Concludes the truce of Ratisbon, 26. Extent of his power, 27. Formation of another league against him, 28. His outrage on the Pope, 28. Seizes Avignon, 29. Endeavours to raise the Bishop of Strasburg to the archbishopric of Cologne, 29. Refusal of the Pope to receive his envoy, 30. His palace of the Trianon and the waterworks at Versailles, 30, 31. His war-minister, Louvois, 31. Louis claims the left bank of the Rhine, and goes to war for it, 33. His organised system of rapine in the occupied country, 34. Atrocities committed by his orders, 35, 36. Orders his courtiers and the clergy to melt their plate, 36, 37. Defeat of his fleet by the English and Dutch, 37. His assistance rendered to James II. of England, 37. His persecution of the Waldenses, 39. At war with the Duke of Savoy, 40, 41. Captures Mons, 41. Rids himself of Madame de Montespan, 41. Successes of his general, Catinat, in Italy, 41. His campaign of 1693, 45. The battle of Neerwinden, 46. His leanings towards peace, 46, 47. Fénelon's letter to him, 47. His abandonment of Louvois' policy, 47. His Vandal orders to Catinat, 47. Poverty and famine of the kingdom in 1693, 1694, 48. Louis's extravagance, 55, 56. His revenue, 57. His artifice as to the Spanish succession, 57, 58. His reconciliation with the Pope, 58. Restores the Duke of Savoy, 59. And signs the peace of Ryswick, 60-63. His life after this period, 65. Death of the King of Spain, and extinction of the House of Austria, 70. Louis's claims to the succession, 71. Opens negotiations with William III., 72. Sends Count Tallard to London, 73. His agreement to a temporary measure, 74. His proposals on the death of the electoral prince, 75, 76. Agrees to the succession of his grandson, Anjou, to the Spanish throne, 80. Their parting at Seeaux, 81. Reformation of the Triple Alliance against Louis, 83. The treaty of Loo, 83. Louis recognises the Prince of Wales as King of England, 83. Commencement of the War of the Spanish Succession, 83, 84. French misfortunes, 86, 87. Battle of Blenheim, 90. Of Ramillies, 95. Overthrow of his

LOU

LOU

dominions in North Italy, 96, 97. His offers to the allies, 97, 101. His grandson driven out of Spain, 97. Turn in the tide of war, 98. His financial difficulties, 99. Battle of Oudenarde, 100. Loss of Lille, 101. Distress of the kingdom, 101. The King resigns himself to give up everything, 102. Failure of the negotiations and campaign of 1709, 103. Battle of Malplaquet, 103. Louis's proffers to the Dutch, 104, 105. Withdraws his troops from Spain, 105. Negotiations with England for peace, 108. Death of the Dauphin, and of the Dauphin's eldest son and wife, 110, 111. Louis summoned by England to renounce the inheritance of Spain, 111. Successes of Villars, 114. Conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, 116. His separate negotiations with the Emperor, 118. Who continues the war alone, 118. But concludes peace at Radstadt, 119. Straits to which he had been reduced by the war, 121, 122. His ideas of religion, 122. His new confessor, Père le Tellier, 123. Pretensions of his illegitimate son, the Duke du Maine, to the throne, 129. Louis's edict legitimatising his illegitimate children, 129. Limits the power of the future regent, Orleans, 130. His answer to Lord Stair, 131. Decline of his health, 131. His death, 132. Character of his reign, 132-135. His will set aside by the Parliament, 139. His antipathy to colonies and commerce, 164. Resemblance between the Convention and his reign, v. 1.

Louis XV., King of France, death of his father, the Duke of Burgundy, iv. 111. Becomes sole heir to the crown, 111, 128. Marshal Villeroy appointed his guardian, 131. But subsequently placed under the guardianship of the Duke du Maine, 138. Presides at a bed of justice, and puts down the Duke du Maine and the Parliament, 154, 167. Betrothed to the Infanta of Spain, 183. Crowned at Rheims, 184. Death of the Regent, 185. The Infanta sent back to Spain, and Louis married to Marie Leszczynska, 192, 193. Alliance between France, England, and Prussia against Austria and Spain, 193. Exiles the Duke of Bourbon, 195. The King's early life, 197. Entrusts supreme power to Cardinal Fleury, 197. Enters into an alliance with Philip V. of Spain, 201. Conclusion of the peace of Vienna, 206. Louis induced by the Marmousets to take Madame de Mailly as his mistress, 207. Dulness of his court at Versailles, 210, 211. His voluptuousness, 211, 214. Concludes a treaty with Prussia and Bavaria against Austria, 216. Signs the treaty of Nymphenburg, 217. His mistresses, 225. His endeavours to be his own minister, 225. De-

clares war against England, 226. Stung into energy by his mistress, De Châteauroux, 229. Takes command of his army in Flanders, 229. Reduces Cambray and Ypres, 229. His dangerous illness at Metz, 230. Loyalty of his subjects, 230. Present with his son at the battle of Fontenoy, 231-233. His successes under Saxe, 234. His desire for peace, 235. Joins the army in Holland, 238, 239. His offers of peace to England, 239, 240. His scandalous private life, 242. Rise of Madame de Pompadour, 243. Peace concluded with England, 245. Lampooned, 253. His revival of the persecutions of the Huguenots, 256, 257. Exiles the leaders of the Parliament and the clergy, 258. Enters into an alliance with Austria, 262. His seaglio in the Parc aux Cerfs, 262, 297. Beginning of the Seven Years' War, 266. Louis stabbed by Damiens, 267. His fright, 268. His loss of Canada, 274. Sends Lally to the scaffold, 276. His desire to end the European war, 281. Signature of the Family Compact, 283. Conclusion of peace, 288. Condition of France at this period, 291-295. The King's licentiousness, 297. His expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom, 302. Death of his mistress, De Pompadour, 303. His lecture to the judges, 311. His correspondence respecting the cause of Poland, 315. His new mistress, Madame du Barry, 318. His quarrel with Parliament, 322. Entreats the Duc de Choiseul to live on good terms with Madame du Barry, 323. Abolishes the Parliament, and exiles the judges, 324-326. Robberies of the finance minister, Terrai, 328. Unfortunate legislation respecting corn, 329. In which the King traffics, 330. His last illness, and death, 331, 332.

Louis XVI., King of France, when Dauphin, his marriage to Marie Antoinette, iv. 321. His accession to the throne, 332. His character, 334. Makes Maurepas prime minister, 342. Louis's honourable and economical views, 343. Inoculated, 343. Recalls the Parliament, 345. His weak promise to the mob at Versailles, 347. Supports Turgot, though doubtful of his wisdom, 351. But finally dismisses him, 353. Assists the insurgent Americans, 355. War, in consequence, with England, 356. The King's childishness, 366. His purchase of Rambouillet, 367. State of the finances under Calonne, 371. German policy of the government, 373. The affair of the diamond necklace, 377-380. The King's progress to Cherbourg, 380. Sends Lapeyrouse round the world, 380. Concludes a commercial treaty with England, 381. Convoques the Assembly of the Notables, 381, 382. Summons the Parliament to Versailles, 391. Re-

LOU

duces his expenses, 391. Exiles the Parliament to Troyes, 391. But recalls them, 392. Holds a royal sitting of the Parliament, 395. And compels it to register an edict for a loan, 396. Abolishes Parliament, and institutes new courts of justice, 399. Orders the convocation of the States-General, 404. Objects to the introduction of the English constitution, 405. Opens the States-General, 413. Troubled at the aspect of the commons, 415. Overrules Necker's plan of a royal sitting, 416. But subsequently presides at one, 417. His declaration, 417, 418. His answer to the address of the National Assembly, 422. His consternation at the acts of the mob of Paris, 426. Visits the Assembly, 427. Goes to Paris, 427. And wears the revolutionary cockade, 428. Proposal to bring the King and Dauphin away from Versailles, 434. Visits the banquet of the garde du corps, 435. His palace invaded by the mob, 439. Brought to Paris, 440. His uncertainty and irresolution, 442. Takes the oath to the constitution, 451. Prevented from going to St. Cloud, 456. His flight to Varennes, and return to Paris, 458. The executive taken into their own hands by the National Assembly, 459. Refuses to receive the Legislative Assembly, 469. His differences with the Assembly, 469. Puts his veto on the decrees against emigrés and nonjuring priests, 472. Guided by the moderate members of the Assembly, 472. Forms a new ministry, 473. Declares his indignation against the emigrés and their proceedings, 473. Brissot's opinion that he could not be the king of the revolution, 474. Policy of European powers towards, 477. His ministers prosecuted by the Assembly, 478. Dismisses Narbonne, 479. His constitutional guard, and its dissolution, 480. Mortified at Delessert's arrest, 480. Chooses Dumouriez, who advises his acceptance of the constitution and its duties, 481. Chooses Roland and others his ministers, 481. Displeased with Roland's unaccountness, 481. Gives his confidence to the Lameth and Feuillants in preference to the Girondist ministers, 482. Induced to declare war against Austria, and to invade Belgium, 484. Distrusted by the Gironde, 485. Dismisses the Gironde ministers and Dumouriez, 486. Madame Roland's letter to, 487. Servan's proposition for a camp at Paris, 487. Persuaded by Dumouriez to withdraw his vetos on the decrees against the priests and Servan's camp, 488. Warned by Dumouriez of impending insurrection, 489. Appoints Feillant ministry, 489. Insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine, 490, *et seq.* Insulted and threatened by the mob, 493. Places the bonnet rouge on his head, and drinks the health of the Parisians,

LOU

423. His interview with Pétion, 495. Coldly receives Lafayette, 496. Lafayette with the Feillant schemes to take him away from Paris, 497. Arraigned by Vergniaud, 499. Joins reconciliation of parties in the Assembly, 500. His dethronement demanded by Marseilles, 508. Sanctions the suspension of Pétion, 501, 502. Defeats the plans of his friends for his escape, 502. His guard being broken, he is placed at the mercy of his enemies, 503. His déchéance demanded by all parties, 502, 503. Overtures from the Gironde rejected by the King, 504. Pays 50,000 crowns to Danton for his services and favour, 504. Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, 505. Hypocritically protests against the manifesto, 506. Girondists propose his suspension only, in favour of the Dauphin, 506, 508. Communes and sections press his dethronement, 507. Insurrection of the 9th of August, 509, *et seq.* Questions Pétion as to the state of the capital, 510. His measures of defence, 509–511. Deserted by the National Guard, 510, *et seq.* Shows himself to the troops, who receive him with insulting cries, 512. Insurgents besieging the palace, on the morning of the 10th he proceeds to the Assembly, 513. His reception by the Assembly, 514. Deposed by the Assembly, and committed to the Temple, 515. Orders the Swiss soldiers to cease firing on the mob, 516. Girondists propose to remove to the Luxembourg, 518. Humane measures of the Girondists counteracted by the Jacobins, 518, 519. Intrigues for the release of, 543. His trial and death proposed by the Mountain, 546, 547. His trial objected to by Robespierre, who proposes his execution, 547, 548. Tried by the Convention, 548. Discovery of his secret papers and intrigues with Mirabeau, 548. His demeanour before his judges excites their commiseration, 549. Interrogated by his judges, 549. His character, 549, 550. His conduct in the Temple and brutal treatment, 550. Demands and is allowed counsel, 550. Defended by De Sèze and Malesherbes, 551. The Gironde endeavour to save his life, 551. His condemnation proposed, and appeals to the public suggested, 552. Condemned by the Convention, 554. His noble demeanour on his condemnation enrages his enemies, 555. His sentence communicated by Garat, 555. His last and affecting interview with his family, 556. His death, 556

Louis XVII., King of France, the Dauphin, presented to the Assembly by the mob, iv. 514. Committed to the Temple, 515.

Louis XVIII., King of France, reaches Compiègne, v. 235. Replaced on throne of France, but rejects constitution voted by senate, 235.

LOU

LOU

His treaty of peace with the Allies, 238. Opens the chambers, 239. His rule unconciliating, 240. Disgraces and punishes Napoleon's generals, 240. His policy alienates the people, 240. Dissatisfaction of the army, 241. His non-fulfilment of treaty of Paris and treatment of Napoleon, lead to the return of the latter from Elba, 242. Leaves the Tuileries for Lille, 245. Expelled from Lille, 246. After battle of Waterloo returns to Paris, 257. Appoints his new ministry, 260. Re-enters Paris, 260. Persecuting policy of the reactionists, 262. Assassinations permitted by, 264, *et seq.* Refuses to pardon Labédoyère, 266. Warned by Fouché, he dismisses him to a foreign embassy, 268. Accepts resignation of Talleyrand, and appoints Duke de Richelieu his successor, 269. Agrees to dismemberment of France, 269, 270. His misgovernment, *passim*. Adopts at length a policy of moderation, 278. His disgust with the chambers, 280. First prorogues and then dissolves them, 280, 282. His policy detrimental to his interests, 284, 285. Changes his ministers, 289. His liberal policy approved by Allied Powers, 292. Again changes his ministers, 294. Chooses a mistress, 298. Causes Decazes to modify his electoral law, 298. Assassination of Duke de Berry, 298. Dismisses Decazes, 299. Disturbances caused by election law, 305. Accepts resignation of Richelieu, and appoints a new ministry, 313. Conspiracy of Béfort and other towns, 315, *et seq.* Alarmed at frequency of insurrections, 316. Advises Villèle to go to Congress of Vienna, 320. Issues provocative note against Spain, 323. Declares war against Spain, 322. His declining health, 330. Dislikes Chateaubriand, 334. Takes but little part in public affairs, 336. Uses Villèle and Madame du Cayla to relieve him of cares of state, 337. Gradually decays, 337. Roused by the blandishments of Madame du Cayla to receive last rites of the Church, 338. Recommends the *charter* to Count d'Artois, 339. His testamentary papers burnt by Madame du Cayla, 338. His death, 338. Summary of his character and government, 338, 339.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, when Duke of Orleans at the battle of Jemmapes, iv. 547. Defeated at Neerwinden, 564. Seeks refuge in the Austrian camp, 565. Intrigues for placing him on the throne of France, v. 257. Restored to his titles and estates, 342. Receives indemnity money, 346. Shows his gratitude to Charles X., 347. Recommended to bid for the throne, 365. His anticipations of a revolution, 406. Warning of Lafitte, 407. Thiers' proposal to make him head of the government, 407, 409. Re-

ceives from M. Dupin the proposition to be lieutenant-general, 407. Manifests at first his reluctance, 409. Created lieutenant-general, 410. Accepts the office temporarily, and writes to the King, 410, 411. Promises to uphold the Charter, 411. Visits the Hotel de Ville, 412. Received with acclamations by Lafayette and the people, 412. Opens the chambers, 415. Called to the throne as King of the French, 416. His reception of the Young Republicans, 420. Appoints his ministry, 421. His treatment of the ministers, 423. Dissensions in his cabinet, 424. Placed by political events in hostility to the courts of Europe, 425. His policy towards Belgium, 427. His policy towards Spain, 428. His conduct towards Lafayette leads to the general's resignation, 431. Weakness of his government, 434. Rejects the crown of Belgium for his son, 434. His private character, and care for his family, 435. Pays court to Prince of Condé, 435. Charged with complicity in the Prince's death, 435. Disturbances on account of anniversary services for death of Duke de Berry, 436. Assists Lafitte, 438. Composes a new cabinet, 439. Measures of his government illiberal and ill-advised, 440, *et seq.* Represses the Young Republicans, 444. The Belgium question leads to war, 447. Sends Marshal Gérard to Belgium, 447. His government denounced by Lamarque and Manguin, 449, 450. Seeks to establish *hereditary* right, 451. Spread of St. Simonian principles at Lyons, 454. Lyons insurrection, 452, 454, 455. Sends Marshal Soult and the young Duke of Orleans to quell the insurrection, 456. His throne undermined by spread of republicanism in France, 457. Insurrections in Paris, 458. Insurrection in the Legations, 458. Sends a naval and military expedition to Ancona, 459. Declares war against Portugal, 461. The *juste milieu* policy characterises his government 461. Visits the Hotel Dieu, 462. Death of Casimir Perrier, 462. His love of money a calumny, 463. Rising in La Vendée, 464. Duchess of Berry and the Legitimists crushed by, 465. Insurrection at funeral of General Lamarque, 468-471. His interview with Lafitte and other deputies, 471. He slights their recommendation, 471. With difficulty forms a new administration, 472, 473. Arrest of the Duchess of Berry, 470, *et seq.* Beset with many enemies, 475. Attempted assassination of, 475. Wisely advised by Madame Adelaide to yield concessions, 478. Dissensions in his cabinet, 480. Attempts to put down secret societies, 481. Prosecutes the Mutualists, 483. Disturbances at Paris in April, 484. Dissensions with Soult and

LOU

others of his cabinet, 486. Dissolution of the cabinet, 487. Forms a *tiers parti* ministry, 487. Allied sovereigns forbid his interference with the Spanish question, 488. Favours Isabella and Queen Christina, 489. The Quadruple Alliance, 489. Trials of the April conspirators, 491, *et seq.* Fieschi's attempt to assassinate, 494. Dismisses his ministers, and forms a new cabinet under Thiers, 498. Holds his ministers in check, 499. Effects of the Quadruple Alliance, 500. Sends General Bugeaud with an army to Spain, 501. Looks to Austrian alliance for the young Duke of Orleans, 502. Ali-baud's attempt to assassinate, 503. Russian and Prussian matrimonial speculations, 503. Determines to get rid of M. Thiers, 503. Chooses another ministry, 504. Count Molé amnesties Charles X.'s ministers, 504, 505. Conduct of his government in Switzerland a subject of obloquy, 505. The Strasbourg conspiracy, 506. When banishing Louis Napoleon, presents him with 6,000*l.*, 507. Reverse in Algeria, 507. Meunier's attempt to assassinate, 508. Enforces repression laws against suspicious persons, 509. Asks dowry for Queen of the Belgians, 509. Grant of Rambouillet to Duc de Nemours, 509. Charged with being a miser, 509. Molé ministry resigns, and that of M. Guizot formed, 510. Again a change of cabinet, and Molé re-instated, 510. Marriage of the Duke of Orleans, 511. War with Mexico, 511. Constantine captured, 511. Being opposed to a change of Molé's ministry, dissolves the chambers, 511. His government unconstitutional, 512. Weakness of his cabinet, and measures exposed, 512. Resignation of Molé's cabinet, 513. Molé again re-appointed, and dissolves the chambers, 513. The dissolution not giving a majority, King succumbs to a coalition, 513, 514. Disputes with Thiers as to intervention with Spain, 515. Offers Thiers an embassy, 515. Forms a provisional ministry, 515. This ministry being unsuccessful, requests M. Passy to form one, 516. Formation of new societies of conspirators, 516. Soult forms a ministry, 517. Triumphs over coalition, 518. Opposes electoral reform, 518. Spanish war brought to a close, 519. *Protective* policy of his government complained of by Lord Palmerston, 520. Disagreement of, with English government on Eastern Question, 521, 530, *et seq.* Grants a new amnesty, 521. Asks for the remains of Buonaparte, 521, 536. Places statue of Napoleon on column of Place Vendôme, 522. Sends Guizot ambassador to London, 523. Duc de Nemours married, 523. His dotation refused, 523, 524. Resignation of the Soult ministry,

LOU

524. Appoints a new Thiers cabinet, 525. His reign at first marked with signal success, 526. His *pensée immuable*, 528. His influence on Mehemet Ali, 530. Combines with England to send a fleet to the Bosphorus, 530. Signs with Allied Powers treaty for integrity of Turkish empire, 531, 532. Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and its results, 530-532. Sends Sebastiani to London as ambassador, 532. Guizot sent to replace Sebastiani, 533. Effect of the Eastern treaty, 534. Prospects of war with England, 535. Louis Napoleon's attempt on Boulogne, 537. England goes to war with Mehemet Ali, and compels him to agree to Eastern Question as settled, 537, 538. Proposition to send a French fleet to Alexandria, 538. Fears a popular rising in Paris, 538. Entreats M. Thiers not to desert him, 538. Opens the chambers, 539. Darnès' attempt to assassinate, 539. Resignation of M. Thiers, and formation of a new cabinet by M. Guizot, 540. Prosperity of the country tends more than his government to quiet towns population 544. Strikes universal, however, in Paris, 545. This caused by M. Guizot's policy, 545. Expenditure of his government, 547. Attempted assassination of the Princes, 550. His difficulty in finding suitable ministers, 552. Causes of quarrel with England, 554, *et seq.* Otaheite, and its possession by Admiral Thouars, 555, *et seq.* The Algiers question, 560. Death of young Duke of Orleans, 562. Advancement of his family his ruling principle, 564. Intrigues of the Spanish marriages, 564, *et seq.* Suppresses religious communities in Switzerland, 572. His Italian policy, 572, *et seq.* Throws himself into the arms of Austria, 573. Alarm felt by his family, 573. Prince de Joinville's letter, 574. Corruption among his ministers, 576. Applies to England and Russia for a loan, 577. Distress and famine in France, 578, *et seq.* Opposes reform, 578. His obstinate resistance to advice of his friends on his government, 579, 581. His speech on opening the chambers in December, 1847, 582. Refuses the counsel and advice of M. de Morny, 584. Orders occupation of various posts in Paris by the army, and issues various arrests, 584. Impeachment of M. Guizot, 585. Disturbances at Paris, 586. National Guard fraternise with the people, 588. His ministers resign, 588. Sends for Count Molé, 588. Refuses to appoint M. Thiers and Barrot, 589. Progress of the revolution unarrested by, 589. Gives command of the troops to Marshal Bugeaud, 590. Sends for M. Thiers, 590. His conversation as to the appointment of Marshal Bugeaud, 590. Sends orders to suspend hostilities at the advice of Thiers,

LOU

LOU

- and the monarchy lost, 591. His instant abdication demanded, 592. Recommended by Thiers to retire to St. Cloud, 593. Abdicates and retires with his family to St. Cloud in two hackney carriages, 594, 595. Travels in disguise to the coast near Honfleur, 599. Embarks from Havre and lands in England, 599. Palace of Claremont being offered him by Queen Victoria, he resides there with the royal family, 599. Reflections on his fall, 599
- Louis Napoleon Buonaparte. *See* Napoleon III.
- Louis, the Dauphin (son of Charles VI.), brought to Paris by the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 50, 51. Reverses the judgment against the Duke of Burgundy, 63. Placed under the guardianship of the duke, 79. Left in guard of the King, 82. The government carried on in his name by the Duke of Berry, 82. Entreats the Duke of Burgundy to come to Paris, 85. His presence at the siege of Bourges, 87. His dissipation, 87, 90. Irksomeness of the ascendancy of the Duke of Burgundy, 89. The Dauphin summons the Three Estates, 90. His address to the Cabochians from the palace windows, 94. The mob force their way into the palace, insult him, and carry off the ladies of the court to prison, 94-96. Stabs Jacquemille in the palace, 99. The companions of his pleasures taken away by the Queen and the Armagnacs, 102. Present at the siege of Arras, 103. Goes to Paris, and seizes the treasure and the government, 110. Alarmed at the threatened invasion of Henry V. of England, 110. Hears of the disaster of Agincourt when at Rouen, 117. Returns with the King to Paris, 117. His death, 117. And character, 117, 118
- Louis, the Dauphin (son of Louis XIV.), takes Philipsburg, iv. 34. His son, the Duke of Burgundy, married to the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, 59. His life, 65. Succession of his son, the Duke of Anjou, to the throne of Spain, 80. Commands the army in Flanders, 85. Opposed by Marlborough, 85. His death, 110
- Louis, Dauphin (son of Louis XV.), present at the battle of Fontenoy, iv. 231. Proposal of the King to give up the government to him, 268. His opposition to the Parliament, 311. His death, 311
- Louis, younger son of Louis the Débonnaire, appointed by his father King of Bavaria, Carinthia, Bohemia, and the lands taken from the Slavons and Avars, i. 38. In league with his brother Pepin against his father and brother Lothaire, 39. Refuses to acknowledge his brother the Emperor Lothaire as superior, 40. Unites his forces with those of Charles the Bald, and defeats the Imperialists at Fontenailles, 40, 41. His union with Charles the Bald to throw off the authority of the Emperor, 42. Signs the treaty of Verdun, 42
- Louis of Clermont, his escape from the carnage of Courtray, i. 327
- Louis of Spain brings a battering engine against Hennebont, i. 414. Put to the rout by the English, 415. Defeated at sea by Sir Walter Manny, 415
- Louis, Prince of the Asturias, betrothed to a daughter of the Regent Orleans, iv. 183. His marriage to her, 183. Becomes King of Spain on the abdication of his father, 189. His death, 190
- Louis, Prince of Baden, his jealousy of Marlborough, iv. 92
- Louis, Count of Nassau, at the battle of Montcontour, iii. 106, 107. Commences operations against Flanders, 129. Takes Valenciennes and Mons, 129. Opposes his brother, William of Orange, iv. 26. At the battle of Malplaquet, 103
- Louis of Prussia, Prince, death of, v. 129
- Louis, Duke of Anjou (great-grandson of Louis XIV.). *See* Louis XV.
- Louis, Count of Anjou, takes a command at Poitiers, i. 461. Flies from the field, 463. Left by his brother Charles in charge of the kingdom, 467. Issues, but is compelled to suspend, a base coinage, 468
- Louis, Count of Anjou (brother of Charles V.), leads the forces of Languedoc against the Black Prince, i. 524. Beheads the English hostages in his power, 536. Fails to succeed in Brittany, 547. Rebellion of the Languedocians against his tyranny, 548. His cruelty to the people of Montpellier, 549. Recalled by the King, 550. Appointed regent during the minority of Charles VI., ii. 5, 6. Seizes the jewels and personal property of his deceased brother, Charles V., 5. His claim to the throne of Naples, 6. His tyranny and rapacity, 7. Openly accused by his brothers, 8. Hands over the government of the North and South to his two brothers, 9. Failure of his endeavour to levy taxes, 13. His imposition of a tenth on the people, 22. Insurrection in consequence at Rouen, 22. Which is suppressed, 22. Rebellion of the Maillots in Paris against the tax, 23. A compromise with the Parisians entered into, 24. Departure of Anjou for Naples, 24, 25. His defeat and death, 34. His support of the claims of Clement VII. to the papal tiara, 72
- Louis, Duke of Bavaria, joins a plot to carry off Charles VI. from Paris, ii. 93. Arrested by the Parisians, 96
- Louis, Duke of Berry. *See* Louis XV.
- Louis de Blois, killed at Crecy, i. 428
- Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, at the battle of St. Quentin, ii. 625, 626. Escapes, 626. Openly favours the Protestants, 641,

LOU

643. His character, iii. 11. His wife, Eleanor de Montmorency, 11. Sent to Brussels, 13. His enmity to both the Spanish and French courts, 13. Supposed to have favoured the conspiracy of Amboise, 18, 19. Accused of complicity in the plot, 22. Declines to attend the assembly at Fontainebleau, 27. Favours a Huguenot rising in the south-east of France, 29. His craftiness, 30. Goes to court, and is arrested, 31. Brought to trial, 32. Liberated, and withdraws to Ham, 33. Governor of Paris, 48. Where he allows tolerance to the Huguenots, 48. His enmity to Catherine de Medicis, 50. Compelled to abandon Paris to the triumvirate, 55. Joined by Coligny at Meaux, 56. Demands succours from Queen Elizabeth and the German Protestants, 56, 57. Opens negotiations with Catherine de Medicis, 57. Which end in nothing, 63. Hesitates to give battle to the Catholics, 63. Takes Beaugency, 63. Retires to Orleans, 64. Sends Ivoy to defend Bourges, 67. Concludes a treaty with Queen Elizabeth, 68. Marches with an army towards Paris, 70. Taken prisoner at Dreux, 72. Concludes the treaty of Amboise, 75. Fights against the English at Havre, 81, 82. His dissolute life, 82. His combination with the Guises, 91. Proposal to marry him to the Queen of Scots, 91. Rallies to Coligny, 92. And proposes a rise of the Huguenots, 92. Removed from the government of Picardy, 92. Marches to Paris, and invests the city, 94. Fights the battle of St. Denis, 96. Marches eastward, and joins Prince Casimir, 97. Recaptures Blois, and besieges it, 97. Concludes the treaty of Longjumeau, 99. Recommencement of hostilities, 101. Battle of Jarnac, and death of Condé, 102, 103. His character, 103

Louis, Prince of Condé, doubts as to his birth, iii. 350. Married to Charlotte de Montmorency, 377. Of whom Henry IV. becomes enamoured, 377. Flight of the Prince and Princess to Belgium, 377. Murder of Henry IV., 380. Condé's return to France, 386. Becomes, on the death of the Count of Soissons, first prince of the blood, 398. Joins Nevers and Bouillon in seizing Mezières, 398. Conclusion of the peace of St. Menes, 399. Amboise given him as *place de sûreté*, 399. Makes partisans amongst the younger judges of Parliament, 407. Retires to his strongholds, and prepares for resistance, 407. Places himself at the head of the Huguenots, 407, 408. Intercepts the return of the King with his bride, 408. Abandons the Huguenots, 408. And makes his peace with the court, 409. His demands, 409. Returns to court, 411. His power and influence, 411. Warns Concini to leave Paris, 412. Arrested

LOU

by the Regent, 412, 413. And committed to the Bastille, 413. Liberated by De Luynes, 423. Marches with the King to reduce Angers, 424. Drags the King against Bearn, 429. Recommends a continuance of hostilities against the Huguenots, 433. Goes with the King to Orleans, 434. Endeavours to prevent peace being made between the King and the Huguenots, 438. His selfishness and worthlessness, 438. Goes to Italy, 438. Sent by Richelieu to suppress an insurrection in Provence, 503. His attempt to conquer Franche Comté, 513. Goes to the aid of the Count of Soissons, 514. With whom he plots the assassination of Richelieu, 514, 527. Captures Salces, 517. But fails to conquer Roussillon, 517. His army scattered by a trombe, 517. Marries his son to the niece of Cardinal Richelieu, whom he serves servilely, 532. Appointed member of a royal council, 543. His wife godmother to the future Louis XIV., 543. Submits to the absolute regency of Anne of Austria, 555. His exploits, 569, 570. Besieges Lerida, but compelled to raise the siege, 573. Gains the battle of Lens, 574. Appears before Paris with troops, and mediates, 590. Attends the sittings of Parliament, 591. Blockades Paris, on the retirement of the royal family, 592. Attacks Charenton, 592. Coolness between him and the Queen and Cardinal, 598. Goes off in dudgeon to Burgundy, 598. Accuses the Frondeurs of an attempt to take his life, 599. Quarrels with Mazarin, 599. And insults the Queen, 599, 600. Union of the Queen and populace against him, 600. Arrested, 600. Deprived of his government of Burgundy, 601. Removed to Havre, 603. Offer of Mazarin to liberate him, 603. Liberated by the Queen-regent, 606. His treatment of the Frondeurs, 606. Offers of the Queen to him, 606. Angry meeting between him and the Duke of Orleans, 608. Obtains the government of Guyenne, 609. Proposal of De Retz to slay him, 609. Withdraws to St. Maur, 609. Scene between him and De Retz in the Palace of Justice, 610. Raises the standard of rebellion, 611, 615. Withdraws to Guyenne, 615. His promised succours from Spain, 616. His power, 616. Captures Xaintes, 616. Besieges Cognac, 616. His depression in the south, 616. Joined by the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, 618. Opposed by Turenne, 619. Joins the army of the Fronde, and scatters Hocquincourt's forces, 619. Baffled by Turenne, 619. Goes to Paris, and submits to the King, 620. Negotiations for peace, 620, 622. Defeat of his army at Etampes, 621. Drives the royal army from St. Denis, 621. Joined by an army under the Duke of Lorraine, 621. Re-

LOU

LOU

- turns to his army, and barricades himself in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 623. Gains the city, aided by the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, 624. Changes the city authorities, 625. Incites the mob to the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville, 627. Becomes master of Paris, 627. Appointed generalissimo, 628. Again joined by the Duke of Lorraine, 628. Baffled again by Turenne, 628. Struck by the Count de Rieux, 629. Quits Paris with the Duke of Lorraine, 629. Joins the Spanish armies, 633, 634. And besieges Arras, 635. Defeated, and obliged to retreat, 635. Penetrates Turenne's lines before Valenciennes, 636. Restored to his rank, fortune, and government of Burgundy, 642. Accompanies Louis XIV. to Holland, 677. Wounded at the Lech, 678. Sent to defend Alsace, 685. Defeated by the Prince of Orange at Seneffe, 689. Succeeds Turenne in chief command, 693. His tactics, 694. Retires from active service, 694
- Louis, Duke of Burgundy (grandson of Louis XIV.), marries the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, iv. 59. Defeated by Marlborough at Oudenarde, 100. Succeeds his father as dauphin, 110. Death of him and his wife, 111
- Louis de Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, assassinated, ii. 598
- Louis I., Count of Flanders, succeeds his grandfather, i. 378. Rebellion of the Flemings against him, 379. Endeavours to murder his uncle Robert, 379. Imprisoned by the people of Bruges, but afterwards set free, 379. Opposition of his subjects to his arbitrary levies of taxes, 390. Asks aid from France against his own subjects, 390. Who are defeated at the battle of Cassel, 391. Address of Philip VI. to Louis after the battle, 391, 392. Puts 10,000 Flemings to death, 392. Slain at the battle of Crecy, 428
- Louis II., Count of Flanders, i. 432. Proposal for marrying him to Isabella, daughter of Edward III., 432. His escape to Paris, 433. His daughter married to Philip II., Duke of Burgundy, 521. Rebellion of the Flemings against him, 547. His extravagance and ingratitude to his subjects, 15. His hostility to, and independence of, France, 15. Rebellion of Ghent against him, 16. Fails to obtain succour from France, 18. His efforts against his refractory townfolk, 18. Sends the Count D'Enghien to take Gravelines, 19. Death of D'Enghien, 19. Ghent besieged by the count, 19. Terms offered by him to the citizens, 20. Who give him battle at Bruges, and compel him to fly to Lille, 20, 21. Obtains assistance from the French court, 25, 26. An army led into Flanders by Charles VI., 26. Who forbids the count to follow
27. Opposes the grant of honourable terms, to the invaders under the Bishop of Norwich, 32. Quarrels with the Duke of Berry, 32. His death at St. Omer, 33
- Louis, Duke of Orleans, younger brother of Charles VI. of France, ii. 46. His ambition, 47. Ordains a general contribution, 47. Sends a challenge to Henry IV. of England, 48. Maintains the schism in the Church, 48. His rivalry and antagonism with Philip II. of Burgundy, 48. Seizes the government on the death of his rival, 49. Endeavours to stir up a war between France and England, 49. Obtains aid for Owen Glendower, 49. His alleged intimacy with the Queen, 50. Carries off the King to Melun, 50. His strife with the Duke of Burgundy, 51. Fails to take Blaye, 53. Obtains the duchy of Aquitaine, 53. Murdered at the instigation of his cousin, the Duke of Burgundy, 53. The murder justified by Jean Petit, 58, 59. But condemned by the Abbé de St. Fiacre, 63. His memory declared free from every charge, 63
- Louis, Duke of Orleans, sets the captive Pope Benedict XII. at liberty, ii. 72. Revival of the alliance of the Orleans party against that of Burgundy, 80. Their manifesto and preparations for war, 80
- Louis, Duke of Savoy, his son, Philip de la Bresse, imprisoned by Louis XI., ii. 265
- Louis, eldest son of Philip the Hardy, his death, i. 297
- Louis, eldest son of St. Louis, his death, i. 272
- Louis, Baron, resigns his ministry, v. 298. Becomes finance minister, 421
- Louisburg, in Cape Breton, captured by the New Englanders, iv. 240
- Louisburg (Cape Breton) taken by the English, iv. 273
- Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I., ii. 419. Aversion of Anne of Brittany for her, 419. Takes money intended for the army in Italy, 474. Her quarrel with the Constable Bourbon, 475. Becomes regent on the capture of her son, 486. Craves aid from Sultan Solymann and the Pope, 486. Her offers to Cardinal Wolsey and the English courtiers, 494. Bond of affection between her and her son and daughter, 508. Sends Protestants to the stake, 516. Her death, 528
- Louise, Princess of Lorraine, married to Henry III. of France, iii. 167
- Louisiana, French settlement of, iv. 27, 164. Acquired by the Company of the West, 165. How colonised, 169
- Lourmarin, massacre of the people of, ii. 584
- Louvain besieged in vain by the French, iii. 512
- Louvel, assassinates the Duke of Berry, v. 300
- Louvet accuses Robespierre, iv. 541. Retreats to Caen, 593

LOU

Louviers plundered by the English, i. 424
 Recaptured by the English, ii. 186
 Louvois, Marshal, Marquis of, his invention of the Dragoonades, iv. 13, 14. His instructions to Foucault, 18. His character and abilities as a war minister, 31. His scheme against Spain, 32. His 'Extraordinaire des Guerres,' 35. Sum found in his *casse* after his death, 35. Loses Mayence, 36. Averse to rendering assistance to James II., 37, 38. His insolence and cruelty beyond the Alps, 39. His dislike of the Duke of Savoy, 39. His extermination of the Waldenses, 40. His designs on Italy, 40. Attacks the Duke of Savoy, 40. Captures Mons, 41. His death, 42
 Louvois, Marquis of, his château pillaged by the mob, iv. 530
 Louvre, the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne imprisoned in the dungeons of the, i. 191. The old Louvre built, 194. The marshals of Champagne and Normandy killed in the, 474. Library of Charles V. in the, 503. Completion and embellishment of the, iii. 668. The gallery of the, spoiled by Blucher, v. 261
 Lowendahl, Count, reduces Bergen-op-Zoom, iv. 239
 Loyola, Ignatius, ii. 579. His foundation of the Society of Jesus, 580
 Lucca, Prince of, his flight, v. 573
 Luckner, General, retreating upon Lille, intends marching on Paris, iv. 499. Repeats his oath of allegiance to the King, 532
 Ludovic Storza. *See* Storza
 Luis, Baron, resumes ministry of finance, v. 260. His financial plans, 279
 Lune, La, heights of, seized by the Prussians, iv. 533
 Lunville, peace negotiations of, v. 89
 Luns, Madame de, executed for heresy, ii. 643
 Lupo, Duke of Gascony, compelled by Charlemagne to give up Hunald of Aquitaine, i. 22
 Lusignan, town of, taken by Du Guesclin from the English partisans, i. 533. Castle of, reduced by the Duke of Anjou, iii. 107. The castle of, destroyed by the Duc de Montpensier, 167
 Lusigny, armistice of, v. 222-224
 Luther, Martin, agitation caused by, ii. 467. Popularises the movement against the monks, 512
 Lutherans. *See* Protestants, German
 Lutzen, battles of, iii. 510; v. 200
 Lutzen, fortress of, carried by Prince Eugene, iv. 91
 Luxembourg, given and lost by the French, ii. 553, 554. Overrun by the French, 610. Blockaded by Louis XIV., iv. 23. Besieged and taken by him, 26. Given up by Louis XIV. to Spain, 62. Ceded temporarily to the Duke of Bavaria, 117. Its possession insisted on by King of Holland, v. 446.

LYO

Guaranteed by treaty, 447. Unsatisfactory arrangement, 476
 Luxembourg, residence of the Directors at the palace of the, v. 6
 Luxembourg, Duke of, recognises Henry IV. as king, iii. 254. Sent to the Pope in favour of Henry IV., 254
 Luxembourg, Maréchal Duke de, his parentage, iii. 471, *note*. Left unemployed, iv. 36. Attacks Prince Waldeck at Fleurus, 38. Defeats William III. at Steinkirk, 43. And at Neerwinden, 46
 Luynes, De, Charles Albert, Duke of, favourite of Louis XIII., his origin and rise, iii. 410. Assumes political power, 415. His first acts, 416. His cruelty to Eleanor Galigai, 417. Calls an assembly of notables, 417. Establishes several councils, 419. Presses for the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property of the Bearnese Huguenots, 419-421. Liberates the Prince of Condé, 423. Causes himself and his two brothers to be created dukes, 424. Obloquy raised against him, 424. Marches with the King to reduce Angers, 424. His aversion to hostilities, 425. His efforts to preserve peace with the Huguenots, 429. Becomes constable, 430. Blamed for the failure of the siege of Montauban, 432. His death at Monheur, 432
 Luz, Baron de, he and his son killed by the Chevalier de Guise, iii. 390
 Lyons, Council of, i. 228. Residence of Innocent IV. at, 229. Philip the Fair's acquisition of, 315. A parliament summoned at, by Philip the Fair, 349. Ceded to France, 350. Seized by Philip the Fair, 360. Visit of Charles VI. to, ii. 41. Treaties of, 380, 412. Plot of the Huguenots for seizing, iii. 29. Taken by the Huguenots, 57. Citadel built there by Charles IX., 88. Massacre of the Huguenots at, 149. Surrendered to Henry IV., 307, 308. Entered by the Constable Montmorency for Henry IV., 314. Reduction in the silk trade of, in 1698, iv. 3, *note*. Failure of the silkworm in 1788, 404. Struggle between the Girondists and Montagnards at, 565. Disturbances at, between the rich and the poor, 571. Insurrection of the Mountain in, resisted by the citizens of, under De Précy, 596. General Carteau sent against, 597. Siege of Lyons, 597. Lyonese being defeated, agree to accept constitution of 1793, 597. Bombardment of the city by Dubois Crancé, 597. Being taken by Couthon, he establishes the reign of terror in, 598, 619. Riots at, v. 289. Insurrection in, 452. Doctrines of St. Simon spread amongst weavers of, leading them to revolt, 454. Prosecution of Mutualists of, 483, 484. Visited by the president, 649. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and III.

MAC

MACDONALD, General, succeeds Championnet, v. 56. His military career, 56. Defeated by Suwarrow, 59. Abandoned by General York, 199. Encounters the Allies at Bautzen, 204. Defeated by Blücher, 210. Succeeds Davoust as war minister, 262. *See* Napoleon I.

Machault becomes comptroller-general, iv. 243, 251. Transferred to the marine department, 252. His end, 332

Machiavel on the chief secrets and arts of war, ii. 116

Mack, General, defeated by Napoleon and surrenders Ulm, v. 122. Takes command of army of Naples, and defeated by General Championnet, 54

Macon, franchises granted to the town of, i. 387. Ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Defeat of the Burgundian forces at, 299. Taken from the Huguenots by Tavannes, iii. 64

Maconnais, the, brought in dowry to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII., ii. 341

Madagascar, attempts to found an empire of, iv. 27

Madras, surrender of, to the French, iv. 241. Who are in turn besieged by an English fleet, 241

Madrid, treaties of, ii. 492; iii. 473

Maestricht, John of Bavaria besieged by the Liegeois in, ii. 60. Besieged and taken by the French, iii. 686. Besieged by Marshal Saxe, iv. 239. Again by Saxe, 245. And by Valence, 563

Maesyk, occupied by the French, iii. 677

Magdeburg, siege and reduction of, ii. 607. Concordat of, iii. 199. Capture and sack of, 504. Given to Brandenburg, 576. Surrenders to the French, v. 130

Magistrates, St. Louis's edict repressing abuses of the, i. 247. St. Louis's arrangements for the improvement of that of Paris, 268. Endeavours of De l'Hôpital to reform the magistracy, iii. 37

Magnan, General, requests the generals to support the *coup d'état*, v. 560

Magnano, battle of, v. 57

Magnin, M., denounces Perrier and his measures, v. 449, 450

Mahaut, or Matilda, Countess, aunt of Philip the Fair, the county of Artois given to, i. 369, 394. Her death, 394

Mahmoud II., Sultan of Turkey, taken under protection of Russia, v. 529. His dominions divided between Mehemet Ali and Russia, 530. Counseled by England, 530. Defeated at Nezib, 530. His cause taken up by England and France, 530. His death, 531. Defection of his fleet, 531. Declares the pachalic of Egypt forfeited, 538. Treaty of the Dardanelles, 546

MAJ

Mahon, Port, taken by assault by the French, iv. 264

Maida, battle of, v. 135

Mailhé, proposes the trial of Louis XVI., v. 547

Maillard, superintends massacre of the priests, 525

Mailart, slays the Provost Marcel, i. 481

Maillebois, Marshal, commands a French army, and invades North Germany, iv. 217. Advances to the relief of the French in Prague, 221. Whom he joins at Eger, 222. Drives the Austrians and Piedmontese before him, 235

Maillotins, insurrection of the, in Paris, ii. 23

Mailly, Madame, mistress of Louis XV., iv. 207. Dismissed from the court, 225

Maine, under Henry, eldest son of Henry II., of England, i. 146. Given by Louis VIII. to his son Charles, 200. Ceded by Henry VI. to René d'Anjou, ii. 215

Maine, Duke of, brother-in-law of Charles VII., ii. 233

Maine, Charles, Duke of, requires Provence, ii. 342

Maine, Duke du, illegitimate son of Louis XIV., iv. 129. Claims the royal inheritance, 129. Legitimatised by royal edict, 129. Induces the King to sign a testament in his favour, 131. Preferred by the court to the Duke of Orleans 137. A competitor for the regency, 137, 139. Overcome and set aside by the Duke of Orleans, 139, 140. His antagonism to the legitimate princes, 154, 166. Deprived of his rank of prince of the blood and the guardianship of the King, 154. Joins Cellamare's conspiracy, 154. He and his duchess arrested, 154, 167

Maine, Count du, mistrusted by the King at Montlhéry, ii. 270. Retreats from the field, 271

Mainmorte, the laws against, resuscitated, iv. 252

Maintenon, expenses of the aqueduct of, iv. 56

Maintenon, Madame de, at Versailles, iii. 668. Her sympathy for the exiled Stuarts, iv. 42. The *alter ego* of Louis XIV., 123. Her absence from the bedside of the dying King, 132. Her influence in the King's lifetime, 145

Maison, Marshal, becomes foreign minister, v. 424. And minister of war, 499, 540

Maitre, Le, president of the Parlement, insults the King of Navarre, iii. 38

Majesty, first application of the word to a monarch, ii. 399, *note*

Majorca, alliance of Philip the Hardy with the King of, i. 293. Threatened by Philip III. of Aragon, 295

Major Domus of the Frank kings of Austrasia, origin and duties of the, i. 9. His power both in Austrasia and in Neustria, 12. For-

MAL

- mation of the armies of the first Austrian majores, 15
- Malatestas, the, seize Rimini, ii. 499
- Malesherbes, C. W. de L. de, exiled, iv. 326. Appointed to be minister of Paris, 347. His proposed reform in *lettres de cachet*, 348, 353. Supports Turgot in his views as to the quarrel between England and her American colonies, 353. Resigns, 353. Offers to defend Louis XVI., 550. His affecting interview with the fallen monarch, 551. Execution of, with his family, 646
- Malet, conspiracy of, v. 196. Arrested, and shot, 196
- Maligny, undertakes to master Lyons, iii. 29. Defeated by Saligny, 29
- Malines, claims of the people of, at the accession of Charles the Rash, ii. 284
- Malleville, M., home minister, v. 637
- Mallum* of the people under the Merovingians and under the Carlovingians, i. 30
- Malmesbury, Lord, negotiates with Delacroix, v. 27. His second embassy of Peace, and ignominious dismissal by the Directory, 39
- Malo, St., destruction of shipping at, by the English, iv. 273
- Malo, a major of dragoons, charges and disperses Jacobin conspirators, v. 13
- Maloes, St., besieged by Henry of Lancaster, i. 545
- Malo-Zaroslavetz, battle of, v. 191
- Malplaquet, battle of, iv. 103
- Malta, sea-fight between the Angevins and Aragonese at, i. 292. Presented by Buonaparte to the Czar Paul, v. 90
- Maltôte, the, i. 311. That of Philip the Fair, 311
- Mamelukes, the Bahairiz slaves the original of the, i. 235. Defeat of, at the Pyramids and Monthabor, v. 48, 49
- Mancini, nephew of Cardinal Mazarin, killed, iii. 624
- Mancini, Marie, niece of Mazarin, Louis XIV. enamoured of her, iii. 642
- Mandar, General, commands at the Tuileries on the 8th of August, iv. 509. His measures of defence, 509, 510. Reproaches Pétion, 510. Questioned by the municipality, 511. Shot by the insurgents, 511
- Manège, Old, used as house of assembly for the Five Hundred, v. 5
- Manfred, King of Sicily and Naples, i. 254. His kingdom offered by the Pope to an English prince, to St. Louis, and to Charles of Anjou, 254. Who accepts it, 255. Manfred defeated by Charles, and killed at the battle of Grandella, 258. His daughter married to Peter III., King of Aragon, 285
- Manilla, city and treasure of, taken by the English, iv. 285
- Mannheim, ravages of Louis XIV. at, iv. 36

MAR

- Manny, Sir W., defeats the Flemings at Cad-sand, i. 400. Conducts a fleet to the relief of Hennebout, 414. And puts the besiegers to the rout, 415. Completely destroys the army and fleet of Louis of Spain, 415. Assists in routing the French at Auberoche, 420. Defends Aiguillon against the Duke of Normandy and 10,000 men, 422. At the siege of Calais, 435, 436. His appeal for the six citizens, 436
- Mans, Le, besieged and taken by Dunois from the English, ii. 225
- Mansfield, Count of, joins the Duke of Mayenne before Noyon, iii. 291. Which is taken, 294. Withdraws to Belgium, 294. Again in France with the Duke of Mayenne, 312. Arrangements of Cardinal Richelieu with him, 448. Richelieu backs out of his engagements, 452
- Mansfelt, Colonel, intrigues for the release of Louis XVI., iv. 543
- Mansourah, battle of, i. 235
- Mantes, recovered by stratagem by Boucicaut, i. 505. Council summoned by Henry IV. at, iii. 277. Council of divines summoned by Henry IV. to, 295
- Mantua, siege of, abandoned, v. 21. Battles before, 21–26. Surrenders, 27
- Manuel, the Feuillants issue writs against, iv. 501. Execution of, iv. 636
- Manuel, implicated in the conspiracy at Béfot, v. 315. Opposes policy of government, 324. Denounced by La Bourdonnaye, 325. Expelled from the chamber, 325. His death, 363. Orations at his funeral, 363
- Manzera, Marquis of, his advice as to the Spanish succession, iv. 78
- Marat, Jean Paul, advocates quietness of the people, iv. 421. His proposal to bring the King and Dauphin to Paris, 434. Summons the people to arms, 436. Denounces conservative measures, 442. His journal suppressed, 451. Withdraws to England, 451. Member of the Legislative Assembly, 468. His violent conduct in the assembly, 519. Counteracts their humane measures, 519, 520. Guides the communes, 521. Proposes a revolutionary tribunal, 521. Launches a bill of arrest against Roland, 523. Superintends massacre of priests and prisoners, 524. Refills the prisons of Paris, 531. Proposes the dictatorship, 540. Lies hidden during the Revolution of August 10, 541. Reproaching Dumouriez, receives a contemptuous reply from the general, 544, 545. Feels commiseration for the King, 549. Proposes to hang the grocers of Paris, 565. Denounces Dumouriez, 565. Proposes to kill the Girondists, 567. Denounces Fournier, 568. Denounces the Convention as sold to England, who vote his imprisonment and

MAR

- trial, 575. His busts broken, 580. Acts the dictator, 586. Questions Thomas Paine as to a republic, 592. Assassinated by Charlotte Corday, 608. His remains removed to the Pantheon, 665. Transferred to the common sewers, 667
- Maraviglia, sent by Francis I. to the Duke of Milan, ii. 527
- Marbors, M., deposition of, by the Royalists, v. 272
- Marc, Perrin, stabs the regent's treasurer, i. 473. Hanged by Robert of Clermont, 473
- Marcel, San, burned by the French, i. 488
- Marcel, Stephen, Prévost des Marchandes, undertakes the defence of Paris, i. 465. One of the two dominant spirits of the Estates, 466. Arms the traders against the high functionaries, and compels them to withdraw, 468. His powers revoked by the Regent Charles, 471. Forms one of a triumvirate to place Charles of Navarre on the throne, 471. His armed bands at the new Hôtel de Ville, 474. Marches with his men to the Louvre, 474. And kills the Marshals of Champagne and Normandy, 474. Endeavours to make use of the Jacques, 477. Murdered, 481. Review of his career, 482. Removed by the court, iii. 140. Saves the Faubourg St. Germain from massacre, 143
- Marche, Count de la, his wife carried off by King John of England, i. 164. Takes back his wife, who brings him the county of Angoulême, 207. Joins the league of the barons, 207. His daughter Isabella affianced to Prince Alphonso, 207. Gained over by Queen Blanche, 215. At the investiture of the Count of Poitou at Saumur, 221. Refuses to do homage to the King and his brother, 221. Takes up arms, and makes terms with the King, 221. Defies the Count of Poitou in full court, 222. Breaks into open rebellion, and joins the King of England, 223. Defeated at Taillebourg, and submits to Louis, 224
- Marche, the Count de la, son of Philip the Fair, married to Blanche of Franche Comté, i. 353. Her dissolute life, 353. The territories of, seized by Philip the Fair, 358
- Marche, Count de la, joins a crusade against the Turks, ii. 45. Defeated and taken prisoner at Nicopolis, 46. Ransomed, 46
- Marck, De la, his sons slain at Novara, ii. 438. His account of the war in Italy, 439. Slain at Novara, 439. Taken prisoner at Pavia, 485. Defends Guise against the Imperialists, 540
- Marck, De la, Lord of Sedan, challenges the Emperor Charles V., 472. His lands invaded by Francis of Sickinghen, 472
- Marcoussis, château of, given to Louis of Barvaria, ii. 79

MAR

- Marcq, La, conference of, ii. 616
- Marcus of Baden chosen to lead the Liegeois, but refuses, ii. 280
- Mardyke captured by the French, iii. 572
- Mardyke canal, proposal for abandoning it, iv. 145. Given up by France, 148
- Marengo, battle of, v. 85
- Marfée, La, battle of, iii. 533
- Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis I., sent to Spain to negotiate for her brother, ii. 489
- Margaret of Anjou, married to Henry VI. of England, ii. 215. Beseeches aid in her cause from the King of France, 261. Proposes to hand over Calais as a recompense, 261
- Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, her formation of the League of Cambray, ii. 427. Details of the arrangements, 427. Her policy, 441
- Margaret of Burgundy, married to Louis Hutin, i. 353. Found false to her marriage vows, 353. Strangled in the castle of Andelys, 353, 364
- Margaret, Archduchess, sister of the Emperor Charles V., her part in the peace of Cambray, ii. 506. Concludes a truce with France, 542. Her unpopularity in Ghent, 544
- Margaret, daughter of Charles VII. of France, married to the son of the Count of Foix, ii. 259
- Margaret of England, sister of Henry VIII., proposal to marry her to Charles of Luxembourg, ii. 427
- Margaret of Hainault, married to Philip Augustus, i. 149. Their coronation at St. Denis, 149. Her death, 153
- Margaret, sister of Henry II., married to Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, ii. 648. Pretensions of Henry, Duke of Guise, to her hand, iii. 109, 110. The marriage denounced by her brother, Anjou, 110. Her court at Nerac, 193. Proposal to marry her to Henry of Navarre, 112, 114, 116, 117. The marriage, 126, 133. Draws up a defence of her husband, 159. Her lover, La Mole, 159, *note*
- Margaret, daughter of Louis VII., given in marriage to Henry, son of Henry II. of England, i. 143. Not crowned with her husband, 146
- Margaret, daughter of Louis XII., Duchess of Alençon, her affection for her brother, Francis I., ii. 508. Charges brought against her, 508, *note*. Favours the Reformation, 516, 517. Marries Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, 517. Takes Berquin and Lefevre into her service, 517. Her favour shown to the Reformers, 529. Her exertions to make peace between France and England, 556
- Margaret, daughter of Maximilian I., betrothed to the Dauphin, ii. 341. And declared duchess

MAR

- of Burgundy and countess of Artois, 341. Returned with her dowry, 373, 375. Restored to her former influence by her nephew, 464. Appointed stadtholderin, 464, *note*
- Margaret, sister of Philip the Fair, married to Edward I. of England, i. 307
- Margaret of Provence marries King Louis IX., i. 216. Accompanies her husband St. Louis to the Holy Land, 232
- Margaret of Scotland, the Dauphiness, her fate, ii. 234
- Margaret of Valois, Queen of Henry IV. of France, her husband's wish to obtain a divorce from her, iii. 332. Which she consents to, 351
- Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV., married to Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, ii. 285, 287. When dowager duchess of Burgundy, obtains the alliance of Edward IV., her brother, 338. Obtains a force from him, 338. Affords Maximilian aid and encouragement in his war with France, 340, 341
- Margaret, Countess of Flanders, her two marriages and families, i. 231. Her feud with her first family, 246
- Maria Adelaide, Princess of Savoy, married to the Duke of Burgundy, iv. 59. Her death, 111
- Maria of Brabant, Queen of Philip the Hardy, her children, i. 296. Charged by De la Brosse with having poisoned the King's eldest son, 297
- Maria da Gloria, Donna, daughter of Don Pedro, proposed as Queen of Portugal, v. 349. Supported by the English cabinet, 489
- Maria Leszczyńska, married to Louis XV. of France, iv. 193. Enjoined not to meddle in state affairs, 195
- Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, married to the Emperor Napoleon, v. 169-171. Receives the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, as compensation for her loss of sovereignty, v. 232. Refuses to return to Napoleon, 249
- Maria Theresa, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip IV., her hand offered by her father to Louis XIV., iii. 641. To whom she is married, 643. Gives birth to a dauphin, 650. Her devout and retiring habits, 650. Renounces on her marriage all right to the Spanish succession, 659
- Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., secured in her succession to the whole of the Austrian dominions, iv. 193. Her marriage with Francis of Lorraine, 202, 213. Her claim of the empire for her husband, 213. Rival claims, 213. Sets her house in order, 214. Defeat of the Austrians by Frederick the Great, and occupation of Silesia by the Prussians, 215, 216. Proposals of France to dismember the

MAR

- Austrian empire, 216. Flees to Hungary, 217. Appeals to the Hungarians, 218. Her husband elected emperor of Germany, 234. Signs the peace of Dresden with Frederick the Great, 234. Sends an army over the Alps to invade Provence, 235. Signs the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 245, 246. Her ingratitude to England, 261, 265, 266. Enters into an alliance with France, 262. Her letters to Madame de Pompadour, 262. Proposes to cede the Low Countries to France, 266. Her opposition to peace with Prussia, 281. Sums paid to her by France, 281
- Maria Amelia, Queen of the French, her advice to reform Louis Philippe's government, v. 573, 581. Advises resignation of M. Guizot, 588. Objects to his abdication, 594. Retires to St. Cloud, 595. *See* Louis Philippe
- Maria Antoinette, Queen of France, married to the Dauphin, iv. 321. St. Cloud bought for her, 369. Causes of the hatred entertained by the Parisians and French people for her, 374 *note*, 375. Her character, 375. Her fault, 376. Story of the *collier*, or necklace, 377, 378. Proposal to send her into a convent, 434. Her narrow escapes at Versailles, 439. Her interview with Dumouriez, 481. Insulted and threatened by the insurgents of the 20th of June, 494. Addressed by Santerre the Brewer, 495. Her alarm at the progress of events portending her fate, 503. Danton's proposition to banish her, 506. Accompanies the King to the Assembly, 513. Committed to the Temple, 514, 515. Faints at seeing the head of the Princess de Lamballe, 528. Danton endeavours to save her, 604. Her death resolved on, 604. Her children taken from her, 613. Her imprisonment in the Conciergerie, 613. Brutal treatment of her, 613. Her trial, 610, 613. Defends herself before her judges, 614. Her noble bearing, 614. Her execution, 614
- Maria de Medicis, married to Henry IV. of France, iii. 350-352. Her coronation, 379. Appointed regent in the King's absence 379. Murder of her husband, 379, 380. Declared regent, 385. Her Spanish policy, 388. Her favourites Concini and Galigai, 389. Duels and ferocity of her courtiers, 389. Refuses to accede to the demands of the Huguenot Assembly of Saumur, 395. But terrified into granting those of La Rochelle, 396. Concludes an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, 396. Secession of the grandees from court, 398. Their demands from Mezières, 398. Conclusion of the peace of St. Menchould, 399. Summons the Estates, and causes the King to declare himself of age, 400. Her extravagant public expenditure, 405. Musters an army to keep the grandees

MAR

at bay, 407. Goes south to receive the Infanta in exchange for her eldest daughter, 407. Offers to resign her authority, 410. Sends for the Prince of Condé, 410, 411. Her efforts to conciliate him, 411. Arrests and sends him to the Bastille, 412, 413. Sends an army to besiege the rebellious nobles in Soissons, 413. Murder of her favourite, Concini, 414. End of her reign, 415. Compelled to quit Paris and the court, 416. Her parting with her son, the King, 416. Her formation of a cabinet council, 419. Indignities inflicted upon her during her exile, 421. Her impatience, 421. Her escape from confinement, 422. Conspiracy of the *grandeurs* in her favour, 424. Surprised by the King in Angers, 425. Returns to Paris, and sends counsels to the King, 433. Quarrels with the Duchess d'Aiguillon, 477. Refuses her consent to the marriage of her second son, Gaston, 486. Her open hostility to Richelieu, 487. Deprecates the King's interference in the affairs of Italy, 487. Pits Cardinal Berulle against Richelieu, 488. Whom she endeavours to ruin in the estimation of the King, 497. Scene in her apartments, 499. Got rid of by the King and Richelieu, 501. Her death, 540

Marie, M., one of the New Republican ministry, v. 618. A member of the Provisional Government, 599. Minister of public works, 605

Marigni, Archbishop of Sens, sentences the Templars to be burned, i. 348, 351. Rebellion of the people of Sens against the archbishop, 366

Marigni, Enguerrand de, prime minister of Philip the Fair, i. 363. Hated by Charles of Valois, 363. Marigni's power in Philip's time, 363. Charged with depreciating the coin, and banished to Cyprus, 363. Hanged for sorcery, 364. Taken from the gibbet, and buried, 375. Amends made to his family by Charles of Valois on his deathbed, 375

Marillac, keeper of the seals, iii. 499, 500. Seals taken from him, 500. And arrested, 501

Marillac, Marshal, appointed to the command of the army of Italy, iii. 499. Arrested, 500, 501. Tried for peculation, and executed, 507

Markets, duty on all sales and purchases in the, in Paris, i. 418

Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of, appointed to the command in Flanders, iv. 85. His politics secured, 86. Captures Venloo, Ruremonde, and Liège, 86. Takes Bonn, 88. Crosses the Rhine, and reaches the Danube, 89. Takes Schellenberg, and marches into Bavaria, 89. Gains the battle of Blenheim, 90, 91. His forced inaction, 93. Defeats the French at Ramillies, 95. Refuses the offers of Louis XIV., 97. Marches to the relief of Ghent

MAR

and Bruges, 100. And defeats the French at Oudenarde, 100. And again at Malplaquet, 103. Captures Douai and Bethune, 105. Loses his influence with the court, the army, and the allies, 108. Takes Bouchain, 109. Replaced by the Duke of Ormond, 109

Marle, De, Chancellor, murdered by the Parisians, ii. 125. Treatment of his body, 125

Marlorat, the Huguenot divine, executed, iii. 69

Marly, expenses of, iv. 56

Marmande, unsuccessful expedition of Philip Augustus against, i. 193

Marmont Marshal, conveys the artillery over Mont St. Bernard, v. 84. Defeated at Salamanca, 185. Defends Paris, 227. His treason, 230. Commanded to take military precautions, 393. Attacks the people, 394, *et seq.* Declares Paris in a state of siege, 396. Advises a pacification, but countermanded to act with energy, 396. Implores the King to yield, 398. His troops defeated, 399. Orders a suspension of arms, 400. Besought to arrest the ministers, 400. Driven out of Paris, he seeks the King at St. Cloud, 402. Quarrels with the Duke of Angoulême, who orders his arrest, 413. Proposes the abdication of the King in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux, 414. Once more takes the command of the troops, 414. Points out difficulty of defending Rambouillet, 415

Marmontel, his education, iv. 296, *note*

Marmousets, formation of the government of the, ii. 40. Committed by the King's uncles to prison, 44. The Duke of Burgundy's hatred of them partaken by the Duke of Berry, 77

Marmousets, the, befriended and instigated by Chauvelin, iv. 207. Induce Louis XV. to take Madame de Mailly as his mistress, 207

Marot, the poet, seized as a Protestant, ii. 516. Escapes from the Inquisition in France, 581

Maroto, Carlist general, shoots his rivals, v. 520. Signs convention of Bergard, 520

Marrast, M., conspirator, recovers his freedom, v. 493. Amnestied and returns to France, 521. Harangues the people, 589. Claims a share in the Provisional Government, 605. Becomes mayor of Paris, 618. And president of the chambers, 630

Marsaglia, battle of, iv. 47

Marsal, fortress of, ceded to France, iii. 506

Marseilles, its resistance to Raymond Berenger of Provence and to Charles of Anjou, i. 243. Who razes the fortifications, and establishes his authority, 244. The King of Aragon promises not to aid the people against their duke, 244. Their rebellion under Boniface of Castellane, 244. The city entirely brought under French sway, 244. Besieged by the Constable Bourbon, ii. 480. Meeting of the

- Pope and Francis I. at, 526. Submits to Henry IV., iii. 320. Plot to deliver up the town to the Spaniards, 363. Riots of 1789, iv. 420. The Marseilles Fédérés enter Paris, 497. Municipality of, demand the dethronement of the King, 501. A second batch of the Fédérés arrive at Paris, 506. Encounter the National Guard, 507. The city captured by General Carteau, 597. Atrocities of Fréron at, 623, 624. Insurrection of 1814, v. 264. Conspiracy of the military at, 315 *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and III.
- Marsin, Spanish general, routed by Turenne, iii. 663
- Marsin, Marshal, his death, iv. 97
- Martignac, M. de, succeeds Villèle, v. 366. His character and qualifications for office, 367. His firmness in opposing the King, 368. His principles of government, 370, *et seq.* His ministry triumphant, 372. Compared to La Pasta, and obnoxious to the King, 372, 373. Dupont's remark on, 373. Opposed by the Royalists, 373. Reproaches the King for his partiality to Villèle, 374. Opens the session with a new *departmental* law, 375. Warns the Liberals as to the result of their opposition, 377. Defends Polignac, 429
- Martin del Ré, St., besieged by the Duke of Buckingham, iii. 474
- Martin, brother of Pepin, slain by Ebroin, i. 12
- Martin, St., cathedral of, at Tours, burnt and rebuilt, i. 82
- Martin V., Pope, elected by the Council of Constance, ii. 107. Scouts the demands of the council for Church reform, 107. His policy of dividing the council and obtaining a concordat from each nation, 107, 108
- Martin X., Pope, election of, i. 286. His French views, 286. Refusal of the Sicilians to abide by his decision, 289. Excommunicates Peter III., of Aragon, 289. Preaches a crusade against Aragon and Sicily, 289
- Martinique captured by the English, iv. 285. Restored, 288. The Jesuit traders at, 301
- Mary, Queen of England, betrothed when an infant to the Dauphin, ii. 462, 467, 469. And to the Emperor Charles V., 471. Project of marrying her to Francis I., 499. And afterwards to the Duke of Orleans, 500. Proposal to marry her to the Duke of Angoulême, 533. Her legitimacy declared by act of Parliament, 557. Marries Philip, son of Charles V., 614. Declares war against France, 624. Loses Calais, 629. Her death, 633
- Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Rash, proposal to affiance her to Charles, Duke of Guyenne, ii. 297. Hesitation of her father, 297. Proposal to marry her to Maximilian I., 304, 306. Her hand claimed by Louis XI. for the Dauphin, 328. Her concessions to her Flemish subjects, 330. Formation of her superior council, 330. Louis's policy regarding her, 331. Deserted by all except her Flemish subjects, 332. King Louis's treachery to her, 332, 333. Gives her hand immediately to Maximilian of Austria, 334. The marriage, 337. Her death, 341
- Mary, niece of Charles II. of England, married to the Prince of Orange, iii. 699
- Mary of Gonzaga, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, enamoured of, iii. 486
- Mary, daughter of Henry VII. of England, married to Louis XII. of France, ii. 441, 442. And to the Duke of Suffolk, 452
- Mary of Luxemburg, married to Charles IV. of France, i. 378. Her death, 378
- Mary of Meran, Princess of the Tyrol, married to Philip Augustus, i. 161. Her death, 163
- Mary of Portugal, proposal of the Emperor Charles V. to marry her to Francis I., ii. 488
- Mary, Queen of Scotland, carried off to France, ii. 602. Betrothed to the Dauphin, 602, 604. Married to the Dauphin (afterwards Francis II.), 631. Sets up the arms of England, 634. Death of her husband, iii. 32. Proposal to marry her to the Prince of Condé, 91. Married to Darnley, 92. Imprisoned by Elizabeth, 108, 110. Her aversion to a French marriage or counsels, 112
- Masham, Lady, her influence with Queen Anne, iv. 99
- Masquerade, danger of Charles VI. at a, ii. 44
- Massaniello, insurrection of, iii. 574
- Massena, General, drives the Austrians from the Dego, v. 18. Invades the Grisons, 55. Defeated by Archduke Charles, 56. Defeats Korsakoff at Zurich, 650. Surrenders at Genoa, 84. Defeated by the Archduke Charles, 122. Defeated at Aspern, 163. Defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, 178. Defeated at Busaco, 180. Follows up Sir Arthur Wellesley to Torres Vedras, 181.
- Matignon, Maréchal, sent by Catherine de Medicis against Montgomery, iii. 158. Carries the war into Guienne, 207. Preserves Bordeaux for the King, 237
- Matilda, aunt of Philip the Fair. *See* Mahaut.
- Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, her marriage to the Emperor Henry V., i. 118
- Matilda, daughter of Henry II. of England, married to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Brunswick, i. 162
- Matthew the Great, Duke of Milan, defies the Pope, who excommunicates him, i. 373
- Matthias the Emperor, his tolerance, iii. 374
- Mattioli, the Man with the Iron Mask, iv. 32
- Maupas, M., prefect of police, v. 656

MAU

Maupeou, Chancellor, iv. 319. His ingratitude to the Duc de Choiseul, 319. His character as a minister, 319, 320. Walpole's account of him, 319, *note*. Dismisses the Parliament, 324–326

Maurepas, Count de, exiled, iv. 253. Made prime minister by Louis XVI., 342. His first acts, 343. Shakes the King's confidence in Turgot, 347. Appointed president of finance, 353. His enmity to, and jealousy of, Necker, 364. Whom he forces to resign, 366. His death, 366

Maurevert, his attempt on the life of Coligny, iii. 135. Suborned by the Queen-mother and the Duke of Anjou, 136

Maurice, Prince of Nassau, his resistance to the Spaniards, iii. 366

Maurice, Duke of Saxony, his siege and reduction of Magdeburg, ii. 607. His alliance with France against the Emperor, 607. Marches against the Emperor, 607. Whom he surprises at Inspruck, 608. Concludes the treaty of Passau with the Emperor, 608. His death, 614

Maurice of Saxony, joins Frederick the Great, but hampers him, and sent back, iv. 221. Prepares an expedition at Dunkirk for the invasion of England, 228

Maximilian I., Emperor of Germany, proposal to marry him to Mary of Burgundy, ii. 304, 306. Marries Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, 334, 337. Takes formal possession of Holland and Zealand, 338. And holds his first court of the Golden Fleece at Bruges, 339. Marches to meet Louis XI., who declines an engagement, 339. But concludes a truce, 339. Recommencement of hostilities, 339. The French defeated at Guinegate, 339. His son Philip betrothed to Anne, daughter of Edward IV., 341. Death of his wife, 341. Concludes a peace with Louis, 341. Deprived by the Flemings of the guardianship of his son, Philip, 364. Collects a force for the conquest of Artois, 365. Joins the league to restore the authority of the French Estates, 366. Sends a small force to the Duke of Brittany, who offers him the hand of his daughter, Anne, 367. Receives reinforcements from other sources, 367. Seized by the Ghenters, 369. Concludes a peace with France, 369. Betrothed to Anne, Duchess of Brittany, 371. Concludes the peace of Senlis, 375. His political power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 409. Applied to by France for the investiture of the Milanese, 412. His discussions with the French envoy, Cardinal d'Amboise, 412. Endeavours to form a league hostile to Venice, 412, 421. And to repress the encroachments of the Turks, 412. Refuses to grant the investiture of

MAX

Naples to Louis XII., 416. Stipulations encumbering his deed of investiture of the Milanese to the French King, 421. His alarm at the French conquest of Genoa, 425. Summons the diet of Constance, 425. His attempts to pass into Italy barred by the Venetians, 426. Who take his strongholds on the Adriatic, 426. Concludes peace with the Venetians, 426. Formation of the League of Cambray, 427. Assists the French against Padua, 430. His jealousy of France, 433. His project of becoming pope, 433, *note*. Breaks with, and joins a league against, France, 435. Joins Henry VIII. in Burgundy, and serves under the English banner, 439. Forms a league against France, 451

Maximilian II., Emperor of Germany, proposal of his uncle, Charles V., to disinherit him, ii. 606. His daughter, Isabeau, married to Charles IX., iii. 111. And another daughter to Philip II., 111. Lives on good terms with the German Protestants, 112. Weeps for his son-in-law's massacre of the Huguenots, 147.

Maximilian, Emmanuel, Duke of Bavaria, joins the League of Augsburg, iv. 26. Offers of Louis XIV. to, 34. His claim for his son to the Spanish succession, 71. Proposals of William III., 73. The Electoral Prince chosen King of Spain, 74. His death, 75. Joins France against the allies, 86. Fails to reduce the Tyrol, 87. His dominions invaded by Marlborough, and Munich threatened, 89. Supported by Marshal Tallard, 90. Driven from his country by the battle of Blenheim, 90, 91. Defeated at Ramillies, 95. Flies to Brussels, 95. Temporary arrangements made with him by the peace of Utrecht, 117. Restored to his electorate, and given the Upper Palatinate and Sardinia, 119

Maximilian, Joseph I., Elector of Bavaria, death of his father, the Emperor, iv. 231. Accepts the terms offered by Austria, 231, 233

Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, defeated at Nordlingen, iii. 569. Rallies to the Emperor, 571. Compelled to sign the treaty of Ulm, 573

Maximilian Sforza, proclaimed Duke of Milan, ii. 437. Defeats the French at Novara, 438. Milan ceded to him by the French, 440. Offers of Francis I. to him, 453. Loses his duchy by the battle of Marignano, 455. Enters into an alliance with Henry VIII., 461. His abortive campaign into Italy, 461, 462. His death, 464. Flings a garrison into the castle on the approach of the French, 482. Formation of a league for keeping him on the throne of Milan, 492. Reinstated, but surrenders the castle of Milan to the Imperialists, 495. Submits to the Emperor, and allowed to return to Milan, 519. Secret agent sent by Francis I. to him, 527. The

MAY

agent decapitated by the duke, 527. His death, 536

Mayence, seized by the French, iv. 34. But retaken from them, 36. Siege of, iv. 601

Mayence, Elector of, denounces French ambition, iii. 675

Mayenne, Charles of Lorraine, Duke of, opposed to the Huguenots without money or troops, iii. 172. Appointed to the command of the army of the west, 185. His successes, 186. Undertakes to reduce the Huguenot fortresses north of the Garonne, 207. Takes Chatillon, 207. Ordered to his government of Burgundy, 214. Fortifies himself in Dijon, 220. Disapproves of the extreme measures of his brother, the Duke of Guise, 227. Escapes from Lyons, 234. And secures the towns of Burgundy and Champagne for the League, 235, 236. Marches in triumph to Orleans, 237. Goes to Paris, and establishes the great Council of Union, 237. Nominated by the Council of Union lieutenant-general of the kingdom, 237. Refuses the nuncio's offers of reconciliation to the King, 238. Attacks the united Royalists and Huguenots at Tours, 245. But decamps to Paris, 246. Procures the King's assassination, 246, 247. Urged to assume the crown on the death of Henry III., 256. Musters an army to oppose Henry IV., 256. Defeated at the battle of Arques, 257, 258. Enters Paris with his cavalry, 260. Causes the Cardinal of Bourbon to be proclaimed king, 262. Rejects the demands of the King of Spain, 263. Dissolves the Court of Union and puts down the Seize, 263. Defeated by Henry IV. at Ivry, 264-266. His flight, 266. Joined by the Duke of Montemarcano with papal troops, 279. Hangs the chiefs of the Sixteen for the murder of the judges, 282. Joins the Prince of Parma at Guise, 283. Enters Rouen with the Prince, 286. Who escapes from the King down the Seine, 287. Pressed by the Pope and King of Spain to proceed to the election of a king, 289. Negotiations with the King, 290. Opens the Estates of Paris, 291. Goes to meet the Duke of Feria, 292. Who reinforces his (Mayenne's) army, 293. Besieges Noyon, 293. Which is taken, 294. Large offers of Spain, 294, 295. Sees the recognition of Henry IV. as inevitable, 295. Offers to have the Infanta of Spain proclaimed queen on her promise to espouse a French prince to reign conjointly with her, 297. Refusal of the Parliament to sanction the transfer of the crown to a foreigner, 298. Mayenne's difficulties, 299. Obtains powers to conclude terms with Henry IV., 299. Swears never to recognise Henry till the Pope does, 305. Refuses to rally to Henry

MAZ

when all the other chiefs of the League do, 307. His despatches to Philip II., 308. Leaves Paris for the Spanish camp, 309. In arms in Picardy, with Count Mansfelt, 312. Holds the towns of Burgundy, 313. Joined by the Spaniards under the Constable Velasco, 314. Quits the Spanish army in disgust, 315. And consents to treat with the King, 315. With whom he negotiates a truce, 317. Submits to the King, 318. Their interview at Monceau, 318. His part against the Spaniards at Amiens, 331. Raises troops for the Queen-mother, 425. Submits to the King at Poitiers, 426. Killed at Montauban, 432

Mazarin, or Mazarini, Giulio, sent by the Pope to avert Richelieu's warlike intentions, iii. 490. Assailed by Richelieu, 491. Succeeds in concluding a truce between the French and Spanish before Casale, 492, 498. Recommended by Richelieu to Louis XIII., 541. Becomes minister, 542. Appointed member of a royal council, 543. Godfather to the future Louis XIV., 543. Appointed chief of the council, 556. His character, 558, 559. Succeeds to the power of Richelieu, 559. His difficulties, 560. His enemies, the 'Importans,' 560. Arrangement to murder him, 561. His tact and policy, 564. Compared with Richelieu, 564. Opposition of Parliament to Mazarin, 566. Orders the arrest of the three judges with President Barillon, 568. His efforts for procuring peace, 570. His disappointments, 573. Conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, 575. His obstructions in the way of peace with Spain, 577. Effect of his war policy on France, 578. French estimation of him, and of his policy, 578. His unskilfulness in the management of the popular interests, 580. Union of the companies against him, 583. Proposal of Chateaufort and Chavigny to sacrifice him, 584. His danger in Paris, 589. Exiles Chateaufort and imprisons Chavigny, 589. Cry of the extreme party for his exile, 595. Gives umbrage to Condé, 598. His plan of marrying his niece Mancini to the Duke of Mercœur, 598. Quarrels with Condé, 599. Arrests Condé, Conti, and Longueville, 600. Goes with the Queen into Normandy and Burgundy, 601. Formation of a party to liberate the captive princes, and drive Mazarin into exile, 603, 604. Warned of his danger, 604. The Duke of Orleans turns against him, 604. Every class desirous of getting rid of the cardinal, 605. Goes to Havre to liberate Condé, 605. Obligated to go into exile, 606. Prevents the reconciliation of the Queen with the Prince of Condé, 607, 609. Meanness of his personal jealousies, 607. His supposed mar-

MAZ

riage with the Queen-regent, 614. His return to France, 616, 617. His two agents, Colbert and Fouquet, 617. Throws obstacles in the way of a settlement with Condé, 620. Proposes his own withdrawal as one of the terms of peace, 622. With the King witnesses the fight between Condé and Turenne, 624. Withdraws from France, 628. Review of his government, 630. Advises the imprisonment of De Retz, 632. Refuses to negotiate with Condé, 635. His insufficiency as a war minister, 636. And as a financier, 637. Endeavours to procure his master the Imperial crown, 639. Brings about the League of the Rhine, 640. Affects to negotiate a marriage with Savoy, 641. Which brings an offer of the hand of the Infanta, 641. Accused of having favoured the marriage of the King with his niece, 642. His death, 644. And character, 645, 646

Mazarinades, the, iii. 612, *note*.

Mazères, a Huguenot leader, iii. 19. Seized by the Duke of Nemours, 20. Put to the torture, 21. Executed, 22

Mazzini, Joseph, heads the democratic party at Rome, v. 639

Meard, Jourgniac de St., escape of, iv. 527

Measures, Philip the Long's proposed improvements in the, i. 377

Meau, battle of, i. 118

Meaux, besieged and taken by Henry V. of England, ii. 139. The English expelled by the constable from, 203. The doctrines of the Reformation first preached at, 515. Persecution of the Protestants at, 640. Meeting of the Three Estates at, iii. 29. Meeting of the Huguenot leaders at, 56. Massacre of the Huguenots in, 148. Surrendered to Henry IV., 307

Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a princess of, married to the Duke of Orleans, v. 503

Medard, St., riot of the Catholics and Protestants at, iii. 49

Medici, Lorenzo di, sends assistance to Louis XI. of France, ii. 269

Medici, Peter di, favours Ferdinand V. in Naples, ii. 380. His pusillanimity, 383. Expelled with his followers from Florence, 383. Meets Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, 383.

Medici family, origin of the despotism of the, ii. 379. Recover their sway over Florence, 437. Their ascendancy in Florence secured by France, 456

Medina Torres, Duque de, his baseness, iii. 659

Meerveldt, Baron de, proposes armistice to Moreau, v. 90

Mehemet Ali, his conquests and their results, v. 529. Receives hereditary investment of Egypt, 530. Questions as to boundary limits

MES

of his dominions, 530, *et seq.* Objects, and consequent war with England, 536. Submits to Sir Charles Napier and signs his conditions of peace, 538. M. Thiers proposes sending a fleet to defend, 538, 539. Acknowledged hereditary pacha of Egypt, 546

Meilleraye, Marshal, becomes minister of finance, iii. 585. His treatment of the judges, 587. His danger from the people, 589. Takes St. Suaire, 602

Melas, General, defeated at Marengo, v. 85, 86. His defeat attributed to incapacity, 87. Offers to surrender North Italy, 87

Melissende, Countess of Talleyrand-Perigord, mistress of Pope Clement V., i. 354. Her extravagance, 354

Mello, Don Francisco de, attacks Champagne with a Spanish army, iii. 557. Defeated at Rocroy, 557, 558

Melun, seized by Odo, Count of Champagne, i. 81. Surrendered by Queen Blanche to Charles the Bad of Navarre, 485. The castle and the treasure of Charles V. there, ii. 7. Seizure of the treasure by the Duke of Anjou, 7. Besieged and taken by Henry V., 137

Melun, Count de, his deathbed revelation, i. 192

Melun, Sieur de, executed for treason, ii. 289

Mende seized by the Huguenots, iii. 193

Mende, Bishop of, becomes a general at the siege of La Rochelle, iii. 477

Menehold, St., ceded to the Duke of Calabria, ii. 275. Treaty of, iii. 399

Menins, or whipping boys, of the Dauphin, v. 342

Menou, General, tries to disperse the insurgents of 11th Vendemiaire but fails, iv. 687. Succeeds General Kleber and fights battle of Alexandria, v. 94. Surrenders to General Hutchinson, 95

Mercey, Austrian general, descends the Alps against the French, iv. 204. Slain before Parma, 204

Mercœur, Duke of, secures the loyalty of Brittany, iii. 236. Lays claim to the throne of France, 261. Defeats the Prince of Conti and Dombes in Brittany, 289. Makes proposals of submission to the King, 333. His arrangements with the King, 334. Goes to Hungary, 360

Mercœur, Duke of, his attachment to the cause of Anne of Austria, iii. 555. Mazarin's plan of marrying him to his niece Marcini, 598

Méricourt, Theroigne de, gratifies her revenge by the murder of Suleau, iv. 514

Merindol, condemnation of the principal inhabitants of, for heresy, ii. 582. Massacre of, 584. Meeting of the Huguenots at, iii. 17.

Merlin chosen director, v. 38

Merovingians, reign of the, i. 3-13

Mesgrin, Marquis of St., killed, iii. 624

MES

Mesnin ceded to Holland, iv. 116. Reduced by the French, 234

Messina taken by storm by Richard I. of England, i. 158, 159. Besieged unsuccessfully by Charles of Anjou, 288, 289. Revolt of, against Spain, iii. 695

Metelin, the Turks in, attacked by the French, ii. 413. Who fail, 413

Metternich, Prince, arrives at Paris with proposals from the Austrian court, v. 175. Observation of, respecting dominion of Napoleon and his successor, 196. Proposes mediation, 199. His observation on the French marriages, 200. His demands at first rejected, but afterwards conceded by Napoleon, 205. Proposed treaty of Prague, 205. Successes in Spain determines Austria in her alliance with Continental powers against Napoleon, 205, 208. Guides the policy of Europe, 309. Wishes to put down the Spanish Constitution, 323. Proposes to put down the insurrections in Modena and Parma, 438. His opinions as to war in the Legations, 459. Prevents Czar Nicholas' interference with the Porte and Eastern Question, 491. Lays down conditions for the Austrian alliance, 502. Intrigues to marry Isabella to son of Don Carlos, 566

Metz becomes the capital of Austrasia, i. 8. March of Charles VII. against, ii. 220. De Brezé sent by Charles to waste its territory, 221. Peace concluded, 221. Taken by Henry II. of France, 609. Besieged by the Emperor, Charles V., 611. Failure of the Huguenots to enter, iii. 93. The Parliament of, overruled by the King, iv. 322

Meulan burned by the English under Edward III., i. 424

Meulant, meeting of Henry V. of England and the French court at, ii. 129

Meun, Count of, compelled by Louis the Fat to submit to the church of Orleans, i. 114

Meung, retirement of the English, under Lord Talbot, from Orleans to, ii. 167. Evacuated by them, 168

Meunier attempts to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 508

Mexico, war with, v. 511

Mezières, besieged by the Emperor Charles V., ii. 472. Town given up to the Prince of Condé, iii. 170. Seized by the Prince of Condé and the Dukes of Bouillon and Nevers, 398

Michael VIII., Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, his expulsion contemplated by Charles of Anjou, i. 282. Michael's proposals to the Pope Gregory X., 284

Michaud, king's reader, suspended by Charles X., v. 357

Michel, Mount St., pilgrimages to, i. 85

Mignet, M., proposes Duke of Orleans to be

MIN

head of the government, v. 407. Ambassador to Madrid, 489

Miguel, San, defies the Holy Alliance, 322

Miguel, Don, claims the throne of Portugal, v. 349. Maltreats the French residents, 461. War declared against, 461. His fleet and army annihilated, 500

Milan placed under an interdict by Pope John XXII., i. 373. Its quarrel with Venice respecting Pisa, ii. 403. Claimed by Louis XII. of France, 403. His arrangements for its conquest, 403. Occupied by the French, 405. But recovered by the Milanese, 406. Investiture granted to Louis, 421. The Milanese taxed to pay a French army, 428. Besieged by the French under Admiral Bonivet, 479. Again taken by the French, 482. Again in the hands of the Imperialists, 495. Sforza allowed to return to, 519. Promised by the Pope to the second son of Francis I., 526. Formally demanded of the Emperor by Francis I., 533, 536. Proposal to give the duchy to the Duke of Orleans, son of Francis I., 543. Napoleon crowned king of Italy at, v. 119. *See* Directory; Convention; Napoleon I.

Milanese, the, lost to the French, ii. 439. Army of Francis I. for the recovery of the, 452. Restored to France by the battle of Marignano, 455. Occupied by the Duke of Savoy and Marshal Catinat, iv. 84. Proposed to be taken by Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia in exchange for Savoy to France, 203. The country left of the Tessin offered to Charles Emmanuel III. of Sardinia, 228

Military tenure, northern system of, extended by Charles Martel, i. 15. Low state of military science in the twelfth century, 151. The military ordonnances of Philip the Fair, 377. Causes of military weakness in France, 385-388. The military science of the French and English of the time of the early part of the fourteenth century compared, ii. 115. The reforms of Charles VII., 222. Military incapacity of the time of Francis I., 570. Decay of military discipline and spirit in France at the close of the eighteenth century, iv. 304. *See* Convention; Napoleon I.

Military bands, in France, in the time of Charles VII., ii. 202

Militia, the French, of 1764, iv. 304

Mill, John Stuart, his opinion on the *conservative* principles of the House of Commons, v. 451

Millesimo, battle of, v. 18

Minard, judge, murdered, iii. 15

Minden, battle of, iv. 279

Minister, prime, first appointment of a French, ii. 401

Minorea ravaged by the Turks, ii. 632. Conquered by the English, iv. 99. Taken by the French, 261. Ceded to England, 288

MIN

Minto, Lord, his mission to Italy, v. 573
 Miollis, General, invades the Papacy, v. 149
 Miquelon, ceded to France, iv. 287
 Mirabeau, castle of, taken by Louis IX., i. 224
 Mirabeau, Count, his newspaper suppressed, iv. 414. In the first sitting of the National Assembly, 415. His answer to the grand master of the ceremonies, 418. Moves an address to the King, 421. Punishes and extinguishes Necker, 432. His alliance refused by the Constitutionalists, 443. Whom he denounces as incapable, 443. Secretly strives to support the King, 444. His desire to free the King, 454. His death, 455. His intrigues with Louis XVI. discovered, 548
 Miranda, General, abandons the defence of the Meuse, iv. 563. Defeated by the Archduke Charles at Neerwinden, 564
 Mirandola, taken by Pope Julius II., ii. 432. Protectorate of, held by Francis I., ii. 542
 Miromenil, Chancellor, dismissed, iv. 387
 Missi of Charlemagne, their powers and duties, i. 26
 Mississippi, free passage of the, ceded, iv. 288. *See* Law the Financier
 Mistresses, first introduction of, into the French court, ii. 246
 Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador, his interview with Henry IV., iii. 261
 Modena ceded to the Duke of Ferrara, ii. 456. Seized by the Duke of Ferrara, 499. Insurrection in, v. 438
 Modena, Duke of, excluded from Italy, v. 90
 Moeskirch, battle of, v. 83
 Mogador, bombarded by the French, v. 561
 Mohacz, defeat of the Hungarians at, ii. 496
 Mohammedans, their feuds amongst themselves in the Holy Land, i. 227
 Mola, defeat of the French at, ii. 418
 Molay, Jacques de, grand master of the Templars, imprisoned, i. 342. His avowals, which he afterwards withdraws, 345. His examination before the commission, 347. His trial, and condemnation, 351. Solemnly summons the King and Pope before the judgment seat of God, 352. His death, 352
 Mole, La, follower of the Duke d'Alençon, divulges the duke's plot to the Queen-mother, iii. 157. His trial, 158. Executed, 159. Said to have been a lover of Margaret of Navarre, 159, *note*
 Molé, President, his opinions, character, and courage, iii. 594. Compared with De l'Hôpital, 595. Brings about an armistice between the court and Parliament, 595, 596. His reception by the Parliament, 596. Behaviour of the Prince of Condé to him, 607. Appointed keeper of the seals, 607. His appointment revoked, 609. The seals given back to him, 615
 Molé, Count, made marine minister, v. 289.

MON

Warns the Prussian envoy relative to Belgium, 423. Becomes foreign minister, 421. Resigns, 424. Is president of the council, 504. Grants amnesties to sixty persons, 504. And to Charles X.'s ministers, 505. His conduct towards Louis Napoleon, 507. Opposed to the invasion of Algiers, 507. Misfortunes of his cabinet, 508. Seeks to enforce repressive laws against suspicious persons, 508. Resigns on failure of his repressive measures, 510. Reappointed to the ministry, 510. Withdraws his obnoxious laws, 510. Withdraws the garrison from Ancona, 511. Foundation of his unpopularity, 511. Weakness of his cabinet, 512. His eloquence, 513. Resigns, but again reinstated and again dissolves the chambers, 513. Failing to get a majority in the chambers, resigns, and a coalition ministry formed, 513. Sent for by the King, 588. Recommends admission of M. Thiers, 589. Unable to form a ministry, resigns, 590.
 Moleville, Bertrand de, attempts to bribe the Gironde, iv. 478. Is prosecuted by the Gironde, 478
 Molinists and Jansenists compared, iv. 124. Upheld by the Jesuits, 124. Become persecutors, 124
 Mollwitz, battle of, iv. 216
 Monarchic power paramount at the beginning of the sixteenth century, ii. 447, 448
 Monarchies, foundation of the first national, of Europe, i. 42. The government of monarchy in England and in France, 171. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.
 Monasteries, lands of the, given to local military chiefs, i. 48
 Monasticism, effects of, on the people at the times of Clovis and Charlemagne, i. 44. The stoicism of the monks compared with that of the feudal system—chivalry, 75. Gerbert's letters on monastic life, 80. Revival of monasticism in the reign of Louis XIV., iv. 4
 Moncada, Marquis of, viceroy of Naples, killed, ii. 503
 Moncey, Marshal, refuses to preside at Ney's court-martial, and is consequently arrested by St. Cyr, v. 274. Created a peer of France, 295
 Moncontour, town of, taken by Bertrand du Guesclin, i. 529
 Moncontour, battle of, iii. 107
 Money becomes the great source of government power, ii. 215
 Monge, M., appointed minister of marine by the Assembly, iv. 518
 Monheur, town of, captured and destroyed by Louis XIII., iii. 432
 'Monk and Napoleon,' pamphlet of, v. 80
 Monks, mendicant, unpopularity of, among the secular clergy, ii. 69. Hostility of John

MON

- Gerson to monks of all orders, 73. Their controversy with the Humanists, 512.
- Mons taken by the partisans of Louis of Nassau, iii. 129. Menaced by the Duke of Alva, 129. The partisan Genlis sent to support it, 129. Captured by the French, 41. Ceded to Holland, 116. Reduced by the French, 234
- Mons, battle of, iii. 702
- Mons en Puelle, defeat of the Flemings by the French at, i. 334
- Monsieur, peace of, iii. 173
- Montagnards and Girondists, their struggle at Lyons, iv. 565
- Montague, Earl of, seized by Richelieu and thrown into the Bastille, iii. 473
- Montague escapes from court, iii. 158
- Montagu, his power and gains under Charles VI., ii. 77. Arrested by order of the Duke of Burgundy, and executed, 78, 79. His body taken down from the gibbet, 89
- Montagu, Cardinal, Bishop of Laon, proposes that Charles VI. should take the government into his own hands, ii. 40. Appointed to the care of the finances, 40
- Montaigne, Michel de, present at the Estates of Blois, iii. 227. His aversion for the license of the Huguenots, 227
- Montalembert, Count, minister of instruction, v. 441. Advocates a compromise with the president, 657
- Montalivet, Count, becomes home minister, v. 424-449. Arrests the Carlists, 472. Commissioned by the Queen to advise Louis Philippe, 581
- Montargis captured by the English, ii. 186. Repulse of the Germans at, iii. 213
- Montauban, Madame de, cousin to the Queen of Charles VI., arrested by the Parisians, ii. 96
- Montauban, Admiral, favourite of Louis XI., his severity and rapacity, ii. 254
- Montauban, Chancellor of Brittany, supports the cause of the Duchess Anne, ii. 370
- Montauban, demolition of the fortifications of, iii. 88. Conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants at, 47. Rising of the Huguenots in, 151. Besieged by Louis XIII., 431. Which he is compelled to raise, 432. Departure of the inhabitants, 432. Foucault's atrocities to the Protestants of, iv. 17
- Montbazou, Madame de, iii. 561. Her quarrel with the party of Condé, 561. Exiled by the Queen, 561
- Montbeliard, county of, awarded by the parlement of Besançon to Louis XIV., iv. 23
- Montbrun, his success in Dauphiné, iii. 29
- Montcalm, Marquis de, governor of Québec, his successes over the English, iv. 264. His imaginary line of the Ohio, 273. His death on the Heights of Abraham, 274
- Montdidier ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy,

MON

- ii. 192. Secured by the Burgundians, 275. Occupied by Duke Charles of Burgundy, 301. Taken by the English under the Duke of Suffolk, 479
- Montebello, Battle of, v. 84, 85
- Montebello, Duc de, his intrigues at Berne, v. 506
- Montecuculli, threatens the French on the Rhine, iii. 684. Takes Bonn, 686
- Montefeltro, castle of, besieged and taken, i. 286
- Montemarciano, Duke of, joins the Duke of Mayenne with papal troops, iii. 279
- Montenotte, battle of, v. 18
- Montereau, murder of the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of, ii. 133. The Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., at the assault of, 205. Battle of, v. 221
- Montespan, Madame de, mistress of Louis XIV., iii. 668. Got rid of by Louis XIV., 41
- Montesquieu, of the Duke of Anjou's guard, shoots Condé, iii. 103
- Montesquieu, Charles de, his works, and the inquiries and discussions to which they gave rise, iv. 210. His exposure of the French government of the eighteenth century, 293
- Montfort acquired by Louis, Duke of Brittany, ii. 275
- Montfort, Amaury de, raises the siege of Toulouse, on the death of his father, i. 186. Offers his rights in Languedoc to Philip Augustus, 186, 191. Which is declined by the King, 186, 191. Bequest of Philip Augustus to, 194. Difficulty with which he held his ground, 196. Relieves Carcassonne, 197. Resigns his claims to Toulouse to Louis VIII., 197. Promised the office of constable, 197. Which is given to him, 199. Goes to the Holy Land, 219. Taken prisoner in Syria, 219. Ransomed by Richard of Cornwall, 219.
- Montfort, Guy of, defeated and taken prisoner, i. 300
- Montfort, John of, restored to his county of Montfort, i. 490
- Montfort, John de, Duke of Brittany, invasion of his duchy by the French, i. 533. Loses Brittany, and flies to England, 546. Declared to have forfeited his duchy, 546. Returns to his duchy, 547. Acknowledges the suzerainty of Charles VI., ii. 10. Protected by the Count of Flanders, 15. Seizes and imprisons the Constable de Clisson, 38. Who is released, on payment of a heavy fine, 38. Refuses to give up the fugitive assassin, Craon, 42. An army led towards Brittany by Charles VI., who is attacked by insanity on the road, 43. War levied by the Constable Clisson upon the duke, 44
- Montfort, Philip de, becomes Count of Castres, i. 212
- Montfort, Philip de, Earl of Leicester, absents

MON

himself from the meeting at Amiens, i. 252. Killed at the battle of Evesham, 253. Murder of Henry Plantagenet by his two sons, 278

Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, joins a crusade against the Albigenses, i. 176. Obtains the viscounty of Beziers, 179. His character, 180. Has charge of the betrayed Viscount of Beziers, who dies in prison, 180. Establishes himself in Beziers and the Limousin, 180. Becomes master of the castle of Toulouse, 180. Besieges and captures Lavaur, 181. Repulsed before Toulouse, 181. Defeats Peter II. of Aragon at the battle of Muret, 183. Becomes sovereign of the south of France, 183. His sovereignty confirmed by the Fourth Council of Lateran, 184. The standard of war raised by the deposed count and his son, 185. Obtains a hundred knights from Philip Augustus, 185. Driven out from Toulouse, which he blockades during the winter, 185. His brother and nephew killed before the city, 185. His assault on the city, 186. His death there, 186. His fitness for the work he undertook, 203

Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, joins St. Louis in the Fifth Crusade, i. 232

Montgomery, captain of the guard to Henry II., carries the Protestant judges to the Bastille, ii. 647. Accidentally kills the King, 647, 648. Escapes from the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 144. Opens communications from England with La Rochelle, 151. Appears before the town with a fleet from England, 153. Lands on the coast of Normandy, and reduces the Cotentin, 158. The Maréchal Matignon sent against him, 158. Taken prisoner in Domfront, 159. Sent to the scaffold, 162

Montjoye, tower of, burned by the English, i. 424

Montlheri, fortress of, reduced by Louis the Fat, i. 115. Destroyed by the King, 115. Besieged by the most ferocious of the mob of Paris, ii. 126. The village occupied by Louis XI., 270. The battle of, 270

Montlosier, M., denounces the Jesuits, v. 348, 353

Montluc, his opinion of the Turks as soldiers, ii. 558, *note*. His interview with Francis I., 559. Sent by Catherine de Medicis to Guyenne, iii. 48. Succeeds in restoring order in Guyenne, 65. His atrocities, 66. Takes Agen, and threatens Montauban, 68

Montlucon, captured by Louis XII., ii. 269

Montmeillan taken by Sully, iii. 349. Restored to Savoy, iv. 59

Montmirail, battle of, v. 220

Montmorenci, taken prisoner at Pavia, ii. 485

Montmorency, valley of, and its baron. *See* Burchard.

MON

Montmorency occupied by John, Duke of Burgundy, ii. 122

Montmorency, Duke of, created constable by Henry IV., iii. 309. Enters Lyons for Henry IV., 314. Defeats the forces of Savoy at Veillane, 491. Made a marshal, 500. His power in Languedoc, 506. His revolt against the authority of Richelieu, 506, 507. Defeated at Castelnaudary, 509. Executed, 510

Montmorency Boutteville, executed for duelling, iii. 471

Montmorency, Matthew, Constable of France, i. 197

Montmorency, Grand-master, sides with the party of Louise of Savoy, ii. 517

Montmorency, Constable, in reign of Francis I., his influence with the King lessened by the Cardinals of Grammont and Tournon, ii. 528. Placed in command of an army to oppose the Emperor in Provence, 539. Created constable, 544. Disgraced by Francis I., 549. His influence over Henry II., 593. His negotiations with the Emperor and his sister, 599. His punishment of the insurgents of Bordeaux, 601. Forces his way into Metz, 609. His contempt for civic pretensions and municipal rights, 610. Puts his son in command of Therouanne, 614. Which he loses, and is captured, 614. At the conference of La Marcq, 616. Refuses consent to the Imperialist propositions, 617. Negotiations for his liberation, 632, 633. Defeated at the battle of St. Quentin, 625. Taken prisoner there, and wounded, 626. His hatred of learning and letters, iii. 6. Compelled to retire from court, and cede the grand mastership to Guise, 7. Attends the meeting at Fontainebleau, 27. Assumes authority on the accession of Charles IX., 33. League between him, St. André, and Guise, 40. Taken prisoner at Dreux, 71. Where his son is killed, 71. Liberated by the treaty of Amboise, 75. Retires in dudgeon from court, 84. Commands an army to oppose Condé at St. Denis, 95. Where he is slain, 96. Keeps aloof from court, 360. His lukewarmness in the cause of Queen Marie de Medicis, 422

Montmorency, Marshal, son of the Constable, taken prisoner at Therouanne, ii. 614. Appointed marshal by Francis II., iii. 7. Disbands the Paris militia, 88. Disperses the guard of the Cardinal of Lorraine, 89, 91. At the battle of St. Denis, 96. Sent to curb the excesses of the Catholics in Rouen, 115. His ascendancy at court, 116. Disperses a Paris mob, and removes the cross of Gas-tines, 120. Withdraws to Chantilly, 133. His enmity to Catherine de Medicis, after the St. Bartholomew massacre, 156. Favours

MON

the designs of the King of Navarre and Alençon, 156. Arrested, 158. Kept in prison by Catherine de Medici, 162. Liberated, in order to further the peace with the Huguenots, 170. Joins the King of Navarre in his answer to the Edict of Reunion, 205. Defeats the Huguenot fleet under Soubise, 458
 Montmorency, Monberon, killed at Dreux, iii. 71
 Montmorency, Eleanor de, married to the Prince of Condé, iii. 11
 Montmorency, M. de, chevalier d'honneur to the Duchess d'Angoulême, v. 320. Sent to Congress at Vienna, 321. Created duke, 322
 Montmorency, M. de, minister of foreign affairs, v. 313
 Montmorillon, taken by Bertrand du Guesclin, i. 529
 Montmorin, Count de, appointed to the foreign office, iv. 387. Proposes the recall of Necker, 387. Resigns his office, 473. His death, 526
 Montpellier places itself under the sovereignty of France, i. 183. Depopulated by the plague, 439. Given by treaty to the King of Navarre, 508. Its rebellion against the Duke of Anjou, 548. Who cruelly punishes them, 549. The bishop killed by the Huguenots, iii. 48. Huguenot proclamation issued from, 167. Besieged by Marshal Damville, 187. Given up to the Huguenots, 188. Besieged by Louis XIII., 436. Surrenders on conditions, 437. Destruction of Protestantism in, iv. 15
 Montpensier, Duke de, his treatment of the Huguenots of Tours, iii. 64. At the battle of Moncontour, 106. Protests against the removal of the cross of Gastines, 120. Unable to induce the Bretons to murder the Huguenots, 149. Sent against La Noue, 158. Opposes war against the Huguenots, 183. Routs Brissac and the peasants in Normandy, 246. Recognises Henry IV. as king, 254. Generosity of Henry IV. to the duchess, 311. Makes proposals to Henry IV. on behalf of the nobility, 325. *See* Catherine de Medici; Charles X.; Henry IV.
 Montpensier, Due de, intrigues relative to his marriage with Queen Isabella, v. 563, *et seq.* And with Isabella's sister, 567. Presses his father to abdicate, 594
 Montpensier, Gilbert de, appointed by Charles VIII. viceroy of Naples, ii. 387. Marches out to meet Ferdinand II., 391. And is shut up in the castle by the citizens, 391. Capitulates, 391
 Montpezat, Lord of, deprived by the French of his castle of St. Serdos, i. 380. Which he retakes and destroys, 380
 Montpouillant, son of the Duc de la Force, his death. iii. 435

MOR

Montreal, surrender of the French at, iv. 275
 Montreuil ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Who takes it from the English, 193. Recovered by France, 264. Besieged by the English, 562
 Montrevel, his endeavours to put down the Huguenots in the Cevennes, iv. 87
 Montserrat, affair of, iii. 480. Attacked by Spain and Savoy, 491
 Moors of Valencia depart for Africa, iii. 396
 Moore, Sir John, with an English army penetrates Spain, v. 157. Pursued by Napoleon, he encounters Soult at Corunna, 157. His death, 158
 Morals, French, of the reign of Louis XIV., iv. 4
 Morat, the Swiss besieged by the Burgundians in, ii. 321. Destruction of the Burgundian army at, 322
 Moravia invaded by the Prussians under Schwarzen, iv. 220. Becomes the seat of war, 279
 Morbihan, Company of, formed by Richelieu, iii. 468
 Moreau, appointed commissioner for extirpating heresy from Lorraine, iii. 16
 Moreau, General, defeated by Archduke Charles, v. 24. Defeated by Kray, 58. Defeated by Suwarrow at Novi, 64. Commands the army in Alsace, 83. Defeats Kray, 83, 88. Defeats Archduke John at Hohenlinden, 89. Arrives at Vienna, and agrees to a suspension of hostilities, 90. His complicity in George Cadoudal's plot, 114. Arrested, 114. Pardoned and exiled, 116. His death, 209
 Moret, Count of, a son of Henry IV., compelled to leave France, iii. 502
 Morey, harness maker, implicated in the Fieschi plot, v. 495, *et seq.*
 Morny, M. de, his conversation with Louis Philippe on reform, v. 578, 581. Suggests compromise between coalition and the police on the subject of the Banquets, 583. His endeavours to preserve the public peace, 584. Becomes chief confidant of Louis Napoleon, 660. Remarkable observation about the coup d'état, 660. Surrounds the assembly with a body of police, 663
 Morocco, war with, v. 559, *et seq.*
 Morosini, papal nuncio, endeavours to effect a reconciliation between Henry III. and the Duke of Mayenne, iii. 238
 Mortaigne, town of, recovered by the French crown, ii. 264
 Mortara occupied by the French, ii. 406
 Mortemart, Duke de, warns the King, v. 390. Appointed prime minister, 406. Proposes his counter-ordnances to the municipal commission, 409. His hopes defeated by precipitancy of the Royalists, 410. Advises Duke of Orleans *temporarily* to be lieutenant-general, 411

MOR

Mortier, Marshal, defeated by the Russians, v. 123. Defends Paris, 227. Created a peer of France, 295. President of council, 487. Resigns, 488. Killed in the Fieschi plot, 495

Mortimer, Roger, Earl of March, an exile in France, follows Charles of Valois, i. 380. Joins Queen Isabella, and defeats the party of Edward II. of England, 380, 381. His death, 392

Morvilliers, Pierre de, ii. 253. Made chancellor to Louis XI., ii. 253. His embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, 267

Moscow entered by the French, v. 188. Burning of, 188. French retreat from, 190

Moulins, Edict of, iii. 89

Mounier, his speech at the estates of Dauphiny, iv. 401. Abets Necker's idea of a constitutional government, 405. His attempts to coalesce with Barnave, 433

Mountain, the, denounce the temporising of the Gironde, iv. 504. Denounce the Gironde, 537. Defend their conduct as to the dictatorship, 539, *et seq.* Propose trial and death of Louis XVI., 546, 547, *et seq.* Their struggle with the Girondists at Lyons, 565. Propose a revolutionary tribunal, 566, *et seq.* Demand the expulsion of the Girondists, 566. Propose to march on the Convention, and kill the Girondists, 567. Destroy the Gironde press, 568. Establish *Comité de Salut public*, 570. Leaders of, disappointed at not being elected to this committee concert measures against the Gironde, 573. Vote the arrest of the Orleanists, 574. Their violent proceedings, 580, *et seq.* Insurrection of the 31st May, 584. Move the arrest of twenty-two Girondists, 585. Their proceedings against the Convention, 585-589. Forming now the dominant party in the Convention their reign of terror commences, 590, *et seq.* Defeat Girondist army at Evreux, 594. Their insurrection at Lyons, 596. Siege and capture of Lyons, 599. Establish reign of terror at Lyons, 598. Insurrection in La Vendée, 590. Battle of Les Aubiers, and capture of Thouars, Fontenay, and Saumur, 599. Siege of Nantes, 600. Depose and execute their generals, 601. Supersede Kleber in La Vendée, 602. Kleber crushes the Vendean insurrection, 602. Their disasters in Germany, 603. Their weakness and inability to resist Continental powers, 604. Execution of Marie Antoinette, 604, 610, 613, 614. Their New Constitution, 606, *et seq.* Assassination of Marat, 608. Renewal of the Committee of Public Safety, 609. Robespierre and his proceedings, 609, *et seq.* Renewal of hostilities in Germany, 615, *et seq.* Successes under Carnot, 616, 617. Trial and execution of the Girondists, 618, *et seq.* Surrender of

MUS

Toulon, 623. Toulon recaptured by Carnot and Napoleon, 624. Summary of their proceedings, 626, *et seq.* Dissensions among them, 626, *et seq.* Their measures for suppression of religion and religious worship, 633, *et seq.* Their conduct disapproved by Robespierre, 633-635. The *Lanterne* party denounced by Desmoulins, 637. Execution of the Hebertists, 640. Trial and execution of the Dantonists, 642-644. St. Just's decree for proscribing the nobles and strangers, 646. Fête of the Supreme Being inaugurated, 647, 648. Reorganise the revolutionary tribunal, 649. Sanguinary measures adopted against Robespierre and his party, 649, *et seq.* Reign of Terror ceases with Robespierre's execution, 659. Its measures are adroitly neutralised by Tallien, for the restoration of civil liberty, 662. Proceedings of the *Jeunesse dorée*, 665, *et seq.* Struggles with the Moderates and Tallien, 667. Bread riots, 668. Arrest and exile of their leaders, 668-671. Temporary revival of their party, which is however defeated by Legendre and Tallien, 678. Surviving members of, arrested and executed, 678-681. Banished from the Assembly, 678, *et seq.* See Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and III.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.; Louis Philippe; Provisional Government

Mouvans, De, his success in Provence, iii. 29. Flees to Piedmont, 47. Retreats from Sisteron to the Waldensian valleys, 65. Defeated by the Duke of Nemours, 101

Mouzon, captured by the Imperialists, ii. 472

Movement party in France, its principles and mode of operation, v. 428

Moyenvic, fortress of, captured by Louis XIII., iii. 505

Muhlberg, battle of, ii. 597

Mulhausen, exploit of Turenne at, iii. 691

Munich, threatened by Marlborough, iv. 89. Ravaged by the Croats and Pandours, 219. Occupied by the Austrians, 228

Municipal Commission, formation of the, its acts and sittings, v. 403, *et seq.*

Municipal institutions. See Towns

Murat, Prince, occupies Madrid, v. 153. Forces the Spaniards to insurrection, 154. Made King of Naples, 172. Left in charge of the Grand Army, 195. Captures 15,000 Austrians at Dresden, 209. Joins Napoleon, 249. His death, 276

Murder, callous indifference in the fifteenth century to the crime of, ii. 56. This indifference originates in Italy, 57. Treatise of Jean Petit on the right and justice of, 58

Muret, battle of, i. 183

Muscato, the Florentine banker, aids Philip the Fair against the Pope, i. 330. And against the Flemings, 333

Mutualists, of Lyons, formation of the society of, and its prosecution, v. 483

Muyden, occupied by the French, iii. 679

NAARDEN, captured by the French, iii. 679. But retaken by the Dutch, 686

Namur, besieged and taken by the French, iv. 43. Captured by William III. of England, 48. Ceded temporarily to the Duke of Bavaria, 117. Reduced by the French, 234, 238

Nancy, reduced by Charles the Rash, ii. 317. Re-occupied by Duke René II., 323. Who is compelled by Charles of Burgundy to evacuate it, 323. Occupied by the French, iii. 676. Military mutiny at, put down, iv. 454

Nanterre, burned by the English, i. 424

Nantes, taken by the Normans and Bretons, i. 46. Besieged by the French, 534. Terms of its proposed surrender, 535. The duchy of, gives itself to Geoffrey Plantagenet, 143. At whose death it is appropriated by Henry III. of England, 143. Declares for John de Montfort, 411. Besieged by Charles of Blois, 412. The town and the duke betrayed by the citizens, 413. Endeavours of Charles V. to induce it to submit to him, 547. Unsuccessfully besieged by the Earl of Buckingham, ii. 10. Menaced by the forces of Louis XI., 290. Besieged by La Tremouille and the Royalists, 367. But the siege raised, 367. The fortress surrendered to the French by the Count d'Albret, 371. The siege of, iv. 600. Atrocities of Carrier at, 623. *See* Convention.

Nantes, Edict of, published, iii. 339. Its chief provisions, 340, 341. Its unsatisfactory nature, 342. Resistance to it, 347. Re-established by the treaty of Orleans, 483. Confirmed by Louis XIV., iv. 6. The mixed courts established by the, abrogated, 11, 12. Revoked by Louis XIV., 18

Nantouillet, Marquis of, killed, iii. 624

Naples, foundation of the Norman power in, i. 86. Policy of Charles of Anjou in, 285. Claims of Charles of Durazzo, and of Louis, Duke of Anjou, to the throne of, ii. 6, 24. The kingdom invaded and taken by Charles, 24. Claims of Charles VIII. of France to the throne of Naples, 380. His march into Italy, 381. Entry of Charles into, 385, 387. Irritation of the people against their conquerors, 386. Leaves De Montpensier viceroy, 387. Treaty between France and Spain for the partition of, 410. Entry of a French army into, 411. Which is accordingly partitioned, 412. Quarrels between the French and Spaniards in, 413. The French driven out by the Spaniards, 413-415. Failure of Vaudemont's attempt on, 496. Besieged by

the French under Lautrec, 502, 503. Who is obliged to raise the siege, 504. Promised by the Pope to the second son of Francis I., 526. Insurrection in, against Peter of Toledo, 598. The coast ravaged by the Turks, 632. Insurrection of Massaniello, iii. 574. The kingdom conquered by Don Carlos, iv. 205. Kept neutral by a British fleet, 228. Policy of the Bourbons at, v. 308. Revolution at, 308. The outburst of war at, 54. General Mack takes command of its army, 54. Defeated by Championnet, 54. Murat, King of, 172. *See* Directory; Napoleon I.

Naples, Bay of, defeat of the French fleet by Loria, in the, i. 300

Napoleon I., Emperor of the French, his birth, iv. 318. His remark on the insurrection of 9th August, 518. Drives the English out of Toulon, 624. Commands the troops of the Convention on the 11th Vendémiaire, 687. Appointed second in command to Barras, 687. Defeats the royalist insurgents and saves the Convention, 688. Appointed general-in-chief, 689. Recommends invasion of Piedmont, v. 16. Blames Scherer for not following up his successes, 17. Appointed to the command of army against Piedmont, 17. Defeats the Austrians and Piedmontese at Montenotte, Dego, and Millesimo, 18. Concludes an armistice at Cherasco, 19. Gains battle of Lodi, 20. Enters Milan, and levies tribute on the Duke of Parma, 20. Offended at appointment of General Kellerman, and offers to resign, 20. Visits Leghorn, but fails to surprise the English, 20. Enters Venetia, and threatens its government, 20, 21. Informs Directory of his unfortunate position, 21. Abandons siege of Mantua, 21. Repels diversion of Quasdanowitsch, 22. Defeats Wurmser at Lonato, 22. Wins battle of Castiglione, 22. Defeats Wurmser at Roveredo, 23. Repulsed at Caldiero, 25. Repulsed at Arcola, 25. Leading the attack in person, he at length wins the battle of Arcola, 25, 26. Gains battle of Rivoli, 26, 27. Defeats Wurmser and Provera at Mantua, 27. Mantua surrenders, 27. Averse to propositions for peace, 28. Revolutionary principles of, 29. Defeats Archduke Charles at Tagliamento, 30. Encounters him again at Newmark and Huzmark, and agrees to a suspension of arms, 31. Signs preliminaries of Leoben, 31. Invades the Roman territory and arrives at Rome, 32. His policy at Rome agrees with that of the Constitutionalists, and yet sends Roman spoils to Paris, 32. Treaty of Tolentino, 32. Denounces the Conventionalists, 33. Designates the sceptre of the Directory one 'of lead,' 33. Refuses to sacrifice the Pope to Le Réveillère,

NAP

33. Reverses directorial policy at Rome, 33. His foreign policy the reverse of the Directory, 34. Opposes the Convention, and supported by Carnot, 34. Refuses to command the coup d'état of the triumvirate but sends Augereau, 36. Warned, by Lavallette, of the Assembly, 36. Refuses to carry out revolutionary views of Directory with regard to Europe, 39. Supports his armies by despoiling North Italian cities, 39. Disputes with Cobentzel about peace of Leoben, and threatens Austria, 40. Signs treaty of Campo Formio, 40. Impresses the Convention and Directory with his superiority, 41. Directory intend him to descend on England, but their plans treated with contempt, 42. Disapproves of measures against Constitutionalists, 42. Refuses to head invasion of England, 43, 44. Ordered to invade Egypt, 44, 46. Countermanded to attack Austria, but declines, 46. Commands Egyptian expedition, and sails from Toulon, 47. Lands in Egypt, 47. Battle of Aboukir, 48. Battle of the Pyramids, 48. Besieges Acre, but fails, 48. Combat of Nazareth, and battle of Monthabor, 49. Retreats to valley of the Nile, 50. Fruits of all his victories in Italy lost by incompetency of General Scherer, 57-59. Leaves Egypt and lands at Bay of Frejus, 66. His reception by the Directory, 66. Offers his alliance to Gohier and Moulins, 66. Seeks to enter Directory, 67. Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, 68-73. Made consul, 75. Takes the chair at the consulate, 77. Makes himself first consul, 78. Takes up his abode at the Tuileries, 78. Does not disguise his ambition, 79. Commencement of his rule, 81. His military plans, 82. Crosses Mont St. Bernard, 83, 84. Ivrea, 84. Genoa, 84. His Italian campaign, 83, *et seq.* Defeated at first by Melas at Marengo, but afterwards regains the battle by Desaix, 86. Accepts Melas' offers of peace, 87. Returns to Paris, breaks off peace negotiations, and renews hostilities, 89. Battle of Hohenlinden, 90. Presents Malta to the Czar Paul, 90. His views regarding Austria, 90. Signs treaty of Luneville, 91. Strikes a blow at Catholic sacerdotalism, 91. His main thoughts turn upon England, 91. His designs against, 91, *et seq.* Conclusion of Egyptian expedition, 94, 95. Negotiations for peace with England, 95. Preliminaries for peace signed in London, 96. Attempts re-conquest of San Domingo, 96. Peace of Amiens, 97. His policy at home, 97. Plot to assassinate, 98. Inclines to monarchy, 99. Creates the Legion of Honour, 100. Reforms the code, 100. Restores and reforms the Church, 101. The Institute and Senatorial Body of Learn-

NAP

ing receive his support, 102. Proposes a repetition of 18th Brumaire, 103. His foreign policy as First Consul, 104, 105. His relations with Switzerland, 105. Projects for reorganising Germany, 106. Remonstrates with English government about Peltier, 107. Mr. Addington's remonstrances, 107. His conversations with Lord Whitworth, 108-112. Peace propositions being rejected, declares war against England, 113. War preparations, 113. George Cadoudal attempts life of First Consul, 113. Gratifies his thirst for vengeance on the conspirators, 114. Arrests and murders the Duke d'Enghien, 114, 115. Pardons Moreau, 116. Contemplates divorce from Josephine, 116, 117. Views of the succession, 116. Proclaimed Emperor of the French, 117. Appoints his court officers, 118. Crowns himself and Josephine, 118. Is crowned king of Italy at Milan, 119. Unites Genoa and other cities to France, 119. Attempts invasion of England by his flotilla, 120. Attempts to decoy Nelson, 120. Treats with Prussia and Bavaria, 121. Transfers Boulogne camp to the Rhine, 122. Defeats Alexander at Austerlitz, 124. Meets the Emperor Francis at the Mill, 125. His harsh terms on Austria, 125. Nominates Joseph King of Naples, 126. Forms Confederation of the Rhine, 126. Gives Frankfort to Duke d'Alberg, 126. Portions out the Continent, 124-128. War with Prussia, 127, *et seq.* Defeats Prussians at Jena, 129, 130. Enters Berlin, 130. Visits tomb of Frederick the Great, and takes his sword and star, 131. Declares England in a state of blockade, 132. The Berlin decree, 132, 133. His generous sentiments towards Poland, 134. Renews hostilities with Prussia, 134. And Russia, 134. Battle of Eylau, 134. Proposes peace to Prussia, 136. Defeats Benningsen at Friedland, though he failed at Heilsberg, 136, 137. His interview with Alexander at Tilsit, 138. Apportions and spoils various kingdoms of Europe, 137-145. His prodigal court expenditure, 146. His treatment of capitalist contractors, 147. Invades the Papacy and dethrones the Pope, 149. Projects invasion of Spain, 150. His policy towards Russia, 150. Meets Alexander at Erfurt, 150, 156. Invades Portugal, 152. Invades Spain by Murat, who orders Ferdinand to France, 153. Forces Ferdinand to abdicate the throne, 154. His policy in Spain, 154, *et seq.* His wars in Spain, 155, *et seq.* Instals Joseph King of Spain, 156. Renews negotiations with Alexander, and proposes a family alliance, 157, 170. Pursues Sir John Moore, but recalled to Paris by warlike preparations of Austria, 157. Battle of Corunna,

NAP

157. His designs against the Turks, 158, 159. Suspicious of Austria, and consequent negotiations, 160. Birth of the Tugendbund, 161. Proposed rising of all Germany, 161. Renewed war with Austria, 161. Defeats Archduke Charles at Eckmühl, 161. Arrives at Vienna, 162. Difficulties of *this* campaign, 162. Battles of Aspern and Essling, 163. Defeats Austrians at Wagram, 165, 166. Soult repulsed at Talavera, 166, 169, 179. Agrees to an armistice with Austria, 167. His generals defeated successively in Spain, 168, *et seq.* Marries Archduchess Maria Louisa, 169. His designs on the North, 171. Designs on Holland, 171. Proposals of peace to England, 171. Divides Holland into French departments, 172. His Northern policy, 173. The *Senatus Consultum*, 173. His policy towards America, 174. Metternich proposes concessions for Austria, 175. Treaty of St. Petersburg, 177. Disagreements with Alexander, 177. With King of Rome, 179. Spanish campaign, 177, *et seq.* Warned by Jerome, 182. Holds a court at Dresden, 182. War with Russia, 183. His first successes, but resisted at Smolensko, 183–186. Disasters attending the campaign, 184. His temporising policy with Poland, 184. His discussions with generals at Witepsk, 185. Defeats Kutusoff at Borodino, and arrives at Moscow, 185–188. Burning of the city, 188. Sends overtures to Alexander, but refused, 189. Retreats from Moscow, 190. Submits to his generals, 191. Horrors of the retreat, 190, *et seq.* Terrible passage of the Beresina, 192, *et seq.* Gives orders for burning the bridge over the Beresina, 193. Leaves his army at Smorgoni, 195. Conspiracy of Malet, 196. Advice of Metternich to, 196. Enrols the noble classes as *gardes d'honneur*, 197. Insulted in streets of Paris, 197. Renewed exertions for attacking Allied armies, 197, *et seq.* Battles of Lutzen and Leipzig, 201. Sanctions Metternich's proposal for a congress, 202. Overwhelmed at death of Duroc, 203. Disasters in Spain, 204. His interview with Metternich, 204. Yields to demands of Austria, and proposes treaty of Prague, 204, 205. His reverses in Spain, 206. All European Powers in arms against, 208. Austria again enters the field, 208. Battle of Dresden, 209. His successes at Dresden counteracted by defeats of his marshals, 210. Marches against Bernadotte and Blücher, 211. Battles of Leipzig, 212. Retreats from Leipzig, 214. Defeats De Wrede at Hanau, 214. Tarries at Erfurt, where he receives negotiations of peace, &c., from Austria, 214, 215. Refuses Lord Aberdeen's offers, 215. His animosity to England, 216.

NAP

His refusal of negotiations leads the Allied Powers to invade France, 216. Prepares for defence, 217. Allows Pius VII. to leave Fontainebleau, 218. Sends Caulaincourt on another embassy, but fails, 218. Advances to meet his enemies, 218. Attacks Blücher at Brienne, 219. Defeats Schwarzenburg at La Rothière, 219. Defeats Blücher and Austrians lead to renewed negotiations, 220. His successes induce him to alter basis of peace submitted by Caulaincourt, 221–223. Armistice of Lusigny, 222. Being limited in its extent, leads Napoleon to renewed attacks on Blücher, 224. Disaffection of his generals, 225. His evasions lead to breaking up at Chatillon, 225. Pursues the Allies to Paris, 226. Paris captured by the Allies, 227. Surprised at capture of Paris, he commands his defeated troops to meet at Essonne, 228. At Fontainebleau with 70,000 men, 230. Deserted by his marshals, 230. Abdicates, 231. Deputes Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald to proceed to Paris, and negotiate, 231. Abdicates at Fontainebleau, 232. Receives sovereignty of Elba, 232. Summary remarks on his career, 233, 234. Informed of discontent in France, 241. His removal to the Azores suggested, but prevented by Alexander, 241. Sets sail from Elba, and lands in Gulf of Juan, with 1,100 men, 242. Meets Royalist troops at La Frey and presents himself to their view, 244. Received with 'Vive l'Empereur!' and joined by Labédoyère, 244. Enters Lyons, 244. Joined by Ney, 245. Appoints his ministry, 245. His reception at Paris, 246. Draws up a new constitution with B. Constant, 247. Organises an army, 248. Joined by Murat, 249. Deserted by Maria Louisa, 249. Visits Malmaison with Hortense, 249. Appointing a provisional government, leaves Paris for the army, 250. Remarkable conversation with Fouché, 250. Joins his army, 251. Campaign of Waterloo, 251, *et seq.* Crosses the Sambre, 251. Engages Prussians at Ligny, 252. Battle of Quatre Bas, 252. BATTLE OF WATERLOO, 253. Defeated by Wellington, he returns to Paris, 255. Lucien's sinister advice, 256. Abdicates in favour of his son, 256. Resigning all hopes he departs for Rochefort, 258. Embarks on board a French frigate at Charente, 260. His death, 323. His remains demanded of English government, 521, 536. Buried under the dome of the Invalides, 522, 536

Napoleon II., his birth, v. 178

Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, son of Louis Buonaparte and Hortense, his education and prospects, v. 505. His residence in Switzerland, 505. Attempts the Strasbourg conspiracy, 506, *et seq.* Taken prisoner,

NAP

507. Banished to America with 6,000*l.*, 507. His attempt on Boulogne, 536. Arrested and sent prisoner to Ham, 537. Sends in his adhesion to the Second Republic, 605. Rejected and banished by the Provisional Government, 605. Eyes of the Assembly directed towards, 623. Returned as member of the Assembly, 623. Lamartine and Cavaignac attempt to force a decree of exile against, 623. His modest letter makes the Assembly reject this proposal, 624. Takes his seat as deputy, 634. Accepts candidature for president, 635. Elected president, 635. Forms his first cabinet, 637. Aims to get rid of the Assembly, 637. His measures of finance, 637. Closes certain anarchic clubs, 638. Extinguishes moderate republicanism, 638. Proceeds cautiously in his measures, both domestic and foreign, 638, *et seq.* Leans to the Monarchists, 641. His government threatened, 641. Rise of the Republican Socialists, 642. Quells the insurrection, 643, 644. Attacks one enemy at a time, 644. His measures to put down Cavaignac and the Republican party, 644. Opposes, yet tries to conciliate the Monarchists, 645. Resolves on changing his ministry, 646. His second cabinet, 646. His message to the Assembly, 646, 647. Alarmed at the revival of Socialism, consults the parliamentary chiefs how to put it down, 648. His plans unsettled, 648. Resolves on a tour through the provinces, 649. Visits Lyons, 649. Breaks with the parliamentary chiefs, 650. Demands revision of the constitution, 650. His tendency to the Empire discovered by Changarnier, 650. Dismisses Changarnier, 650, *et seq.* His policy towards the Assembly, 650. Changes his cabinets, 651, 652, 653, 656. Sells his horses to assume the attitude of poverty, 652. Measures of the Assembly and Changarnier to counteract his policy, 653. Appeals to the Assembly about renewal of the presidentship, 653. The Assembly and its chiefs find it impossible to set aside his claims to be again elected president, 654. The project of the coup d'état, 655. Decides to adopt ultra-constitutional measures to be re-elected president, 655. Determined on changing law of 31st May, and changes his ministry, 656. Compromise suggested by the Assembly, 657. Proposition to transfer his command of the army, 657. Declared *hors de loi*, 659. Resolves to dissolve the Assembly, 659. His speech to French manufacturers, 659. The coup d'état, 660. Arrests members of the Assembly, 660, 661. Decree dissolving the Assembly, 661. Abrogates law of 31st May, 661. Paris declared in a state of siege and council of state dissolved, 661. Address to the

NAU

nation, 661. His propositions for a new government, 662. Re-enacts system of the First Consul, 662. Opposed by various members of the Assembly, whom he arrests and conveys to prison, 663. Clubs of Democrats raise an insurrection which he defeats, 664. Forms a new ministry, 664. Vote of the 7,500,000, who approve of the revolution, 665. End of the Parliamentary Regime, and rise of the Second Empire, 665

Napier, Admiral Sir Charles, threatens Alexandria and compels Mehemet Ali to sign conditions of peace, v. 538

Narbonne, Count of, refuses to acknowledge the suzerainty of the pope or bishop, i. 318

Narbonne, severity of Philip the Fair to the towns of, i. 338. Depopulated by the plague, 439. Pillaged by the Black Prince, 455

Narbonne, Viscount of, slain at the battle of Narbonne, ii. 150. His body gibbeted, 151

Narbonne, young Count of, minister of war, iv. 473. Tries to conciliate the parties in the Assembly, 473. Wins their confidence, 473. Dismissed by the King, and appeals to the Assembly, 479

Narvaez, General, intrigues to marry Count Trapani to Queen Isabella, v. 567

Nassau, Count of. *See* Louis, Count of Nassau

Nassau, Count of, commands the Imperialists, and takes Guise, ii. 540. Besieges Peronne, 540

Nation, difficulty of founding a, i. 1. Difference between a nation and an empire, 2. The idea of a nation completely embodied by France, 2

National Guards formed, iv. 424. Commanded by Lafayette, 427. Fire upon and disperse a mob in the Champs de Mars, 463. Their encounter with the *Fédérés*, 507. Refuse to obey the orders of Mandar, 510. Join the insurgents, 512, 513. Ebullition of feeling manifested by, towards Charles X., v. 361. Their reception of the Duchess de Berry, 361. Dissolved by the King, 362. They pile their arms and retire, pleased that they have no longer to defend the Bourbons, 362. Their restoration, 389, 403. The Deputies appoint Lafayette commander of, 403. Organisation of the, 430. Compelled by Bonapartists to present arms at funeral of General Lamarque, 469. Each member of, to have the election franchise, 542. Favourable to revolution of February, 1848, 587. Fraternise with the people, 587. Ledru Rollin's measures respecting, 613, 614. These measures rescinded, 614

'National,' newspaper, destroyed by the police, v. 394. Designates the Upper Chamber as the Hospital of Incurables, 548. Prosecution of, 549.

Naumbourg, battle of, v. 129

NAV

- Navailles, Sieur de, slain defending the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 134
- Navarette, battle of, i. 513, 514
- Navarino, battle of, v. 368, 372
- Navarre, Jeanne, the heiress of the Thibauds, married to Philip the Fair, i. 290. The kingdom of, conferred on Philip d'Evreux, 390. Kept by the King of Aragon, ii. 259. Conquered by Ferdinand V., and added to the Spanish crown, 437. Invasion of the French for the recovery of the kingdom for D'Albret, 470. The French driven out by the Castilians, 471
- Navarreins, fortress of, taken from the Huguenots, iii. 429
- Navarro, Peter, the engineer at Bologna, ii. 434. At Ravenna, 435. Taken prisoner there, 436. Takes service with Francis I. 452. At Marignano, 455. Sent with the Venetian and French fleets to blockade Genoa, 496. Taken by the Imperialists and ordered to be executed, 504
- Navy, formation of a, by the Duc de Choiseul, iv. 313. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and II.; Louis Philippe
- Necker, the Swiss banker, his financial views, iv. 350. Appointed controller-general, 354. His reforms, 354. His financial system, 361. Publication of his 'Compte rendu,' 362. His recommendation of provincial assemblies, 362. His quarrel with Maurepas, 365, 366. Resigns, 366. His quarrel with Calonne, 385. Exiled, 388. Refuses Brienne to return to office, but subsequently re-appointed, 402, 403. His first acts, 403. Recalls the Parliament, 403. His plan of a royal sitting overruled, 415, 416. His resignation and resumption of office, 419. His knowledge of a plan for a counter-revolution, 422. Dismissed, 422. Returns to office, 432. Punished and extinguished by Mirabeau, 432. Loses his prestige, 443. Rejection of his proposals, 446
- Neerwinden, battle of, iv. 46, 563
- Negrepelisse, inhabitants of, massacred, iii. 436
- Nelson, Admiral, watches the French expedition to Egypt, v. 47. Defeats the French at Aboukir, 48. At Naples, 45. Attempted decoy of, to West Indies, 120. Informs his government of French intentions, 121. Fights the battle of Trafalgar, 125
- Nemours, treaty of, iii. 204
- Nemours, Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of, joins a league against Louis XI., ii. 267. Feigns to rally to the King, 269. His plot against Louis XI., ii. 296. Defeated, and takes the oaths of fidelity to the King, 296. Arrested by Louis XI., for treason, 336. Put to the torture, 336. Executed, 337
- Nemours, Louis d'Armagnac, Duke of (son of

NEU

- preceding), appointed Viceroy of Naples, ii. 413. Defeated at Seminara, 414. Killed, 415
- Nemours, Duke of, takes Castelnau and throws him into prison, iii. 20. Breaks his promise to Castelnau, 20, 22, *note*
- Nemours, Duke of, *temp.* Francis II. and Charles IX., his plot to carry off a younger brother of Charles IX., iii. 49. Refuses to execute the treaty of Longjumeau, 99. Defeats a Huguenot force under Mouvans, 101. Endeavours to intercept the Duke of Deux Ponts, 104. Entrusted with the defence of Paris for the League, 268. His measures, 268, 269
- Nemours, Gonzaga, Duke of, seeks to become master of Lyons, iii. 307. Defeated and imprisoned by the archbishop, 307, 308. Resists the King's troops at Lyons, 314
- Nemours, Duke of, joins the rebellion under Condé, iii. 618. Wounded in the conflict between Condé and Nemours, 624
- Nemours, Duke of (son of King Louis Philippe), proposed and elected as King of the Belgians, v. 434. Prevented by his father from being king, 434. Proposed grant of Rambouillet to, 509, 523, 524. His marriage, 523. His dotation refused, 523, 524. Distinguishes himself in Algeria, 560. His character, 563. Appointed regent of the young Duke of Paris, 563. Sanctions Prince Joinville's letter, 574
- Neresheim, battle of, v. 24
- Nesle, Raoul de, Constable, takes the chief towns of Gascony from the English for Philip the Fair, i. 308. At the battle of Courtray, where he and his brother are killed, 326, 327
- Nesle, besieged and taken by Duke Charles of Burgundy, ii. 301
- Netherlands, insurrection of the Protestants in the, iii. 90. March of Alva into the, 90. Ceded to Austria, iv. 117. *See also* Holland.
- Neuborg, Count of, his claim to the duchy of Cleves, iii. 374
- Neuchâteau, François de, chosen director, v. 38
- Neuperg, General, defeated by Frederick the Great at Muhlitz, iv. 216
- Neustadt, meeting of the Emperor Joseph II. and Frederick the Great at, iv. 317
- Neustria, formation of the kingdom of, i. 8. Difference between its habits and laws and those of Austrasia, 8. Joined by Clothaire II. to the empire, 11. Again becomes independent, 12. Antagonism of Neustria and Austrasia, 12. Defeat of the Austrasians by the Neustrians at the battle of Loixi, 12. Pepin's conquest of Neustria at the battle of Testria, 13. Charles Martel's defeat of the Neustrians at the battle of Vincy, 15. Decline of the military spirit in the time of Charles the Bald, 45

NEU

- Neutrality, the armed, of the North, iv. 358; v. 93
- Neutz besieged by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, ii. 311. Who raises the siege, 313
- Neuville, Hyde de, marine minister, v. 366. Presses for liberation of Greece, 372. Proposes conference with the peers relative to placing Duke of Orleans at the head of the government, 409
- Nevers, restored to the court of Flanders, i. 334. Engages to pay a large sum to Edward III. of England, 488. Rising of the Huguenots in, iii. 151
- Nevers, Count of, son of Robert III. of Flanders, his death in imprisonment, i. 378. His son becomes Count of Flanders, 378
- Nevers, Count of, slain at Agincourt, ii. 114
- Nevers, John, Count of, remains true to Louis XI., ii. 269. Captured in Peronne by the Burgundians, 275. Has a command in the regular army, 275. Sent by Louis XI. of France to foment disorders in Brabant, 284.
- Nevers, Count of, escapes from St. Quentin, ii. 626. Rallies and shows a front to the Imperialists, 627. His cruelties to the Protestants of Bar, Troyes, and Chatillon, iii. 64. Joins the council preceding the St. Bartholomew massacre, 138
- Nevers, Gonzaga, Duke of, protests against the cession of fortresses to the Duke of Savoy, iii. 165. Placed by Henry III. at the head of the army, 225. Desertion of the gentry of his army, 241. Hesitates to recognise Henry IV., 257. Entrusted with the command of part of the north, 316. Implores Queen Elizabeth for 4,000 men, 317. His death, 319
- Nevers, Duke of, joins the Prince of Condé and Duke of Bouillon in seizing Mezières, iii. 398. Conclusion of the treaty of St. Meneshoult, 399. Nevers promised the government of Champagne, 399. Retires to his strongholds, and prepares for resistance, 407. Repairs to Soissons, 413. Loses a fleet at Blavet, 455. His claim to the duchy of Mantua, and the complications arising out of it, 480. Abandoned to the mercy of the Emperor by the treaty of Ratisbon, 496
- Nevers, De, taken prisoner at Pavia, ii. 485
- Newfoundland ceded to England, iv. 117. Value of the fishing off, to the French, 283. The right to fish conceded to France, 287
- Newspapers, the, of the middle of the eighteenth century, iv. 289
- Ney, Marshal, crosses the Dnieper, v. 192. Defeated at Dennewitz, 211. Sent to oppose Napoleon, but joins his standard, 245. Arrested, 262. His trial and death, 274, 275. His death restores the Buonapartists to national sympathy, 275
- Nezib, battle of, v. 530

NOB

- Nice, burned by the combined French and Turkish troops, ii. 557, 558. Captured by the French under Catinat, iv. 41. Restored to Savoy, 59
- Nicea, conquest of, by the Crusaders, i. 107
- Nicholas, Emperor of Russia, warns the King, v. 90. Grants a loan to Louis Philippe, 577. His ill-will to Louis Philippe, 488. His interference with the Eastern Question prevented, 491. Opposes the marriage of the young Duke of Orleans, 503. By treaty of Unkiar Skelessi gets half of the Turkish empire, 529, 530
- Nicholas III., Pope, his hostility to Charles of Anjou, i. 284
- Nicholas IV., Pope, releases Charles II. of Naples from his oaths, i. 301
- Nicopolis, battle of, ii. 46
- Niell, Jean de, his oration on the administration of the Duke of Orleans, ii. 51
- Nieuport, evacuated by the French, iv. 288
- Nimeguen, treaty of, iii. 701
- Niort, town of, surrenders to the French, i. 530. Taken by Du Guesclin from the English, 533. Regained by the Duke of Alençon, ii. 213. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, 170
- Nismes, circus of, battered by Charles Martel, i. 17. Cruelties of the Duke of Berri at, ii. 12. Taken by the Huguenots, iii. 108. The Huguenot assembly at, 408. Persecution of the Protestants of, iv. 256. Massacre of them, 264
- Nivernois, Duke of, goes to London to negotiate peace, iv. 287
- Noailles, Marshal Duc de, crushes Protestantism in Montpellier, iv. 15. And in the Vivarais, 16. His remonstrance against the terms of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 18. Captures Rosas and Gerona, 48. His inability to cope with the financial embarrassments of the kingdom, 146, 160. Orders a recoinage, 158. Spoils the national creditors, 159. Reduces the army and civil employés, 160. His influence at court, 225. Persuades Louis XV. to be his own minister, 225. Defeated at Dettingen, 227. Exiled from court, 185. Appointed marshal by Louis XVI., 348
- Noailles, Viscount de, his proposal for the abolition of feudal privileges, iv. 431
- Noailles, Cardinal de, appointed to preside over a new ecclesiastical council, iv. 141
- Nobility, Nobles, a line drawn between the French and English noblesse by St. Louis, i. 225. The French nobles impassively allow their privileges to pass out of their hands, 226. Louis X.'s concessions to the noblesse, 365. Difference between the demands of the northern and southern barons, 366. Their recovery of their power and authority under

NOB

Charles the Fair, 381. And under Philip VI., 389. Different treatment of them and town-folk under Philip of Valois, 395. Policy of Philip VI. and John II. with regard to them, 444. Abrogation of their immunity from taxation by John II., 455, 456. Antagonism of the noble and civic classes at the end of the fourteenth century, ii. 3. The middle class preferred to the aristocracy by Charles VII., ii. 200. The nobles in his time devoid of high aims or exalted duties, 201. Their resistance to the tax levied for the maintenance of a standing army, 205. This revolt of the Praguerie put down, 207. But again formed, 209. Their demands and the King's answers, 210. The field taken against them by the King, 211. Their submission, 213. Their power and privileges under Charles VII., 224. Concessions made to them by Louis XI., 255. Vitality of the power of the noblesse down to 1789, 247. Gradual change in their habits and manners, 248. Louis XI.'s treatment of them, 343, 346. Statement of their grievances at the Estates of Tours, 359. Limit of crown patronage to them under Louis XII., 399. Causes of the growth of a rampant aristocracy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 400. Condition of the nobility in the time of Francis I., 573. Their demands at the meeting of the Estates of 1560, iii. 36. Mistrust of the nobles of the peasant as a soldier, 62, 63. Charges of the marchands and paysans against the nobles, 176. Rally to Henry III., 240. Henry IV.'s belief in none save his nobles, 324. Their idea of rendering themselves independent in their provinces, 325. Assembly of notables at Rouen, 327. Their quarrels with the Legists, 402, 403. Their rebellion against Marie de Medicis and her favourite Concini, 413. Their submission to the King, 416. Give their sanction to the establishment of the council of state, 419, 420. Outburst of the *grandeues* in favour of Marie de Medicis, 424. Reduced by the King in Angers, 426. Assembly of notables in 1626, 469. Assembly of the noblesse in 1648, 612. Licentiousness of the nobility in the reign of Louis XIV., iv. 3. Disappearance of education among the French upper classes, 293. Their approval of the views of Rousseau, 296. Their incapacity as military officers, 304. Difficulties of dealing with them in 1789, 405. Their treatment of the commons in the National Assembly, 413. Their proposals for self-spoliation, 432. *See* Convention; Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.

Nogaret, William of, the chancellor, his solemn accusations against the Pope, i. 329. Goes on a mission to Italy, 330. Seizes the Pope

NOR

at Anagni, 331. Excommunicated by the Pope, 330, 332. His accusations against the Templars, 341, 342. His prosecution against the memory of Pope Boniface VIII., 346. Absolved by Clement V., 349. His family stripped by Philip the Long, 375. Nominalists, their controversy with the Realists, i. 135. Nonjuring priests, laws against, iv. 470, 472. Nordlingen, battles of, iii. 511, 569. Normandy, duchy of, given by Charles the Simple to the chieftain Rollo, i. 53. Normandy reconquered by Henry I. of England, i. 117. Liberties given to the towns by the dukes, 124, *note*. Invaded by Philip Augustus during the absence of Richard I. in the East, 160. Conquered by Philip Augustus, 165. The restoration of it demanded of St. Louis by Richard of Cornwall, 232. Forced loans in Normandy suspended and discontinued by Philip the Long, 376. The duchy under Henry, eldest son of Henry I. of England, 146. Ravaged by Godfrey de Harcourt, 467. The cession of, demanded by Edward III. in direct sovereignty, 486. The demand rejected by the French, 487. Surrender of all the towns of Normandy to Henry V. of England, ii. 129. Causes of the desire of the Normans to get rid of their English masters, 184. Governed by the Duke of Somerset, 225. The English driven out of all Normandy north of the Seine, 226. And also from the southern part, 227, 228. The government given by Louis XI. to the Count of Charolais, 254. Allowed by Louis XI. to retain its right to vote its own taxes, 255. His augmentation of the taxation of the duchy, 256, *note*. Contribute grudgingly to the recovery of the towns north of the Somme, 263. Separated from the French crown, and given to Charles, Duke of Berry, 274. The province regained by Louis XI., 277. The province decided by the Estates to be inseparable from the crown of France, 288. The Breton driven by the Royalist out of Lower Normandy, 289. The government of, given to the Duke of Alençon, 450. Unanimous declaration of Normandy in favour of the Huguenots, iii. 57. Catholic resuscitation, and its causes, 61. Power of the Duke de Longueville in, 599. Corn riots in, iv. 330. Normans, their incursions on the west coast of France, i. 45. And up the rivers of France and Germany, 46. Their pillage of Orleans and Paris, 46. First successful resistance to them on the Loire, 46. Advance of the Norman chiefs from the Scheldt and from Belgium, 49. The rich countries on the Scheldt bestowed by Charles the Fat on them, 49. Their chieftains murdered at a

NOR

conference by Charles, 49. Besiege Paris, but repulsed by Count Eudes, 50. Their entrenchment on the Dyle destroyed by the Emperor Arnulph, 51. Rollo, the Norman chief, becomes Duke of Normandy, 53. The quarrel between the Normans and Arnulph, Count of Flanders, 57. Assassination of Duke William of the Long Sword, 57. Consequent confusion in Normandy, 58. Weakness of the Normans in war, 58. Their military expedition of calling in the aid of the Danes, 58. Duke Richard, son of the murdered William, 58. Marries a sister of Hugh Capet, 61. Peculiarity of the Norman feudal system, 73. Power of the Norman Dukes in the eleventh century, 77. Assist King Robert in his war in Burgundy, 81. Rising of the peasants against their feudal lords, 82. Their invasion of Italy and conquest of Beneventum and Naples, 86. The dukes of Normandy the most powerful princes of Western France, 87, 112. In concert with Philip I. of France invade Flanders, but are beaten by the Flemings, 99.

Norwich, William Alnewick, Bishop of, present at the recantation of Jeanne d'Arc, ii. 178.

Notables, assembly of, of 1617, at Rouen, iii. 417. Convocation of the, by Louis XVI., iv. 381, 382. The King's speech to it, 383. Calonne's proposals, 383. Which are rejected by the Notables, 386. Who declare their incapability of coming to a decision, 389. Another assembly of the, in 1789, 406.

Notre Dame, in Paris, cathedral of, Philip Augustus's front of the, i. 194. The Three Estates summoned for the first time in, 322. The cathedral consecrated to the Goddess of Reason, iv. 635.

Notre Dame des Champs burned by the French, i. 488.

Notre, La, Huguenot leader, taken prisoner at Moncontour, iii. 107. Recovers the ascendancy of the Huguenots in Poitou, 109. Defeats the Catholics between St. Gemme and Fontenay, 109. His life spared by Charles IX., 151. Issues with a Huguenot army from La Rochelle, 158. His conquests in Poitou, 158. The Duke of Montpensier sent against him, 158. Endeavours of Catherine de Medicis to entrap him, 162. His attempt to take Paris, 259. Sent by the synod of Saumur to Henry IV., 337.

Noujant, Jean de, appointed to the care of the finances by Charles VI., ii. 40. His golden stag, 41.

Novara, the Duke of Orleans besieged in, ii. 389. Evacuated by the French, 391. Occupied again by the French, 406. Who are offered battle there by Ludovico Sforza, ii. 407.

OME

Novara, battle of, ii. 438. Acquired by the King of Sardinia, iv. 206.

Novi, Paul de, elected doge and leader of the Genoese, ii. 424. Put to death by the French, 424.

Noyers, De, agent of Richelieu, recommended by the Cardinal to Louis XIII., iii. 541. Becomes minister, 542. Driven from office by the dying King, 542.

Noyon, coronation of Hugh Capet at, i. 69. Plundering propensities of the people of, 120. Municipal privileges of, 121. A royal charter granted to, 122. Treaty of, ii. 462. The town taken by Henry IV., iii. 279. Besieged by the soldiers of the League, 291. And taken, 294.

Nymphenburg, treaty of, iv. 217.

OCTONVILLE, his murder of the Duke of Orleans, ii. 54.

Octroi, introduction of the, on all commodities entering Paris, iii. 579. Condition of the, in 1656, 637. Amount of the, in 1747, iv. 250. Suspension of the, v. 611. Abolished, 616.

Odalric, Archbishop of Rheims, his war against church spoilers, i. 62.

Odo, Count of Champagne, seizes Melun, i. 81. War of Foulques Nera, Count of Anjou, against, 81.

Ogé, negro chief, tortured, iv. 471.

Oil, holy, vial of, miraculously discovered, used for the coronation of Charles X., v. 346.

Old Man of the Mountain and his Assassins, iii. 198.

Olivier le Daim, Louis XI.'s barber, his confidence as to his success with the Flemings, ii. 329. His mission from Louis to Ghent, 332. Fails, and flies precipitately, 332. Tricks the people of Tournay into receiving a French garrison, 335. Sent to the scaffold, 352.

Olivier, chancellor of Francis I., sent on a mission to Spain, ii. 568. His reforms in judicial appointments, 574. His character as a magistrate, 642. Dismissed by the Guises, 642. Restored by Catherine de Medicis, iii. 8. His reforms, 8. His moderation, 21. His sanction of the execution of Huguenots, 21. His death, 22.

Olivier, Antoine, the Spanish spy, iii. 130, *note*.

Olmütz, blockaded by Frederick the Great, iv. 221. Failure of Frederick the Great against, 279. Battle of, v. 123.

Olonne, Sables d', defeat of the Huguenots under Soubise at, iii. 431, 435.

Olsuffei, defeat of, at Champ Aubert, v. 220.

Omer, St., ravaged and pillaged by Robert of Artois, i. 410. Who is defeated there, 410. Refuses to admit a French garrison from

OME

- Louis XI., ii. 331. The camp of, visited by Charles X., v. 363
- Omer, St., besieged by the Flemings, i. 433. Who retire before Philip VI., 433. Ceded to Spain, iii. 667. Besieged by the French under the Duke of Orleans, 696
- Opdam, Dutch general, routed by the French, iv. 88
- Opera, an, given by Paris to the Duke of Guise, ii. 630
- Oppede, Baron d', his oppressions and exactions on the Vandois of Provence, ii. 582. Proceedings of the Lady of Cental against him, 594
- Oran, conquest of, by Spain, iv. 201
- Orange, Prince of, fails to reach the Huguenot army, iii. 106
- Orange, Prince of, precedes the French troops into the duchy of Burgundy, ii. 328. The Prince's claims on Franche Compté, 328. Set aside by the French, 328. The principal of the Breton malcontents, 365. Opposes the demands of Anne of Beaujeu, 365. Defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, 368
- Orange, Prince of, elected captain of the invaders of Rome, ii. 499. Advances towards Naples, 502
- Orange, Prince of, ordered by the Emperor to desist from his march against the Low Countries, iii. 130. Assassinated, iii. 198
- Orange, troubles between the Catholics and Protestants in, iii. 115
- Orchies, ceded by Charles V. to the Flemings, i. 521
- Ordeal by battle, establishment of trial by, i. 10
- Ordonnance of May, 1413, issued, ii. 96. Objects of the, 97
- Ordonnances, promulgation of the, by the government, v. 391. Recall of the, proposed by the King, 405
- Ordonneau, General, taken prisoner by the Lyonesse workmen, v. 455
- Orgemont, D', his conspiracy, ii. 119
- Oriflamme, the, of France, hoisted by Louis VI., i. 112
- Orlando, son of Charles VIII. of France, his death, ii. 392
- Orleans party, and the revival of its feud with the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 80. Advance with their troops towards Paris, 81. Conclude their ravages in Picardy, 85. Taken at St. Cloud, and put to death, 85, 86. Their reconciliation with the court, 99
- Orleans, sacked by the Normans, i. 46. Governed by Robert, brother of King Eudes, 52. Unsuccessfully besieged by the Emperor Otho, 59. Burning of heretic clergy in, 86. The Church of Orleans defended by Louis the Fat against the Count of Meun, 114.

ORL

- Louis VII.'s treatment of the citizens, 132. Municipal rights secured to the city by Philip Augustus, 168. Excesses of the Pastoureaux in, 240. Punished and mulcted by Charles VI., ii. 32. The siege of, by the Duke of Bedford, 155. Efforts of the partisans of Charles VII. 156. Their despair after the battle of Herrings, 158. Appearance of Jeanne d'Arc, 161. Who conveys a convoy into the beleaguered city, 164. Imperfect investment of the city, 165. The siege raised, 166. The Estates of the north summoned by Charles VII. to Orleans, 203. Decision in favour of peace, 203. Taken by the Huguenots, iii. 56. Who ravage the churches there, 58. Besieged by the Duke of Guise, 72. Massacre of the Huguenots at, 148. Held by the Leaguers against the King, 234. The city surrendered to Henry IV., 307. Treaty concluded with the Huguenots at, 483. The city held by the daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, 618
- Orleans, Edict of, iii. 37. Refusal of several provincial parliaments to register it, 46. The citizens fall upon the Convention's commissary, iv. 571
- Orleans, New, how colonized, iv. 169
- Orleans, Duke of, youngest son of Henry II. *See* Angoulême, Duke of
- Orleans, Gaston, Duke of. *See* Gaston
- Orleans, Duke of (son of the Regent), becomes, by the death of his father, presumptive heir to the throne, iv. 185, 189. His Jansenism, 257. Favours the restoration of the judges, 343. His conduct in command of a division of a French fleet, 357. His hatred of the Queen Marie Antoinette, 375, 392
- Orleans, Philippe, Duke of, brother of Louis XIV. *See* Philip
- Orleans, Philip (Egalité), Duke of. *See* Philip
- Orleans, Louis Philippe, Duke of. *See* Louis Philippe, King of the French
- Orleans, Duke of, son of Louis Philippe, quells the insurrection at Lyons, v. 456. Visits the Hôtel Dieu, 462. Austrian alliance proposed for, 502. Russian and Prussian matrimonial speculations, 503. Marries a princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, 503. Married at Fontainebleau, 511. His character, 562. His death, 562, 563
- Orleans, Duchess of (*see* Marie Amelie), objects to the elevation of the Duke, 407, 408
- Orleans, Duchess of (daughter-in-law of the preceding), left by Louis Philippe with her children, v. 594. Determines to claim the crown for her son, and repairs to Chamber of Deputies, 595. Fails in her attempt, and retires to St. Cloud, 598. Claremont offered to her and the royal family, 599
- Orleans, Bastard of. *See* Dunois

ORM

- Ormée, the Bordeaux republic so called, iii. 633
 Ormesson, appointed controller-general, iv. 367. His administration, 367, 368
 Ormond, Duke of, succeeds Marlborough in Flanders, iv. 109. Ordered to abandon Holland and Prince Eugène, 113. Ordered to declare neutrality, 114. Takes Ghent and Bruges, 115. Sails with the Pretender to Scotland, 145
 Ornano, Marshal, attends the Council for arranging the murder of Henry of Guise, iii. 229. Sent to arrest the Duke of Mayenne, 234. Becomes the favourite of Gaston, brother of Louis XIII., 464. Arrested, 465. Expires in prison, 466
 Oropeza, exiled, iv. 77
 Orry, prime minister, superseded, iv. 243. His financial administration, 249. Dismissed, 250
 Orsini, faction of the, in Rome, ii. 417
 Orsini, Princess, her influence in Madrid, iv. 145
 Orthes, Vicomte d', refuses to murder the Huguenots at Bayonne, iii. 149
 Orvilliers, Admiral d', commands the French Channel fleet, iv. 356
 Ostend, fortified by the Protestants, iii. 366. Aided by the English under Sir F. Vere, 366. Captured by Louis XV., iv. 233. Evacuated by the French, 288. The Ostend Company abandoned, 199
 Oswego, attacked by Moncalm, iv. 264
 Otaheite, island of, taken possession of by Admiral Thouars, v. 556
 Otho I., Emperor of Germany, his supremacy over Eastern and Belgian France favoured by Hugh, Duke of France, i. 56. His conquest of Lorraine, 57. His invasion of France, 59. His failure there, 59, 60. Calls a council to excommunicate Duke Hugh, 60. His death, 63
 Otho, son of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, becomes Duke of Burgundy, i. 61. His death, 61
 Otho, son of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, created by Richard I. of England Duke of Aquitaine and Poitou, 162. Named for the empire, and supported by the Pope, 162
 Otho, Duke of Brunswick, declines the challenge of Henry of Lancaster to single combat, i. 449
 Otho II., Emperor of Germany, at Aix, i. 64. Attempt of Lothaire, Count of Laon, to surprise him there, 64, 65. His march to Paris, 65. Holds a meeting with Lothaire, 65. And with Hugh Capet, 66. His death, 66
 Otho III., Emperor of Germany, endeavours of Henry of Bavaria to set him aside, i. 66
 Otho IV., Emperor of Germany, dethroned by Pope Innocent III., i. 187. His rival, Frederick II., 188. Defeated by Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovines, 189, 190
 Otranto, captured by the Turks, ii. 379

PAL

- Ott, General, encounters Lannes and is defeated, v. 84, 85
 Otto, M., and Mr. Addington, v. 107
 Oudenarde, besieged by Philip von Arteveld, ii. 25. The siege raised, 27. Siege of, by the Prince of Orange, iii. 690. Bombarded by Louis XIV., iv. 26. Battle of, 100
 Oudinot, Marshal, defeated by Bernadotte, v. 210, 211. Advances upon Rome, 640. Defeated by Garibaldi, he retreats to Civita Vecchia, 640. Concludes an unsatisfactory armistice, 640. Receiving reinforcements again marches and occupies the heights of Rome, 640
 Oulen, Archbishop, celebrates a *Te Deum*, v. 390. His prognostication, 391
 Ouvrard, the capitalist, seizure of his property, v. 147. Used by Fouché to negotiate peace with Fox, 171. Offers to feed the French army, 327, 328. Neglected by Villèle, and sent to prison, 346
 Oxenstiern, Swedish chancellor, effects of his energy and talents, iii. 510. His offers to France, 511
 PACHE, the mayor, presents petition for proscribing the Girondists, iv. 577. Advises the Convention, 581. Excuses himself to the Convention, 584
 Pacific Islands, taken by the French, v. 556
 Paderborn, baptism of the Saxons at, i. 27
 Padua submits to the French, ii. 429. But defended subsequently, 430
 Paine, Tom, propounds the trial of Louis XVI. as a public robber, iv. 547. Expostulates with Convention in behalf of the King, 554. Marat's question as to a republic, 592
 Palais Royal, death of Cardinal Richelieu at the, iii. 541. Alterations of the Duke of Orleans in the, iv. 396. Politicians congregated in the, 420. Harangue of Camille Desmoulins at, 422. Thundering of the Palais Royal against the veto, 434.
 Palatinate, proposals to relieve it, iii. 451, 452. Occupied by a Spanish force, 453. The Lower restored to the Elector, 576. Ravaged by the French, 688. A portion claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 26. Devastated by Louis XIV., 35. The Upper Palatinate given to the Elector of Bavaria, 119. The Elector's reception of the Duke of Anjou, 163
 Palermo, massacre of the French in, i. 287
 Palestine, feuds between the Christians and between the Mohammedans, i. 227. Mania of children to set off to Palestine, 239. Desire of Pope Gregory X. to free, 284
 Palisse, La, wounded at Genoa, ii. 424. In command of the French army in Italy, 436. Retires to Piedmont, 437. Crosses the Alps into Italy, 453. His death at Pavia, 484

PAL

Pallavicini, execution of, ii. 473
 Palli, Count Lucchesi, marries Duchess of Berry, v. 478
 Palmerston, Lord, and the Quadruple Alliance, v. 490. Proposes that the French should pursue Don Carlos, 500. Complains of the French *protective* duties, 520. Quarrels with the French Government on the Eastern Question, 521. Grants the request for the transfer of Napoleon's remains to France, 522, 536. Objects to the position of Mehemet Ali in Syria, 530. Sends a fleet to the Bosphorus, 530. Arranges with Marshal Soult the boundaries of Turkey and Egypt, 530, 531. Discussion as to the Turkish fleet, 531. Proposes terms of alliance with France, 531, *et seq.* Discusses with Guizot the Eastern question, 533. His clever negotiations, 534. Signs the treaty of the Dardanelles, 546. Objects to French possession of Algeria, 559. His opinion as to the Spanish marriage and French influence, 566. Proposes Don Enrique as husband for Queen Isabella, 569. Deprecates retrograde policy of France in Switzerland, 570. His Italian policy, 570
 Pamiers, De Saisset, Bishop of, his dispute with the Count de Foix, i. 318. Appointed legate to the French court, 318. Insults Philip the Fair, 318. Arrested and prosecuted by the Crown, 319. His part taken by the Pope, 320. Released, 321. His mission disapproved by the prelates, 324
 Pampeluna relieved by Sir Thomas Trivet, i. 546. Taken by Lesparre, ii. 470
 Pandours, their ravages in Bavaria, iv. 219
 Paoli, Pascal, heads the liberated Corsicans, iv. 317. Defeated by the French, 318.
 Parc aux Cerfs, Louis XV.'s seraglio in the, iv. 262, 297
 Paré, Amboise, amputates Coligny's finger, iii. 135. His life spared by Charles IX., 151
 Parien, M., minister of public instruction, v. 646
 Paris, the city threatened by the Normans, who are bought off by Charles the Bald, i. 46. Subsequently pillaged by them, 46. Great siege by the Normans, who are repulsed by Count Eudes, 50. Governed by Robert, brother of King Eudes, 52. The city at the end of the tenth century, 65. Attempt of the Emperor Otho II. on, 65. Guilds of corporations in the middle ages, 84. Importance of Paris as a centre in the eleventh century, 71. Arrangements for governing the city during the absence of Philip Augustus in the East, 157, 158. Its municipal rights secured by Philip Augustus, 168. Improvements of this King, 194. Excesses of the Pastoureaux, 240. Arrangements of St. Louis for the magistracy and police, 268. Ferocious quarrel between the English and

PAR

Picard students in the University, 298. Sedition on account of the adulteration of the coin, 338. The ringleaders hanged, 338. Wealth of the citizens in the reign of Philip the Fair, 361. Reputation and authority of its University, 361. Number of men-at-arms kept up by the city in the time of Charles the Fair, 381. Duty levied by the city on all sales and purchases in the markets, 418. The suburbs devastated by the Black Prince, 424. Ravages of the plague of 1348, 439. Provisions for the safety of the city after the battle of Poitiers, 465. Establishment of a civic force by the Estates, 465. Democratic tendencies of the citizens, 475. The city commanded by the Regent with 700 lances, 479. Revolution in his favour, 481. Privileges granted by Charles V., 517. Knollis and the English before the city, 526. Reception of Charles VI. by the Parisians, ii. 8. Their turbulence, 8. Sack of the Jews' quarter, 9. Improvements of the Prevost Aubriot, 15. Insurrection of the Maillotins, 23. Who refuse to pay heavy taxes, 23, 24. Compromise with the court, 24. Rebellion during the absence of the King in Flanders, 29. Proposal of the rebels to raise all the fortresses near Paris, 29. Subjection of the citizens, 30. Who are punished, and mulcted of immense sums, 30, 31. Solemn entry of the Duke of Burgundy after the murder of his cousin, 58. Withdrawal of the court on the news of the battle of Hasbain, 63. Privileges granted by the Duke of Burgundy, 79. Repugnance of the citizens to him, 80. The environs ravaged by the Orleanists, 83. Resolutions excited in Paris, 83. Cruelties of the ascendant butchers, 84. Quarrels of the lower orders with the Duke of Orleans, 89. The people besiege the provost Des Essarts in the Bastille, 93. And demand entrance into the palace, 94. Into which they force themselves, insult the Dauphin and carry off the ladies of the court to prison, 94-96. Struggle between the Cabochiens and the Armagnacs for the mastery of the city, 100. Triumph of the latter, 101, 102. Answer of the Duke of Berry to the citizens, 108. Tyranny of the Constable Armagnac, 119, 121. Who foils the attempts of the Duke of Burgundy to enter the city, 122. The city handed over to the Burgundians, 124. Who massacre the Constable Armagnac and his party, 124. Ferocity of the people, 125. Attack on the prisons, 125. Murder of the Genoese mercenaries, 125. Entry of the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen into the city, 126. The riots of the populace put down by the Duke, 126. The pestilence of 1418, 126.

PAR

The city threatened and the suburbs ravaged by Henry V., 135. A truce implored by the citizens, 135. Public entry of Henry V. and his Queen, 137. His arrangements for its government, 138. Famine in the city, 138. Conspiracy of the citizens in favour of Charles VII., 149. Failure of Jeanne d'Arc's attack, 171, 172. The government made over to the Duke of Burgundy, 184. Desire of the citizens to be rid of the English yoke, 185. Coronation of Henry VI., 185. Daily assaults of the Royalists, 189. Departure of the English, and joy of the citizens, 194. A subsidy levied and the coin adulterated by the Constable, 195. Solemn entry of Charles VII., 195. Its reception of the new King, Louis XI., 253. Threatened by the Burgundians, 269. Saved by Maréchal Rouault, 270. Advance of the League of the Public Good' upon the city, 272. Their demand to be admitted, 273. Entry of Louis XI. into the city, 272, 273. Muster of all the citizens from sixteen to sixty years of age, 284, *note*. Protest of the city against the proposed extravagance of Charles VIII. in Italy, 381. Mistrust of the citizens of the Regent Louise, and of her creature Duprat, 486. Refusal of the city to guarantee payments to England, 487. Protestant heretics burned in, 531. Arrangement between Charles V. and Henry VIII. for marching simultaneously on the city, 562. Alarm of the city, 563. Grants Catherine de Medici 300,000 crowns, 627. Gives a ball and opera to the Duke of Guise, 630. Irrevocable hostility of the mob to the doctrines of the Reformation, 642, *note*. Persecution of the Huguenots, iii. 17. Answer of the Estates to the demands of Catherine de Medici, 39. Conflicts between the Catholics and Huguenots, 48. Abandoned by Condé to the triumvirate, 55. Who destroy all the Huguenot churches, 55. The militia raised by the Duke of Guise, 88. Disbanded by Maréchal Montmorency, 88. Raises forces against the Huguenots, 95. Who are defeated at St. Denis, 96. Promises Charles IX. money for the invasion of Flanders, 119. The eve of St. Bartholomew massacre, 140. Fanatical support of the Catholic League by the citizens, 177. A secret league of the Parisians formed against Henry III., 197. Triumphal entry of Henry III. into, 214. Barricades erected, 218. The fortresses in and around the city reduced by the Duke of Guise, 219. Explosion on the news of the murder of the Duke of Guise, 235. The Parisians, under the Duc d'Anjou, routed by Longueville, 246. Threatened by the King and by Henry of Navarre from St. Cloud, 246. Joy of the Parisians at the assassin-

PAR

ation of Henry III., 256. The southern suburbs carried by Henry IV., 259. Entered by the Duke of Mayenne, 260. Henry IV. with his army before the city, 267. Sufferings of the beleaguered citizens, 269. The siege raised, 273. Chatillon's attempt to surprise the city, 274. Triumphal entry of the Prince of Parma, 274. Attempt of Henry IV. to surprise the city, 279. Entry of Henry IV. into the city, 310. Consternation of the citizens at the news of the approach of the Spaniards under Piccolomini, 514. Offers money and men to the King, 514. Resistance of the people to the financial measures of Emery, 562, 563, 568. Increasing discontent of the Parisians with the modes of taxation, 579, 581, 582, 584-587. Erection of the barricades, 588. The city blockaded by the Duke of Orleans and Prince Condé, 592, 595. Termination of the war, 597. And return of the court, 598. Tumults respecting Cardinal Mazarin, 605. The mob break into the palace, 605, 606. Distress in the city in 1652, 622. An insurrection brewing, 622. Attack on the judges, 622. Fight between Condé and Turenne in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 623. The city authorities changed by Condé, 625. Massacre in the Hôtel de Ville, 627. The Rue Quincampoix at the time of Law's schemes, iv. 170. State of the city in 1720, 175. Law's carriage assailed, 178. Formation of the Entresol, 210. Flow of the tide of infidelity in the city, 224. Peace of, 288. Twelve hundred people killed in the Rue Royale, 321. Opposition to Louis XVI. and his young Queen, 335. Bread riots, 346. The rioters dispersed, 347. Excitement at the measures of Turgot, 351. Disturbances at the Parliament, 391, 392. The unpopular ministers burnt in effigy, 392. The clubs and society rooms closed, 392. Disturbances in the city, 397. Riots at the Pont Neuf, 403. Crowding of provincial vagabonds into the city, 404, 411. The first act of the revolution of 1789, 412. Disturbances in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 412. Opening of the National Assembly, 413. Mutiny of the *gardes françaises*, 421. Concentration of troops round the city, 421. The German regiments insulted, 423. Charge of dragoons under the Prince of Lambesc, 423. Withdrawal of the royal troops, 424. Organisation of the National Guard, 424. Attack of the Invalides, 424. Capture of the Bastille, 425, 426. Visit of the King to the city, 428. Scarcity of corn, 428. Murder of Foulon and Berthier, 429. The 'orgies of Versailles,' 435. The people summoned to arms, 436. The march on Versailles, 437. The royal family brought to Paris, 440. Suspension of street anarchy and murder,

PAR

441. Decapitation of François the baker, 441. Fête of the federation in the Champs de Mars, 452. Meeting of the Cordeliers in the Champs de Mars, 462. Where the mob are fired upon by the National Guard, 463. Insurrection in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 489. The mob enter the Tuileries, 493, 494. Insurrection of August 9, 509. The Tuileries plundered, 520. The guillotine set in motion, 522. Massacre of prisoners, 524. Brissot moves the commission on the state of the city, 538. Emeute against the grocers, 565. Insurrection of May 31, 584. Worship of the Goddess of Reason, 635. Bread riots again, 668. Meeting of the New Legislature in, and appointment of the Directory, v. 5. *See* Directory. Babœuf's plot, 11, *et seq.* Concentration of troops around, and the threatened coup d'etat, 35, *et seq.* The 18th Fructidor, 36. *See* Napoleon I. Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, 68, *et seq.*, 102. Character of Napoleon's government: the First Empire and its regime, 118, *et seq.*, 141, *et seq.* Napoleon's invasion of Russia, and his reverses, 183, *et seq.* March of the Allies upon, 226. Its defence unprovided for, 227. Louis Buonaparte deputed to defend Paris, and to remove Empress and her son, 227. Its capture by the Allies, 227. Allies enter Paris and dictate terms, 228. Re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty, 233, *et seq.* *See* Louis XVIII. and Charles X. Erection of the barricades, 365. The people attacked by Marmont, 394. Riots in consequence, 394. Declared in a state of siege by Charles X., 396. The people triumphant, 396, *et seq.* Flight of Charles X. and his family, 416. Establishment of the Orleans dynasty in the accession of Louis Philippe, 418. *See* Louis Philippe. Desecration of St. Germain l'Auxerrois by the mob, 436. Insurrection of July, 470. Universal strikes, 545. Fortification of the city, 547. Revolution of February, 1848, 578, *et seq.* Abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, 594, *et seq.* The Provisional Government, 594, *et seq.* Socialist insurrection, 625-630. Insurrection of June, 1849, 642. Establishment of the Second Empire, 665. *See* Napoleon III.

Paris, peace of, iv. 288

Paris, Count of, supports the claims of the Emperor, i. 40

Paris, Count of, abdication of Louis Philippe in favour of, v. 594. Presented to the chambers, 595. Rejected and obliged to flee, 598. Escapes to England with the royal family, 599. Claremont assigned to, 599

Paris, De, the Royalist, kills Lepelletier for voting the death of the King, iv. 556

Paris Duvernay, the Brothers, their import-

PAR

ance in French financial affairs, iv. 187. Their devices for lowering the standard of money, 188. Their opposition to Law's system, 188. Their cupidity, ignorance, and cruelty, 188. Impose an income tax, 194

Paris, the deacon, miracles at his tomb, iv. 200

Parliament, French, germs of a, i. 158. Formation of the King's court of peers, 169-171. Its importance as a court of appeal, 170. Contrast between the French and English, 260. A Parlement established by Philip the Hardy in the south of France, 291. The first separation of the Estates in France, 291. Philip the Fair's exercise of his rights as King, by means of his Parliament, 303. The Three Estates summoned for the first time, 322. A Parliament summoned by Philip the Fair at Lyons, 349. Regulations of Philip the Fair as to Parliaments, 376. The Estates summoned by King John to vote an aide, 455. The Parlement obtains the right of self-election, ii. 77. Humbled by Louis XII., 398. Refuses to sanction the concordat of Leo X. and Francis I., 459. Refuses to register a decree establishing the Inquisition, 619. Its tolerance of Protestantism, 645. Refuses to register the Edict of Orleans, iii. 38. Refuses to register the Edict of January, 50. Refuses to sanction the transfer of the crown to a foreigner, 298. Its authority under Henry IV., 302. Objur-gation of Henry IV., 319. Compelled to declare Queen Marie de Medicis regent, 385. Influence of the Legists, 401. Their quarrels with the nobility and clergy and the Estates of 1614, 402, 403. Effect of the sale of judgements, 406, 407. Powerlessness of the Parliament, 407. Formation, and existence to the present day, of a functionary Parliament, 419. Its opposition to Mazarin, 566. Its mean and partial acts, 567. Its opposition to Emery's financial measures, 579, 580, 583. Arrangement come to between the Court and Parliament, 590. Quarrels between the Parliament and Condé, 591. Listens to the proposals of Spain, 593. Treaty of Ruel, 596. Debates respecting the captive princes, 604. Attack on the judges by the mob, 622. Submission of Parliament to the King on the withdrawal of Mazarin, 628. The King's speech to them in the Louvre, 632. Set aside the will of Louis XIV., iv. 139. Oppose Law's recoinage, 166. But their opposition got rid of, 168. Their remonstrance against Law's decree as to the rate of interest, 177. Banished to Pontoise, 177, 178. Recalled, 178. Their increased boldness against the clergy, 267. Their arrêts issued against the Jesuits, 302. Conciliated by appointment of one of their members to the controller-generalship, 308.

PAR

Their rights interfered with by Louis XV., 322. Consequent quarrel, 322. Dismissal of the Parliament by the Chancellor Maupeou, 324-326. Recalled by Louis XVI., 345. Demand the States General, 390. Exiled to Troyes, 391. The royal sitting of 1788, 395. Remonstrances of the judges, 396, 397. Plan of Archbishop Brienne for doing away with Parliament, 397, 398. A declaration of rights drawn up, 398. Arrest of Epresmenil and Goislart, 398. Abolition of Parliament, 399. Recalled by Necker, 403. Merge into the Assembly, *see* Assembly; Convention

Parliaments, Provincial, their opposition to Louis XV., iv. 310. Their monstrous behaviour, 324, 325. Denounce and oppose the provincial assemblies, 394. Turbulent proceedings of the, 397. Abolished, 399. Their resistance, 400

Parliament, English, attempt of the Pope to dictate to the, i. 291, 292

Parma, taken by Pope Julius II., ii. 437. Ceded to the Milanese, 456. Given to Don Carlos, iv. 155. Battle of, 204. Given to Don Philip, 246. Insurrection in, v. 438

Parma and Piacenza, duchies of, given to Maria Louisa, v. 232

Parma, Prince of, his government of the Netherlands, iii. 194. *See* Alexander, Prince of.

Parma, Duke of, submits to Buonaparte, and pays tribute, v. 20. Receives the dukedom of Tuscany, 91

Parsdorf, armistice of, v. 88

Pascal, Blaise, exposes the vice of his age, iii. 651. His work, 652. His 'Provincial Letters,' iv. 125

Paskewitch, General, drives the Poles into Warsaw, v. 449. Offers terms to the Poles, 450. Enters Warsaw, 450

Pasquier, M., succeeds to ministry of justice, v. 289. Minister of foreign affairs, 298

Passages, taken by the French, iv. 155

Passau, treaty of, ii. 608. Occupied by the French and Bavarians, iv. 217

Passy, M., minister of finance, v. 487. And minister of commerce, 499. Chosen president of the Chambers, 516. Desired by the King to form a new ministry, 516. Becomes again finance minister, v. 518, 637

Pastoureaux, rise and dispersion of the, i. 239, 240. Their preparations for a new crusade, 373. Dispersed by the royal officers, 374

Patay, battle of, ii. 168

Patriotism, growth of the principle of, ii. 476

Paul, Emperor of Russia, presented by Buonaparte, with Malta, and becomes the ally of France, v. 90. Murdered, 93

Paul III., Pope, his policy, ii. 541. Brings about a ten years' truce between Francis I. and Charles V., 542. His advance to a compromise with the German Protestants, 552.

PEM

Convokes the Council of Trent, 579. His alarm at Charles V.'s successes in Germany, 597. His nephew, the Duke of Parma, assassinated, 598. His death, 607

Paul IV., Pope, ii. 617. His hostility to the Emperor Charles V., 617. His proposed league against the Imperialists, 618. His mortification at the truce of Vaucelles, 620. Which is ruptured at his instigation, 621. Prosecutes Philip II. in his pontifical court, and deposes him, 621. Sends an army to Naples, 621. Threatened in Rome by Alva, 622. His speech to the Duke of Guise, 627

Paul V., Pope, his claims to the right of deposing and slaying kings, iii. 394

Paula, Prince Francisco de, intrigues to marry one of his sons to Queen Isabella, v. 568, 569

Paulette, the, iii. 401, 583

Paulicians, nature of the doctrines of the, i. 173. The doctrines introduced into the south of France, 173, 174

Paranne, the Protestant, burned, ii. 516

Pavia besieged and reduced by Pepin the Bref, i. 21. Besieged by Charlemagne, 24, 25. Besieged by Francis I., ii. 482. Battle of, 484. Taken by storm by Marshal Lautrec, 502. Promised by the Pope to the second son of Francis I., 526. Taken by Charles Emmanuel III., of Sardinia, iv. 203

Pavilly, Eustache de, the Carmelite, his harangue before the parliament, ii. 90, 91. His denunciations, 91, 92. Lectures the Dauphin on princely virtues, 95. His character, 141

Peasants, rise of the Norman, against their lords, i. 82. Abolition of serfage, 494. Formation of the bands of the Tuchins, ii. 12. Mistrust of the nobles of the peasant as a soldier, iii. 62, 63. The insurrection of the Gautiers, 240. Habit of raising the peasants under their curates, and leading them to war, i. 131

Pedro IV., King of Portugal, succeeds to the throne, v. 349

Peel, Sir Robert, denounces the treatment of Mr. Pritchard, v. 558

Peene, battle of, iii. 696

Peerage, hereditary, law of, sought to be re-established in France by Louis XVIII. and Louis Philippe, v. 451, 452

Peers, six lay and six ecclesiastical, appointed to form the King's court by Philip Augustus, i. 169. The Court of Peers has a monopoly of judicial power, 261. The chamber of, remodelled, v. 265. *See* Assembly; Napoleon I.

Pelet, M., minister of public instruction, v. 499. And minister of finance, 525. Remonstrates against possession of Orléans, 557

Pellévé, Cardinal, his death, iii. 311.

Peltier, the journalist, v. 107

Pembroke, Earl of, sent by Edward III. to Brittany, i. 521. Conducts a fleet to La

PEN

- Rochelle, where he is defeated by the Spanish admirals, and taken prisoner, 529
- Penal code of St. Louis, its severity, i. 263
- Penières, the deputy, attempted assassination of, iv. 671
- Penthièvre, duchy of, given to the widow of Charles of Blois, i. 507
- Pepe, General, heads the Carbonari, v. 309
- Pepin I., of Heristal, the Austrasian magnate, with the King's court at Clichy, i. 12. Seizes the office of major domus, 12. Marches against the Neustrians, 13. Whom he defeats at Testri, 13. Rise of his family, 13. His yearly expeditions over the Rhine, 13
- Pepin II., the Bref, second son of Charles Martel, becomes major domus of the Franks, i. 19. Crowned King of France by Bishop Boniface, 19. His defeat of the Suabian and Bavarian league on the Leck, 20. Reduces Brittany, 20. Applied to by Pope Stephen II. for aid against the Lombards, 20. Crosses the Alps, and compels the Lombard King to make restitution to the Pope, 21. His death, 22
- Pepin, son of Charlemagne, the kingdom of Italy assigned to, i. 32. His death, 32
- Pepin, younger son of Louis the Débonnaire, appointed by his father King of the south of France, i. 38. Leagued with his brother Louis against his father and brother Lothaire, 39
- Pepin, grandson of Louis the Débonnaire, claims his father's heritage in Aquitaine, i. 40
- Pepin, M., implicated in the Fieschi plot, v. 495, *et seq.*
- Perche, Count de, defeated at the Fair of Lincoln, i. 193
- Père Duchêne, character of, assumed by Hébert, iv. 640
- Perigord, march of Lord Derby into, i. 420
- Perrier, Casimir, election of, as deputy, v. 288. Becomes minister of state, 421. Resigns, 424. Again prime minister, 440. His character and fitness for office, 441. His conditions on taking office, 441. His measures, 442. Denounces the National Association, 443. Dismisses Barrot and Delaborde, 444. Prosecutes the Young Republicans, 444. Character of his measures, 444. Resigns, but recalled, 447. Obtains the evacuation of the Legations by Austria, 449. Denounced by Lamarque and Mauguin, 449, 450. Seeks to restore *hereditary* law, 451. Abandons this measure, 452. Taking offence at the invasion of the Legations by Austria, sends an expedition to Ancona, 459. His conversation with Baron Werther, 460. Relies upon the English alliance, 461. Seized by the cholera and dies, 462. Summary of his character and government, 462
- Pernels, Sieur de, elected bishop of Liege, ii.

PET

60. Leads the Liegeois against the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, 61. Defeated at the battle of Hasbain, and taken prisoner and beheaded, 61, 62
- Peronne ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Secured by the Burgundians, 275. Surrenders to Louis XI., 329. Besieged by the Imperialists, 540. Opposition of the League to the surrender of the fortress to Condé and the Huguenots, iii. 175
- Perosa, fortress of, restored to the Duke of Savoy, iii. 165.
- Perosa, valley of, restored to Savoy, iv. 59.
- Perpignan besieged by the French, and the Dauphin and Marshal Annebaut, ii. 555. Surrenders to Louis XIII., iii. 519. Besieged by the French, 536. Surrenders to them, 540
- Perron, Cardinal du, his extravagant pretensions, iii. 403.
- Perrot, General, commander of the National Guards, v. 652
- Persecution of heretics in the eleventh century, i. 86
- Persil, M., minister of justice, v. 487. Insists on the trial of the April conspirators, 491. Resigns, 510
- Pescara, Marquis of, his attack on Francis I.'s camp before Pavia, ii. 483. Forms a league against the Emperor, Charles V., 492
- Peschiera taken by the French, ii. 429
- Peter II., King of Aragon, his intervention for the Albigenses, i. 179. Endeavours to obtain terms for the Count of Toulouse, 181. His remonstrances addressed to the Pope, 182. Crosses the Pyrenees to support the oppressed Albigenses, 182. Killed at the battle of Muret, 183
- Peter III., King of Aragon, i. 257. Deposes a King of Tunis, 271. Marries a daughter of Manfred of Sicily and Naples, 285. His connection with the Sicilian Vespers, 285, 288. Sails from Africa for Sicily, 288. Accepts the crown offered by the Sicilians, 289. Compels Charles of Anjou to retreat across the Straits, 289. Excommunicated by the Pope, 289. The proposed duel between him and Charles of Anjou, 289, 290. Elected King of Sicily, 289. A papal crusade preached against both countries, 289. Invasion of his kingdom of Aragon, by Philip the Hardy, 290, 292, 293. Peter's preparations, 292. The fleet of Charles of Anjou defeated by Peter's admiral, Roger of Loria, 292. Charles's son, the Prince of Salerno, defeated and taken prisoner by Roger, 293. His answer to the papal legate, 294. Defends the heights of the Pyrenees, 294. Fortifies Barcelona, 295. Wounded, 295. Loses Gerona, but immediately recovers it, 295. His death, 295

PET

- Peter the Great, first Emperor of Russia, iv. 143. Offers his alliance to France, 143. Menaces England, and embraces the cause of the Pretender, 148, 149. Joins a league against England, 151
- Peter III., Emperor of Russia, his accession, iv. 286. His death, 286. His agreement to the partition of Poland, 316
- Peter the Cruel, King of Castille, a crusade proclaimed by the Pope against, i. 509. His cruelties, 509. The military companies led by Du Guesclin against him, 510. Flies before Du Guesclin into Andalusia, 511. His illegitimate brother Henry placed on the throne of Castille, 511. Goes to the Black Prince, at Bayonne, for assistance, 511. His brother Henry defeated at the battle of Navarrete, 513, 514. Prevented by the Black Prince from killing his prisoners, 514. Retires to Andalusia, and disregards the claims of his deliverers, 519. Driven again from his throne by Du Guesclin, 520. Murdered by his brother Henry, 520
- Peter of Dreux, Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, refuses to attend the coronation of Louis IX., i. 206. Heads the League of the Barons, 206. His daughter Yolande betrothed to Prince John, 207. The arrangement broken off by Peter's turbulence, 209. Offers his daughter Yolande to Thibaud, of Champagne, who refuses her, 210. Goes to the Holy Land, 219. Reconciled to Thibaud of Navarre, 247
- Peter (son of the preceding), Count of Brittany, at the investiture of the Count of Poitou, i. 221
- Peter, son of St. Louis, joins his father in his last crusade, i. 271. His death, 272
- Peter of Savoy, Archbishop of Lyons, cedes his city to France, i. 350
- Peter of Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, causes an insurrection in his viceroyalty, ii. 598
- Peter the Hermit, i. 102, 103. Preaches the Crusade against the Infidels, 103. His personal appearance, according to William of Tyre, 103. His eloquence and enthusiasm, 103, 104. Leads 40,000 pilgrims to Asia, through Hungary, 105. Runs away from the siege of Antioch, 108. His reconciliation of the rival chiefs on the Mount of Olives, 111
- Peter Martyr, invited to the Colloquy of Poissy, iii. 44
- Peterborough, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of, captures Barcelona, iv. 93. Superseded by Lord Galway, 98
- Petersburgh, St., founded, iv. 148
- Petersburgh, St., treaty of, v. 177. Broken by ukase of Alexander, 177
- Petigliano, Venetian proveditor at Agnadello, ii. 428, 429
- Pétion, elected mayor of Paris, iv. 461. Be-

PHI

- comes member of the Legislative Assembly, 467. Orders the registration of pikes, 485. Takes no measures against émeute of 20th of June, 491. Harangues and expels the mob from the Tuileries, 494. His interview with the King, whom he assures that the capital was tranquil, 495. Rebuked by the King, 495. The writs of the Feuillants issued against, 501. Unable to prevent insurrection of the 9th August, 508. Endeavours to persuade Robespierre and Danton not to dethrone the King, 508, 509. His interview with the King, 510. Reproached by Mandar, 510. Releases the ladies of the Queen, 528. Retreats to Caen, 593. His trial and execution, 619, 620
- Petit, Jean, his treatise on the right and justice of homicide, ii. 58, 59. Failure of Gerson to obtain sentence of the Council of Constance against him, 106
- Petit, M., confesses his act of bribery, v. 576
- Petrowskoie, Palace of, in Moscow, occupied by Napoleon, v. 188
- Peyronnet, M. de, minister of justice, v. 313. Proposes a law for the equal division of property, 352. Styles his law against the press, the Law of Love, 357, 360. Appointed to the home department, 386. His seizure and trial, 422, 429. And condemnation, 430. *See* Louis Philippe
- Pezou, the Paris butcher, his part in the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 143, 145
- Phelippeaux, the commissary, denounces Ronsin and Rossignol before the Convention, iv. 638. Supported by Danton, 638. Arrested, 642. Tried and executed, 643, 644
- Philibert II., Duke of Savoy, subsidised and pensioned by Louis XII., ii. 403
- Philibert, Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, his military reputation, ii. 615. Proposal to marry him to Margaret, sister of Henry II. of France, 616. Lays siege to St. Quentin, 624. Defeats the French army, under the Constable, at St. Quentin, 626. Takes the town by assault, 626. His dominions restored to him, 636. Married to Margaret, sister of Henry II., 648. Aids in the persecution of the Huguenots, iii. 17. Grants tolerance and peace to the Protestants of Piedmont, 47. Three fortresses delivered to him by Henry III. of France, 165
- Philibert, Prince of Savoy, receives a pension from France, iii. 376
- Philip the Gentle, elected Emperor of Germany, i. 162
- Philip I., l'Amoureux, King of France, his parentage, i. 92. Ceremony of his coronation, 92. His accession, 92. Events of his reign in which he took no part, 93. His taxes on prelates and merchandise, denounced by Pope Gregory VII., 97. Divorces his wife, Bertha

PHI

of Holland, and marries the wife of Foulques of Anjou, 98, 105. His kingdom placed under an interdict, 98, 105. Invades Flanders in concert with the governor of Normandy, 99. Defeated, and barely escapes from the Flemings, 99. His afflictions and death, 113

Philip II., Augustus, King of France, walls in the park of Vincennes, i. 82. His birth, 144. Crowned during his father's lifetime, 147, 148. His illness, 148. Married to Margaret of Hainault, 149. The marriage settlement, 149. The King and Queen recrowned at St. Denis, 149. Persuaded by Henry II. of England to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendship, 150. His battles gained rather by trickery than by war, 152. Banishes the Jews, and persecutes the Waldensian Protestants, 152. Death of his queen, 153. Philip's claim to the Vermandois, 153. War in consequence with Flanders, 153. Peace concluded by the intervention of Henry II., 153. Amiens acquired by Philip, 153. Refusal of the Flemings of that town to be handed over to France, 153. War in consequence, 153. But peace concluded, 153. Compels the Burgundians to submit to him, 154. Takes Chatillon, 154. His answer to the clergy of Rheims, 154. His ingratitude to Henry II. of England, 154. Besieges Richard Plantagenet in Chateauroux, 155. Concludes a truce, 155. Assumes the Cross, 156. Supports Prince Richard in his war against his father, 156. Obtains from Henry Berry and Auvergne, 157. Proceeds on the Third Crusade, 157. His arrangements before his departure, 157. And with Richard I. at Messina, 157. At the siege of Acre, 159. Returns home, 159. Swears to respect Richard's dominions, 159. And breaks his oath, 159. His charges against Richard, 159. Aids John in his rebellion against his brother Richard, 160. Invades Normandy, 160. Takes Evreux, but repulsed from Rouen, 160. Recalls the Jews, 161. Death of his wife Elizabeth, and marriage with Ingeburge of Denmark, 161. Whom he divorces, and marries Mary of Meran, 161. Excommunicated by the Pope, 161. Events of the war with Richard II., 161. Invades Flanders, 162. Defeated by Baldwin IX., and compelled to purchase a retreat, 162. How treated by his old ally, John of England, 163. Embraces the claim of Arthur Plantagenet to Brittany, Maine, and Anjou, 161. And goes to war with King John, 163. His agreement with John, 163. Death of his queen, Mary of Meran, 163. His reconciliation with the Church, 163. Recommences war with John, 164. Who relieves his mother Eleanor at Mirabeau, and takes the besiegers prisoners, 164. Philip invades

PHI

Aquitaine without results, 164. Takes the castles of Andelys and Château Gaillard, 165. Conquers the whole of Normandy, and takes Rouen, 165. Crosses the Loire, and reduces Poitiers, 165. Takes Loches, Chinon, and Nantes, and the Duchess of Brittany, 166. Concludes a two years' truce with King John, 166. Philip's policy, and ability with which it was accomplished, 167. Source of his strength, 167. His mode of bringing the powerful aristocracy of the distant provinces under his royal jurisdiction, 168, 169. His local courts and provosts, 168. His Court of Peers, or Parliament, 169-171. Causes of the great strides made by him to power, 170, 171. Sends his son Louis to the south, to intervene between the Albigenses and their persecutors, 184. Lends De Monfort a hundred knights for six months, 185. England given to him by the Pope, 187. Summons his barons at Soissons to arrange a descent upon England, 187. His plans defeated by the surrender of England to the Pope, 188. His war with Flanders, 188, 189. His fleet destroyed by the English at Dam, 188. His defeat of the Imperialists at Bovines, 190. Throws the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne into the dungeons of the Louvre, 191. The King's popularity after the battle of Bovines, 191. Concludes a truce with King John, 191. Leaves Flanders to Jeanne, 191. His extension of the boundaries of the kingdom, 191. His son Louis's invasion of, and defeat in, England, 192, 193. His last years, 193. His death, 193. His will, 194. Review of his reign, 194, 195

Philip III., the Hardy, King of France, married to Isabella of Aragon, i. 244, 247. His accession to the throne, 272. Death of his father and wife, 272. His reduction of the Count of Foix, 281. Marries his son Philip to Jeanne of Navarre, 290. Determines to invade Aragon, 290. Goes to the south to raise an army, 291. Fails to obtain aid from Edward I. of England, 292. Crosses the Pyrenees in person, 292, 293. Takes Elme, 294. Besieges and takes Gerona, 294, 295. Compelled to retire, 295. His death at Perpignan, 295. His children, 296. Resumé of the events of his reign, 296. His confidant, Peter de la Brosse, 297

Philip IV., the Fair, King of France, marries Jeanne of Navarre, i. 290. His accession, 296. Condition of society at this period, 299. The King's designs upon the duchy of Guienne, 302. His exercise of his judicial rights as King, by means of Parliament, 303. Origin of his character for rapacity, 303, 304. His quarrel with Edward I. of England, 306. Marries his sister to Edward, 307. Whom he tricks out of his duchy of

PHI

Guienne, 307, 308. War declared by Edward, 308. Who sends mercenaries to Guienne, 308. English resistance in the south put an end to by Robert of Artois, 309. Philip sends Charles of Valois to Hainault, who compels the count to do him homage, 309. His encroachments in various directions, 309. And consequent quarrel with the Emperor Rudolph, 310. League of the Emperor Adolph, the King of England, and Count of Flanders, against Philip, 311. Philip's preparations—his levies, recoinage, and maltôte, 311. His determination to tax the clergy, 311. His quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. in consequence, 312. Overcomes the Flemings, 314. The Pope's submission to him, 315. Concludes peace with Germany and England, 315. The Pope's arbitration respecting the duchy of Guienne, 315. Philip's acquisitions at the conclusion of peace, 315. His treacherous imprisonment of the Count of Flanders and his son, 316. Appoints a governor over and visits the cities of Flanders, 316. Favours showered upon the French royal family by Pope Boniface, 317. Philip's fresh quarrel with the Pope, 318. Insulted by the legate, the Bishop of Pamiers, 318. Whom he causes to be prosecuted, 319. Philip's anxiety to conciliate his own clergy, whom he determines shall share the burdens and defence of the state, 321. A bull issued by the Pope against him, 321. Burns the papal bull, 322. Summons the Three Estates for the first time, 322. And demands their adhesion and aid against the Pope, 322. The addresses of the Estates to the Pope, 323. The Pope's answer and threat, 324. Insurrection of the Flemings, 324. Who defeat the French at the battle of Courtray, 327. His recourse again to a recoinage, 327. His measures for a war against Flanders, 328. Marches an army to Douai, but returns after an inglorious campaign, 328. Revolt of Bordeaux, and restoration of Guienne, 328. The quarrel with the Pope, 329. The King appeals against the Pope to a General Council, 330. Has the Pope seized at Anagni, 331. Death of Boniface, and election of Benedict XI., 332. Who abandons the decree against Philip, 332. Death of Benedict, and end of the struggle with Rome, 332. Renews his campaigns against the Flemings, and defeats them at Mons en Puelle, 333, 334. Arranges a peace with the Flemings, and restores their count, Robert, 334. His part in the election of Pope Clement V., 335. Inveteracy with which he pursued the memory of Pope Boniface, 337. His ordinance against the chief inquisitor, Foulques, 337. Plays the popular

PHI

sovereign in the south, 338. His severity to Narbonne and Carcassonne, 338. Sedition in Paris on account of the coinage, 338. Besieged by the mob in the Temple, 338. Character of the King's occupations, 339. His prosecution of the Templars, 339. His haste and cruelty, 344. Refusal of the Pope to sanction the dissolution of the order, 345. But sends a commission of examination to Paris, 345. Philip's endeavours to obtain the Empire of Germany for his brother Charles, 345. How the Pope kept his oath to Philip, 345. Philip's prosecution of the memory of Boniface VIII., 346. His treatment of the Templars, 347. Who are burned as heretics, 348. A parliament of his adherents summoned by Philip at Lyons, 349. Obtains the condemnation and dissolution of the order of the Templars, 350. Whose wealth he absorbs, 351. Commits the grand-master, De Moulay, and Guy d'Auvergne to the flames, 352. Events of the latter portion of Philip's reign, 352. Summoned before the judgment-seat of God by the grand-master, 352. Dissolute lives of his daughters-in-law, 353. Outbreak of the Flemings of Lille, Douai, and Bethune, 354. Philip agrees to restore the debased coinage to its value in the reign of St. Louis, 354. His mysterious illness and death, 354. His character and that of his reign, 354-361

Philip V., the Long, his wife Jeanne charged with leading a dissolute life, but acquitted, i. 353. Appointed regent at the death of his brother, Louis X., 368, 369. Marches with an army into Artois, 369. Claims the crown on the death of John, his infant nephew, 369. Crowned at Rheims, 370. Causes the Salic law to be established, 370. Death of his son, Louis, soon afterwards, 370. Prepares for a war with Flanders, 372. Orders a muster at Arras, and fits out a fleet at Dieppe, 372. Rivalry of his uncles, and troubles in Poitou, 372. Makes peace with Flanders, and gives one of his daughters to the heir of that county, 372. Persecutes Jews and lepers, 374, 375. His attempts to organise a regular administration, 376. His regulation of Parliament, 376. His other improvements, 376, 377. His proposal to establish one measure and one coinage for the whole kingdom, 377. His last illness and death, 377

Philip VI., of Valois, King of France, when prince enters the Milanese with an army, i. 373. But compelled to retreat, 373. Causes of his war with Edward II. of England, 380, 381. Philip crowned at Rheims, 390. Puts Pierre Remi to death, 390. Marches against the Flemings, 390. Whom he defeats at Cassel, 391. His address to the Count of

PHI

Flanders after the battle, 391, 392. His attack on the English at Xaintonge, and destruction of the castle of Saintes, 392. His subsequent friendship with Edward III., 393. His interference in favour of the Scotch, 395. Marries his son John to the daughter of John of Bohemia, 395. Assumes the Cross, and induces others to join him, 395. His different treatment of the nobility and townfolk, 395, 396. His want of policy, 398, 399. His journey to Avignon, and his demands made on the Pope, 398, 399. His preparations for war with England, 399. His designs against Guienne, 399. Fits out a fleet at Calais, 399. The throne of France formally claimed by Edward III., of England, 402. Who advances with an army into France, 403. Meeting of the French army, under Philip, and the English under Edward, at St. Quentin, 404. Separation of the armies without fighting, 404. Philip's preparations for a renewal of the war, 408. Defeat of his fleet at L'Ecluse, 409. His kingdom invaded by Edward with an immense army, 409. Which besieges Tournay, 410. Challenge of Edward to Philip, 410. A six months' truce concluded, 411. Renewal of the war with England, 415. A truce for three years' concluded, 416. Philip's difficulty of raising and paying an army, 418. His financial measures, 418. His murder of De Clisson and the Breton nobles, 418, 419. War recommenced by Edward III., 418. Philip's promise as to the taxes, 419. His losses in Upper Gascony, 420. Sends an army under his son John against Lord Derby, 422. Landing of Edward in Normandy, 423. Edward's march through the country, 423-425. Loss of the towns of the Cotentin and of Caen, 423. Many towns burned by the English, 424. March of the English King to Crecy, followed by Philip, 426. Who is utterly routed by the English, 429. Marches to the relief of Calais, 433. Compels the Flemish allies of the English to retire, 433, 434. Withdraws to Amiens, 435. Calais taken by Edward III., 436. A truce concluded between the monarchs, 437. But the truce set at nought, 437, 438. Philip purchases the castle of Combourne from the brigand Bacon, 437. Sufferings of his people from brigands and pestilence, 437, 438. Defeat of his lieutenants in Brittany, 438. Annexes Dauphiné to France, 439. Death of his queen from plague, 440. Marries a daughter of the Queen of Navarre, 440. His illness and death, 441. His character, 441

Philip II., King of Spain, proposal of his father to give him the succession to the Empire, ii. 605. His general, Alva, succoured by the

PHI

French, 621. Deposed from the throne of the Two Sicilies by Pope Paul IV., 621. His cautious policy as to France, 626. Death of his queen, 633. Married by proxy to Elizabeth of France, 647. Sends his Queen and the Duke of Alva to meet Catherine de Medici at Bayonne, iii. 87. Marries a daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., 111. Believed to have poisoned his former wife, Elizabeth of France, 113, *note*. Proposal of the French to invade his province of Flanders, 112, 113, 116, 118. Question of a rupture with him, 129. Commencement of the war, 129. Charles IX. dissuaded from the war by his mother, 131. His joy at the St. Bartholomew massacre, 147. His offer to Henry of Navarre, 198. His preparations for the conquest of England, 221. His aim of elevating his daughter to the throne of France, 243. Demands of his agents that he should be declared Protector of France, 262, 263. Which demands are rejected, 263. Sends armies against Henry IV., 264, 270, 275. Demands the crown of Spain for his daughter, the Infanta, 278. His daughter acknowledged Queen of France, 284. Presses the Duke of Mayenne to proceed with the election of a king in place of Henry IV., 289. Arrogance of his demands, 292. Refusal of the Parliament to accede to them, 298. Insists on a continuance of hostilities with France, 314. Successes of his troops in Picardy and Brittany, 322. Calais and Amiens taken by them, 322, 329. Endeavours of Clement V. to make peace between France and Spain, 332. Conclusion of the treaty of Vervins, 345. Philip's death, 345. And character, 346

Philip III., King of Spain, sends troops into Cleves and the Rhine districts against the Protestants, iii. 365. His designs against Holland, 371. Arrangements of Henry IV. for the invasion of Spain, 377. Concludes an offensive and defensive alliance with France, 396

Philip IV., King of Spain, affianced to Madame of France, iii. 396. Their marriage, 407. League formed against him and his relative, Ferdinand II., 440. Concludes a treaty with France for the invasion of England, 473. Unites with the Emperor to expel Richelieu and the French from Italy, 490. His troops defeated by the French at Avain, 512. Insurrection of the Catalans against him, 518. Gives assistance to the Count of Soissons in his conspiracy against Richelieu, 533. And again to Cinq Mars in his design, 536. Refuses to make peace with France, 577. Proposal to marry his daughter, the Infanta, to Louis XIV., 639. The Princess claimed by the Emperor, 640. Philip offers her hand to

PHI

- Louis, 641. Conclusion of the marriage and of peace, 643. His death, 662
- Philip V., King of Spain, the Duke of Anjou acknowledged, iv. 80. His reception in Spain and Italy, 81. Joins the French army in Italy, 86. His claim to the regency of France, 137. Driven out of Spain, 97. Becomes again master of Madrid, 106. Signs the treaty of Utrecht, 116. Lethargy and decay of Spain and its monarch, 120. Marries Elizabeth Farnese, 147. By whom he is governed, 149. His claim to the regency of France, 150. Joins a league against England, 151. War declared against him by France and England, 154. His notion of seducing the French invaders, 155. Compelled to dismiss Alberoni, 155. Accepts the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, 155. His daughter betrothed to Louis XV., 183. And his son Louis to a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, 183. Abdicates the throne of Spain, 189. Intrigues of the Regent Bourbon with Philip at San Ildefonso, 189. Returns to the throne, 190. Reconciliation of the courts of Madrid and Vienna, 191. Rupture with France, 191-193. Terms of their alliance, 193. Alliance of England, France, and Prussia against them, 193. Failure of the Austro-Spanish alliance, 198. Enters into an alliance with France, 201. His army defeated at Piacenza, 236. His death, 236
- Philip I., le Beau, King of Castile, his scheme for knitting the Imperial and Spanish courts with France, ii. 411. Concludes a treaty with Louis XII. at Lyons, 412. Draws the alliance with France still closer, 413. His neglect of his wife, Joan, 419. His death, 425
- Philip d'Evreux, King of Navarre, his daughter married to Charles the Fair, i. 378. The crown of Navarre conferred on him, 390. Assumes the cross, 395
- Philip of Navarre, advises his brother Charles, King of Navarre, not to desert Edward III., i. 454. His brother imprisoned by King John, 459. Philip's defiance of John, 459. Goes with the Harcourts to England, 459. And returns with Henry of Lancaster and an army, 459. Regains the town of Evreux, 468. Despatched by his brother with an army to Nantes, 485. Restored to his possessions by the treaty of Bretigny, 490
- Philip, brother of Louis the Fat, entrusted with the castles of Montlheri and Nantes, i. 115. Ousted by the King, 115
- Philip, eldest son of Louis the Fat, crowned in his father's lifetime, i. 128. Killed in Paris, 128
- Philip, son of Maximilian I., betrothed to Anne, daughter of Edward IV. of England, ii. 341
- Philip, younger son of Philip Augustus, invested with the county of Boulogne, i. 195. His

PHI

- father's bequest, 196. His adherence secured by Queen Blanche, 206. Married to the daughter of the imprisoned Count of Boulogne, 206. His insult to Thibaud, Count of Champagne, 206. Whom he hates, 207. Withdraws from the support of the Queen, and becomes chief of the disaffected barons, 207. Raises up against Thibaud of Champagne, a competitor for the throne of Navarre, 216. Philip's death, 216
- Philip, Duke of Anjou (grandson of Louis XIV.), made King of Spain, iv. 80. *See* Philip V., King of Spain
- Philip de la Bresse, son of the Duke of Savoy, seized and imprisoned by Louis XI., ii. 265. Takes succours to the Duke of Normandy at Peronne, 291
- Philip I., son of John II. of France (afterwards Duke of Burgundy), at the battle of Poitiers, i. 461. Taken prisoner there with his father, 464. Threatened by Edward III. of England, 487. Engages to pay a large sum to Edward, 488. Subsequently created by his father Duke of Burgundy, 500. Married to the daughter of Louis II. of Flanders, 521. Leads an army from Harfleur against the Duke of Lancaster near Guines, 524. Breaks up his army, 524. Carries a war of invasion and conquest into Aquitaine, 526. Commissioned to make war against Charles II. of Navarre, 545. Appointed one of the guardians of Charles VI., ii. 5. But set aside, 6. Has the government of the north given him, 9. Checks the martial ardour of the King, 11. Occupies the first place of influence at court, 25. Assists the Count of Flanders to recover his heritage, 25. Carries off the famous clock of Courtray to Dijon, 29. Becomes Count of Flanders, 33. His growing power, 33. His liberal views, 33. Marries his son to the heiress of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, 33. Refusal of the Flemish towns to acknowledge him as their Count, 35. Marries another son to Princess of Bavaria, 35. Submission of the Flemings, and definitive pacification of the county, 36. Menaces the Constable Clisson, 44. His rivalry and antagonism with his nephew, Orleans, 48. His death, 48
- Philip III., the Good, Duke of Burgundy, murder of his father, ii. 133, 134. Takes up his father's quarrel with the Dauphin, 134. Enters into an alliance with Henry V. of England, 135. And induces the English King to conclude a truce with the French, 135. Goes to Troyes, and does homage for his duchy, 136. His duchy threatened by the Dauphin, 139. Who is driven back by the Duke of Bedford, 139. Philip's character and inactivity, 145. His sisters married to the Duke of Bedford and Arthur, Earl of

PHI

Richmond, 147. Challenged to single combat by the Duke of Gloucester, 151. Captures Jacqueline of Holland at Mons, 152. Offers of the besieged citizens of Orleans to him, 158. His proposal to the Duke of Bedford rejected, 159. Withdraws the Burgundians from the English army before Orleans, 159. Meets the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and renews his pact with the English, 169, 170. Propositions sent to him by Charles VII., 171. Besieges Compiègne, 174. Marries a third time, and institutes the order of the Golden Fleece, 174, 175. The great towns of the Isle of France and Picardy garrisoned by him, 184. Paris made over to him, 184. Does not attend the coronation of Henry VI. at Paris, 185. Anxious to put an end to the war, 185. Extension of his power and possessions to the Zuyder Zee, 185. His dangers from René d'Anjou and the Duke of Bourbon, 185, 186. Death of his sister, the Duchess of Bedford, and remarriage of the Duke, 186. Coolness between the dukes in consequence, 187. Offers of Charles VII. to the Duke of Burgundy, 188. Who consents to open negotiations at Arras, 188. Terms of the treaty concluded there, 192. His abandonment of the English alliance, 192. His envoys hooted in London, 193. Takes the towns of the Somme and the county of Ponthieu from the English, 193. And endeavours to expel them from Calais, 193. Invasion of Champagne by Charles VII. of France, 211. Philip keeps aloof from Charles at Nevers, 213. Compels the Emperor Sigismund to recognise his independence in the Low Countries, 218. His power menaced in two directions by France, 220. Sends his duchess to the French court, to amend the treaty of Arras, 222. Stays away from the French court, 223. Antagonism between the royal power in France and the ducal power in Burgundy, 236, 237. Philip's punishment of the Bruges rebels, 238. And defeat of the Ghenters at the battle of Gavre, 240. Makes a vow to lead his armies against the Turks, 241. His efforts to get up a crusade for this purpose, 241. His reception of the Dauphin in Brussels, 243, 244. Whom he meets as King at Avesnes, and accompanies to Rheims, 252. His residence with the King in Paris, 254. Supports the York faction in England, 259. Surrenders the French towns acquired by the treaty of Arras, 263, 264. Story of the attempted murder of his son, the Count of Charolais, 265. Joins the league against Louis XI., 266. Marches with an army towards Paris, 269. Prevented by the Maréchal Rouault from entering the city, 270. Battle of Mont-

PHI

lhery fought, 270, 271. Advantages gained by Burgundy by the treaty of Confians, 275. The Duke insulted by the people of Dinant, 280. Whom he determines to punish, 281. Puts all the men to death, and destroys the town, 281, 282. His death, 282. His character, 282, 283. Philip le Beau, Duke of Burgundy, his father deprived by the Flemings of his guardianship, ii. 364. Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, bears the drawn sword at the coronation of Philip Augustus, i. 148. Emancipates Philip from his mother's influence, 149. Musters an army and marches against Philip Augustus nearly up to Paris, 153. Philip of Flanders taken prisoner by Loria, i. 300. Philip of Orleans (afterwards of Valois), second son of Philip VI., appointed heir of Dauphiné, i. 440. Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., marries Henrietta of England, iii. 649. Scandal respecting her intimacy with the King, 651. Her death, 674. Besieges St. Omer's, 696. And defeats the Prince of Orange at Peene, 696. His attempts to take Turin, iv. 96. Driven into Pignerol by Eugène, 96. Unable to reduce Catalonia, 99. His dissolute life, 128. Accused of causing the deaths of the princes, 128. And of other crimes, 129. His power, as future regent, limited by testament of Louis XIV., 130. His marriage with a natural daughter of Louis, 136. His character, 137. His rival claimants to the regency, 137. Obtains the abrogation of the will of Louis XIV., 136, 137. Overcomes the pretensions of the Duke du Maine, 139, 140. His toleration, 140, 141. Leaves the Huguenots to their persecutors, 142. His arrangements for foreign relations, 142. Adopts the policy of peace, and the English alliance, 144-147. Discovery of Cellamare's conspiracy, 154. Joins England, and declares war against Spain, 154. State of French finances at this period, 156. 'War to the rich,' 158, 159. Council of regency after the flight of John Law, 179. The Regent's quarrel with the Duke of Bourbon, 179. The Regent's daughter betrothed to the Prince of the Asturias and Don Carlos, 183. His death, 185. His life and character, 186. Philippe (Egalité), Duke of Orleans, his speech at the royal sitting, iv. 396. Exiled to his country-seat, 396. His alterations at the Palais Royal, 396. His recall demanded by the Parliament of Brittany, 397. His club, the Enragés, 407. Riots in the city attributed to him, 412. Dresses as one of the commons, 413. Compelled to leave France, 450. Returned member of the Convention,

PHI

535. Votes the death of Louis XVI., 557. Saved from exile by the Mountain, 557. His arrest voted by the Convention, 574. His trial and execution, 621. His remark to the executioner, 621
- Philip, Don, Parma and Piacenza given to, iv. 246
- Philippa of Hainault, married to Edward III. of England, i. 400. Her mission to Ghent, 408. Her intercession for the six citizens of Calais, 436
- Philippe the actor, refusal of the clergy to bury him, v. 341
- Philipsburg given to the French by the Swedes, iii. 511. Taken by the Imperialists, 512. Reduced by the Prince of Condé, 570. Ceded to France, 576. Taken from them, 694. Captured by the Dauphin, iv. 34. Taken by the Duke of Berwick, who is killed, 205
- Philosophes, persecution of the, by Cardinal Bernis, iv. 269. Their denunciation of religion altogether, 291. Their friends at court, 294
- Philosophy, the, of the age of Louis XIV., iv. 209
- Piacenza taken by Pope Julius II., ii. 437. Ceded to the Milanese, 456. Promised by the Pope to the second son of Francis I., 526. Offered to Charles Emmanuel III. of Sardinia, iv. 228. Given to Don Philip, 246
- Picard, officer of the Paris guard, beaten by Concini, iii. 411
- Picardy, government of, given to John Sans Peur, duke of Burgundy, ii. 52. Ravaged by the Armagnacs, 85. Who are driven out by the Duke of Burgundy, 85. Towns of, join the Duke of Burgundy against the Armagnacs, 122. Condition under Charles VII., 175. Muster of the noblesse against the English, 225. The towns obtained by the Burgundians for two lives, 275. The towns seized by the King of France, on the death of the Duke of Burgundy, 327. Invaded by the English, 478. Government of, taken from Condé and given to Damville, iii. 92. The government given to the Prince of Condé, 173, 175. Condition of the province in the time of Henry III., 175. Formation of the League, 175. Held by Aumale against Condé, 179. Reduced by Henry IV., 313. The Spaniards masters on the coasts and in the towns of, 322
- Piccolomini, General, his successes in the north of France, iii. 513. Advances to the Oise, 513, 514. Defeats a French army near Thionville, 517
- Pichegru, General, appointed to the command of Paris, iv. 671. Attacks and disperses the insurgents and restores quiet in the city, 672. Completes conquest of Holland, 673. Changes his republican views, v. 9. Recalled

PIT

- by the Directory, 10. His complicity in Cadoudal's plot, 114. Arrested, 114. His death, 116
- Picquigny, John de, King's seneschal, his quarrel with the chief inquisitor at Toulouse, i. 337. Supported by the King, 337
- Picquigny, Lord of, joins the Commons, i. 469. His descent, 469, *note*. One of a triumvirate to place Charles of Navarre on the throne of France, 471. Liberates Charles from prison, 471. Slain by the nobles, 486
- Picquigny attacked and taken by Duke Charles of Burgundy, ii. 298. Meeting of Louis XI. and Edward IV. at, 314. Peace of, 314
- Piedmont invaded by Francis I., ii. 536. Visited by Henry II. of France, 599. The coast occupied by Catinat, iv. 41. Nearly the whole reduced by the Duke of Vendôme, 94. Menaced by the French, 235
- Piennes, De, surrenders Théroutanne to Henry VIII., ii. 440
- Pierre, Duke of Bourbon, King John II.'s friendship for, i. 446
- Pierre de Bourgoigne, the Templar, his defence of the order, i. 343. Made away with, 344
- Pierre, St., ceded to France, iv. 287
- Pignerol, fortress of, restored to the Duke of Savoy, iii. 165. Taken by Richelieu, 491. Again restored to Savoy, iv. 59
- Piles, De, the brothers, their bravery before Rouen, iii. 285
- Pilgrimages in the tenth century, i. 85. Those to Jerusalem, at the beginning of the eleventh century, 100
- Piombino and Lucca, duchies of, given to Napoleon's sisters, v. 119
- Pipe, James, the English freebooter, i. 472. Commands the mercenaries in Paris, 479
- Pisa, Councils of, and their work, ii. 76, 437
- Pisa surrendered to Charles VIII., of France, ii. 383. Becomes, after the departure of the French, a bone of contention between Venice and Milan, 403. Failure of the attempts of the French to compel the Pisans to submit to the Florentines, 411
- Pitiaux, insurrection of the, ii. 600
- Pithou, scene between him and the Duke of Aumale, iii. 86
- Pitt, William (afterwards Earl of Chatham), his bootless expeditions on the coast of France, iv. 273. His dislike of continental war, 273. His efforts to found a British colonial empire on the ruins of that of the French, 273. His war and colonial policy, 281. Rejects the proposed mediation of the King of Spain, 283. Breaks off negotiations for peace with France, 283. Resigns, 284. His return to office, 313. Endeavours to form a Northern alliance, 314
- Pitt, William, his proposals to Russia and Austria, v. 119

- Pius II., Pope, obtains the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, ii. 257
- Pius III., Pope, election of, ii. 417
- Pius VII., Pope, signs the treaty of Tolentino, v. 32. Buonaparte's policy towards, 33. Expatriated and sent to Paris, 43. Accepts the Concordat, 105. Present at Napoleon's coronation, 118. Refuses to consecrate Napoleon's bishops, 149. Invasion of his states, 149. Rome annexed to France, 149. His arrest and deportation to Fontainebleau, 149. Permitted to leave Fontainebleau, 218
- Pius IX., Pope, his accession and policy, v. 572, *et seq.* Grows alarmed at the progress of Liberalism, 573. Demands help from the French Assembly, 639
- Pizzighetone, imprisonment of Francis I. in the fortress of, ii. 486
- Place, La, the historian, murdered, iii. 145
- Placemen, vast numbers of, iii. 580
- Plague, vast ravages of the, of 1348, i. 438. Peculiarities of the disease, 438. Its fatality to princesses, 440. Ravages of that of 1418, ii. 126
- Plain, proceedings of the, *see* Convention, Girondists, and Mountain. Members of the, *see* Girondists.
- Plassey, battle of, iv. 275
- Plessis, Seigneur de, charges the Pope, Boniface VIII., with enormous crimes, i. 330
- Plessis, Marshal du, sent to bring the Bordelais to obedience, iii. 601. Left in charge of Paris, 602. His defeat of Turenne at Rethal, iii. 603
- Podenzæ besieged and taken by Raoul de Nesle, i. 309
- Poictiers, defeat of the Arabs at the, i. 16. Compelled to submit to Hugh the Great, 61. Besieged by Hugh Capet, 77. Compelled by Louis the Fat to submit to French suzerainty, 126. Taken by Philip Augustus, 165. Battle of, 463. The city given up to the French, 529, 530. Another kingdom set up at, by Charles the Dauphin, ii. 135. Coronation of Charles VII. at, 148. Persecution of the Protestants of, iii. 18. Taken by St. André from the Huguenots, 67. Besieged by the Huguenots, 105
- Poischwitz, armistice of, v. 204
- Poissy occupied by Edward III. of England, i. 424. Colloquy of, iii. 44
- Poitevins, the, join the League of the Barons, i. 206
- Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a cardinal's hat asked for, iii. 555. His stupidity, 556, *note*
- Poitou, given by Richard I. of England, to Otho of Saxony, i. 162. Placed under the guardianship of Guy de Thouars, 166. Taken from the English by Louis VIII. 198. Given by Louis VIII. to his son Alphonso, 200. Rebellion of the Count de la Marche in, 222, 223. Who is assisted by Henry III. of England, 223. Mode of warfare of the Poitevins, 223. The county reduced by Louis IX., 224. Annexed to the crown by Philip V., 372. Troubles in consequence, 372. Its loyalty to the English, 531. Conquered by the French partisans, 532. Misgovernment of La Tremouille in, remedied by the Dauphin, ii. 205. Reduction of the malcontents of, by Charles VIII., 366. Insurrection of the Huguenots in, iii. 57. Their ascendancy in, 109. Successes of the Huguenots, under La Noue, in, 158
- Pol de Leon, St., taken by the Earl of Cambridge, i. 536
- Pol, St., palace of, fired by the people, ii. 124
- Pol, St., town of, captured by, and recaptured from, the French, ii. 542. Taken by Thémis, iii. 459. His cruelty there, 459
- Pol, Count de St., refuses to attend at the coronation of Louis IX., i. 206. Joins the League of the Barons, 206
- Pol, Count of St., killed at Crecy, i. 428
- Pol, Count de St., deceives and betrays both the King and the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 302. His interview with the King, 303. Invites the English into France, 313. And deceives them at St. Quentin, 313. His treason to his monarch, 316. Flies to the Duke of Burgundy, who gives him up to Louis, 316. His execution, 317
- Pol, Count de St., throws himself into the town of Harfleur, i. 524. Slain, 526
- Pol, Count de St., taken prisoner by the English, i. 536
- Pol, Count de St., in 1411 has command of the royal army, ii. 84. Has recourse to the butchers of Paris, 84. Whom he forms into a cohort, 85. Falls into an ambuscade near Montmartre, 85. Appointed constable in lieu of D'Albret, 87. His daughter married to the Regent Bedford, 186. Makes submission to Charles VII., 211. Joins a league against Louis XI., 266. Leads the advanced guard of the Burgundians to the vicinity of Montlhéry, 270. Defeated, and escapes into the woods, 271. Rejoins the Count of Charolais, 271. Created constable, 275. Sent by Louis XI. to remonstrate against the siege of Liege, 286. Accompanies Louis XI. to the Duke of Burgundy at Peronne, 290. Abets the scheme of marrying the Duke of Guyenne to the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, 297. Seizes Amiens and St. Quentin for the King, 298
- Pol, St., Count de, taken prisoner at Pavia, ii. 485. Defeated and taken prisoner by the Imperialists, 504. Deprecates a battle on Piedmont, 559
- Pol, Count de St., killed by the young Duke of Guise, iii. 310

POL

POP

Pol, Count de St., entrusted with the command of part of the north, iii. 316

Pol, Jacques de St., appointed by Philip IV. governor of Flanders, i. 316. Insurrection of the Flemings against the French, 325. St. Pol defeated by the people of Bruges, 325. Escapes, 325. Killed at the battle of Courtray, 327

Poland invaded by Genghis Khan, i. 218. The Duke of Anjou elected king of, iii. 153. Fall of the kingdom, iv. 144. Death of Frederic Augustus I. of, 201. Rival claimants to the throne, 201. Stanislas elected, but compelled to flee to Dantzic, 203. Its dismemberment, 314. Frederick the Great the plotter and accomplicher of the partition, 315. Seized by Russia during the French Revolution, 603. Two hundred Poles massacred by the Venetians, v. 31. The temporising policy of Napoleon with, 184, 185. Revolution in, 449. Petition in favour of Poland used by the Socialists as an opportunity for insurrection, 620

Pole, Cardinal, acts as mediator at the conference of La Marce, ii. 616

Police of Paris, St. Louis's arrangements respecting the, i. 268

Polignac, Prince de, recommended for office by the Court party, v. 364. Leader of the Sacerdotal party, 374. Endeavours to bring him into the Martignae Cabinet, 375. Receives the seals of office, 380. His appointment a declaration of war against the nation, 381. His cabinet how formed, 383. Guizot's observations on, 383. His reticence on King's address, 384. Governed by the King, 385. His aversion to Villèle, 385. Promises not to acquire territorial possession in Algeria, 386. His carriage pelted, 393. Dismissed, 405, 406. His capture and trial, 422, 429. His condemnation, 430. Amnestied, but banished, 505

Politiques, formation of the party called the, iii. 161

Polotsk, battle of, v. 186

Poltrot, Jean, Sire de Meré, assassinates the Duke of Guise, iii. 73

Polytechnic School, pupils of the, engaged in the revolution of Three Days, v. 430

Pomare, Queen, unable to pay the demands of Admiral Thouars, is taken under the protectorate of France, v. 556. And dethroned, 557

Pombal, Marquis of, iv. 300. His expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, iv. 301

Pompadour, Madame de, her rise, iv. 242, 243. Her unpopularity, 253. Her efforts for peace, 261. Refusal of Frederick the Great to make her Princess of Neuchatel, 262. Obtains the advancement of the Duke de Choiseul, 276. Her antagonism to Frederick the

Great, 289. Her influence in catering to the King's amusements, 297. Obtains the expulsion of the Jesuits, 302. Her death, 303. Her character, 303

Pomponne, M. de, called by Louis XIV. to aid Torcy in the finances, iv. 47

Pondicherry, taken by the English, iv. 275

Poniatowski, defeated by the Archduke Ferdinand in Poland, v. 167

Pons, Madame de, married to the Duke de Richelieu, iii. 600

Pontchartrain, becomes finance minister to Louis XIV., iv. 56. His financial measures, 56. Opposes the succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain, 78. But consents afterward, 80. Replaced in the finances by Chamillard, 84

Pont de l'Hoche, burned by the English, i. 424.

Ponthieu, town of, bought over by Charles V., i. 523

Ponthieu, county of, ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Who takes it from the English, 193

Pontlevoi, battle of, i. 82

Pontoise, taken by John, Duke of Burgundy, ii. 122. Occupied by the English under Henry V., 135. Besieged and taken from the English by Charles VII., 212. Efforts of the English to recover it, 214. Assembly of, of 1561, iii. 43

Popes, condition of their power in the tenth century, i. 78. Its resuscitation in France in the reign of Hugh Capet, 79. Language applied at the Council of Rheims to the Popes of the tenth century, 79. Institution of the mode of electing the Pope by Cardinals, 96. Principle of the Papacy in the modern development of its powers, 98. Mode in which the early Capets received the papal mandates, 98. Death of Pope Gelasius II. at Cluny, 124. Successful efforts of Calixtus II. to establish peace between the Emperor Henry V. and the church, 124, 125. The authority of the Popes established in Languedoc, 200. Effects of Papal interference in France, Germany, and Italy, 200, 201. Condition of the papal edifice in the thirteenth century, 202, 203. The enthusiasm and energy of De Montfort, St. Dominick, and St. Francis, 203. Papal perversion of every principle of morality, and its enmity to political progress, 201-203. Papalendeavours to embroil Christian princes, 217, 218. Struggles of the Popes in the thirteenth century to combine a territorial with a spiritual empire, 253, 254. The Pope proved fallible by the Sarbonne, 361, *note*. Their vassalage under the French kings, 398. Their anxiety to escape from Avignon, 398. Their right to intervention and excommunication abolished by the Diet of Frankfort, 398. Quarrel of

POP

the French princes respecting the rival Popes, ii. 48. Condition of the popedom at the commencement of the fifteenth century, 67. Proofs of a universal dissent and conspiracy against the popedom, 68. Views of the French clergy as to the papacy at this time, 69. Efforts of the University of Paris to suppress the schism, 71. Character and aims of John Gerson, 73. John Huss's denunciation of papal indulgences, ii. 75. Election of three Popes, 76. Convocation of the Council of Constance, 103. The unity of the pontificate restored, 104-107. Their power and emoluments shorn by the Council of Basle, 218. The Popes the great cause of Italian disunion, 377. Their extortions in Germany, England, and France, 514. Reason why the authority of the Popes was flung off in remote countries in the middle of the sixteenth century, 637. Cardinal Amboise's proposed reformation in the mode of electing them, iii. 79. Crimes sanctioned by them in the sixteenth century, 234. Their power and demands at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 394.

Poplinière, La, commands the Huguenot students at Orleans, iii. 66

Porcien, Princess, marries Henry, Duke of Guise, iii. 110

Portales, expatriation of, v. 37

Portland, Bentinck, first Duke of, his secret conference with Marshal Boufflers, iv. 61. Goes to Paris on a mission, 72. His diplomacy, 73

Porto Carrero, Cardinal favours the succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain, iv. 77

Port Royalists, the, iv. 5. Suppressed, 125

Portugal, attempt of Marshal Strozzi to take possession of, iii. 195. Rebellion in, in 1642, 519. War in, in 1704, iv. 92. Invaded by France and Spain, 285. Abject condition of the country under the Jesuits, 299. Expulsion of them by Pombal, 300. Invaded by Junot, v. 152. Royal family leave, and embark for the Brazils, 153. The French expelled from, 156. Differences between Spain and Portugal, 349. Don Miguel's claims to the throne, 349. Struggle between the Cortes and Absolutism, 349. The French expedition against it, 461. *See* Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans.

Pot, Philip, Sieur de la Roche, his eloquence and liberalism, ii. 351. His speech on royalty, 361

Potsdam, tomb of Frederick the Great at, v. 131

Pouancé besieged by the Duke of Somerset, who fails, ii. 214.

Poutvalin, defeat of the English bands at, by Du Guesclin, i. 527

PRI

Power, principle of the balance of, laid down by Henry IV. and his favourite Sully, iii. 365

Poyet, Chancellor, condemned and ruined, ii. 550

Pradt, De, remarkable observation of Napoleon to, v. 192

Pragela, valley of the, ceded to Savoy, iv. 117

Pragmatic Sanction, the, issued by St. Louis, i. 266. Its provisions, 268. Promulgation of the, 217. Abrogated by Louis XI., 257. Its abrogation complained of by the Estates of Tours, 358. Restored and observed by Louis XII., 400. Maintained by Cardinal d'Amboise, 402. Restored by the Parlement, 457. Supported by Spain, iv. 193

Prague, arrival of the French and Bavarians before, iv. 218. Relieved by the Duke of Lorraine, 219. The French left by Frederick alone in the city, 222. Lobkowitz's siege of them, 222. Their stealthy evacuation, 222. Besieged by Frederick the Great, 269. Who defeats Prince Charles there, 269, 270. Treaty of, v. 205

Praguerie, revolt of the, ii. 206. Put down, 207. Reformation of the conspiracy, 209. The demands of the nobles, and the King's answers, 209. His evasions, 210. He takes the field against them, 211. They submit, 213

Prairial, 30th, revolution of the, v. 63

Praslin, Duc de, placed at the head of the foreign office, iv. 313

Praslin, Duc de, murders his wife, v. 577

Précy, De, commands citizens and royalists of Lyons against the Mountain party, iv. 596. Besieged by Convention army, 597. Being defeated is forced to fly, 597. His army destroyed, 598

Presle, Raoul de, persecuted by Charles of Valois for heresy, i. 363

Press, appeals of political parties to the, in 1593, 1594, iii. 308. The freedom of the, restored, iv. 664, 665. Liberty of the, granted by Decazes, v. 290. Law against the, 302. Prosecution of the, 335. Under censorship, 335. Prosecutions of the, 348, 355, 381. Its liberty suspended by the first ordonnance, 391

Priestcraft, aversion to, in the middle of the eighteenth century, iv. 289

Priests, law as against non-juring, 470, 472. Massacre of, by the communes, 525

Prieur de la Côte d'Or, member of Committee of Public Safety, iv. 609

Prieur de la Marne, nominated one of Committee of Government, iv. 678. Appeals to Sansculottes for help, 679. His flight, 681

Primaudière sent by the Synod of Saumur to Henry IV., iii. 337

PRI

Princes of the blood, exceptional position of the, in France, i. 449, 450
 Princeteau, Madame, refuses to become mistress of Louis XVIII., v. 298
 Printers, meetings of the, at Paris, v. 392
 Printing, Chancellor Duprat's ordonnance against, ii. 532. A royal printing office established, 526
 Prisons of Paris, massacres of prisoners confined in, iv. 524
 Pritchard, Mr., and Otaheite, v. 555, *et seq.* Seized by the French, 557. Imprisoned and transported, 557. Indemnified, 558
 Privas, massacre in, and destruction of the town of, iii. 482. The Protestants driven from, iv. 7
 Prociada, John of, takes service under Peter III. of Aragon, i. 285
 Proly, son of Thugut, Austrian minister, imprisoned and executed, iv. 640
 Property, new law for the equal division of, v. 352
 Property-tax, imposition of a, i. 456
 Protestants, French. *See* Huguenots.
 Protestants, German, under the Landgrave of Hesse, defeat the troops of the King of the Romans, ii. 529. Du Bellay sent by Francis I. on a mission to them, 535. Defeated by Charles V., 570. Advance of the Lutherans to a compromise with the Church of Rome, 552. Demands of the Huguenots for aid from the, iii. 57. League of the Protestant princes, and its causes, 373, 374. Henry IV. of France promises to become its protector, 374. Rivalry of the two sects of Protestants in Germany, and its consequences, 375. Causes of the decrease of Protestantism in Germany, 393. War between them and the Catholics kindled, 426. Massacre of them in the Valteline, 428. Successes of the Imperial troops over them, 493. Capture and sack of Magdeburg, 504. Battles of Leipzig, Lutzen, and Nordlingen, 505, 510, 511. Peace concluded with the Emperor, 512. How affected by the treaty of Westphalia, 576. German Protestantism pushed farther north by Louis XIV., iv. 64
 Proudhon, the Socialist, and his extreme principles, v. 633
 Provence, condition of, in the thirteenth century, i. 172. How the clergy were regarded there at that period, 173. The county of, left by Raymond Berenger to his daughter Beatrice, 230. Who marries Charles of Anjou, 230. Queen Eleanor of England's dowry thus lost, 231. Taken possession of by Charles of Anjou, 243. Taken from René II. by Louis XI., ii. 342. Invaded by the Imperialists under the Constable Bourbon, 480. Invaded by the Emperor Charles V., 539. The country ravaged by the French general,

PYR

539. Success of the Huguenots in, iii. 29. Cruelties inflicted on them, 65. Successes of the Huguenots under Damville in, 168. Attempt of Richelieu to abolish the Estates of, 503. Insurrection in consequence, 503. Invaded by Prince Eugène, iv. 98. Invaded by the Austrians under Prince de Lichtenstein, 235-237. Ravaged by them, 237
 Provera, surrenders to the French, v. 18. And again at Mantua, 27
 Provins, meeting of the Estates at, i. 476
 Provisional Government. *See* Government; Napoleon I.
 Provosts, the chief local authorities in towns, in the twelfth century, i. 168
 Prudhommes, the, in the twelfth century, i. 168
 Pruniaux, magistrate of Ghent, leads the White Capes against the Count's party, ii. 17. Beheaded, 18
 Prussia, first symptom given by, of taking the lead in North Germany, iii. 663. Importance of the victory of Fehrbelín, 692. Commencement of lasting enmity between France and Prussia, 704. Prussia erected into a kingdom, iv. 81. Its rise as a European power, 143. Joins England and France against Spain and Austria, 123. Invades Holland, 393. Its defection from the French alliance, v. 199. Prussian invasion of France, *see* Dumouriez; Brunswick, Duke of; Napoleon I.
 Prye, Madame de, mistress of the Regent Bourbon, iv. 187. Her husband refused a Spanish grandeeship, 192
 'Public Law of Europe,' remarkable dialogue on between Casimir Perrier and Baron Werther, v. 460
 Public opinion, appeals of parties to, in 1593, 1594, iii. 308
 Publishing books in the eighteenth century, mode of, iv. 294
 Pucelle, La. *See* Jeanne d'Arc.
 Puisaye, Marquis de, lands at Quiberon, iv. 674. Defeated by General Hoche, 674
 Puisaye, General, defeated by Parisians at Evreux, whom he is despatched to resist, iv. 594
 Puy, Bishop of, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Announces to the Crusaders in Antioch the discovery of the lance which pierced the Saviour's side, 109
 Puymoreau, couronnel of the *pitaux*, ii. 601. Puts the gabelleurs of Saintes and Cognac to death, 601. Lets loose the populace of Bordeaux, 601
 Puyraveau, Andryde, proposes to Lafayette to command the National Guards, v. 403
 Puyssieux, French foreign minister, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 240. His character and policy, 244
 Pyramids, battle of the, v. 48

PYR

Pyrenees, the, settled to be the frontier between France and Spain, i. 247
 Pyrenees, treaty of the, iii. 642

QUADRUPLE Alliance of 1717, formed, iv. 151. Signed by the Emperor, 155. Signed by Spain, 182. Again formed, v. 489, 500
 Quarantaine le Roi, the ordinance of St. Louis so called, i. 225, 249

Quasdanowitsch, General, defeated by Buona-parte, v. 22

Quatre-Bras, battle of, v. 252

Quebec, capture of, iv. 274

Quenisset, attempts to assassinate the Orleans Princes, v. 550

Quentin, St., charter of the Countess of Vermandois granted to, i. 122. Meeting of the French and English armies at, without fighting, 404. Recovered by France, ii. 264. Seized by the Royalists, 298. March of Edward IV. to, 313. His reception there, 313. The town given by Louis XI. to the Duke of Burgundy, 316. Surrenders to Louis XI., 329. Besieged by Philibert Emmanuel and the Imperialists, 624. Defeat of the French at, 625, 626. The town taken by assault, 626. Recovered by treaty, 635

Quercy, insurrection of the, against the mode of raising taxes, iii. 459

Querouailles, Mademoiselle de (afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth), accompanies the Duchess of Orleans to England, iii. 674

Question, Eastern, its history, v. 489, *et seq*

Quetineau, defeated by La Rochejacquelein, iv. 599

Quiberon, landing of *émigré* force at, iv. 674

Quietists, rise of the sect of, iv. 63

Quiervain, dispersion of a Huguenot force at, iii. 130

Quimperlé, taken by Louis of Spain, i. 415. Who is completely defeated by Sir W. Manny at, 415. Surrenders to De Clisson, who murders all the prisoners he takes there, 534. Olivier de Clisson besieged by the Earl of Cambridge in, 536. Capture of, saved by the truce of Bruges, 536

Quinet, release of, by the insurgents, iv. 680

Quintin, procureur of the Paris University, his oration at the meeting of the Estates, iii. 35

Quistello, engagement at, iv. 204

RAAB, battle of, v. 165

Radbod, the Frison, his struggle with Pepin of Heristal, i. 13. His conversation with St. Willibrod, 17

Radstadt, peace of, iv. 119

Raffé, Colonel, killed in the Fieschi plot, v. 495

Railway, the first, in France, v. 523

RAY

Rambouillet, Marquise de, her blue saloon, iii. 554

Rambouillet purchased by Louis XVI., iv. 367. Granted to the Duc de Nemours, v. 509, 523, 524

Ramel, sent to the Temple, v. 36. Murdered at Toulouse, 265

Ramillies, battle of, iv. 95

Ramus, Peter, abetted and supported by Henry II., iii. 6. Murdered, 145

Randon, Chateaneuf de, besieged by Du Guesclin, i. 550

Ranville, Guernon de, succeeds La Bourdonnaye, v. 382

Raoul, or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, marries Emma, sister of Duke Hugh, i. 54. Elected King of France, 54. Reasons for preferring him to Hugh, 55. His quarrel with Heribert of Vermandois, 55. His death, 56

Raoul, Duke of Lorraine, killed at Crecy, i. 428

Rapinat, sent to Switzerland as police minister, v. 45

Rapp, General, his bravery at Austerlitz, v. 124

Raspail, M., leader of Socialist insurrection, v. 621. Imprisoned in Vincennes, 622

Rastadt, peace negotiations at, v. 57. Murder of French deputies at, 58

Ratisbon, diet of, iii. 493, 494. Terms demanded by the diet, 495. Treaty concluded at, 495. Truce of, iv. 26

Raucourt, Mademoiselle de, refused rights of sepulture, v. 240

Raucoux, battle of, iv. 234

Ravaillac, his design, iii. 378. Assassinate Henry IV., 379, 380

Ravenna, the exarchate of, given by Pepin the Bref to the Pope, i. 21. Entrusted by the Pope to the Lombards, 21. The donation of the exarchate confirmed to the Pope by Charlemagne, 25. But the judicial authority and the fiscal rights of a temporal sovereign retained by him, 26. Seized by the Venetians, 499

Ravenna, battle of, ii. 435

Ravenstein, his attack of the Turks in Metelin, ii. 413.

Ravez, assures the King of a Royalist majority, v. 380, 384

Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Provence and Toulouse, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Efficiency of his army of Provençals, 106. His conduct at the siege of Antioch, 108. His invention of the legend of the lance point which pierced the Saviour's side, 109. At the capture of Jerusalem, 111

Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, refuses to undertake to exterminate the Albigensians, i. 175. Against whom a papal crusade is proclaimed, 176. Raymond refused aid by his relative Philip Augustus, 176. His endeavours to make peace with Rome, 177.

RAY

REM

- Excommunicated, 180. At war with the papal party, 181. Repulses De Montfort before Toulouse, 181. Supported by Peter II., of Aragon, 183. All of them defeated at the battle of Muret, 183. Deprived of his possessions by a council, 183. A portion of them given to his son, 184. With his son raises the standard of war, 185. Drives out De Montfort, and regains his capital of Toulouse, 185. Blockaded by De Montfort, 185. Who is killed, and the siege raised, 186. Besieged by Prince Louis (afterwards Louis VIII.), 186. Raymond's death, 186. His body refused burial by Pope Innocent IV., 233
- Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, obtains a part of his deposed father's possessions, i. 184. Raises the standard of war with his father, 185. Who gains Toulouse, 186. Death of his father, 186. Besieged in Toulouse by Prince Louis (afterwards Louis VIII.), who fails to make any impression on its walls, 186. Compels Amaury de Montfort to abandon his claims, i. 197. Offers to submit to all just claims of Rome, 197. Excommunicated by Honorius III., 199. Campaign of military prelates against him, 210, 211. His submission, 211. Appears in arms against Raymond Berenger of Provence, 220. Determines to shake off his yoke, 224. Project of Raymond of Provence to marry his daughter to the Count of Toulouse, 229. Fails to carry out the arrangement, 230. Promises St. Louis to accompany him to the Holy Land, 232. Fails to obtain burial for his father from Innocent IV., 233. Does not fulfil his vow to go to the Holy Land, 243. Witnesses the burning of his subjects for heresy, 243. His death, 243
- Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, gives his daughter Margaret in marriage to Louis IX., i. 216. Eleanor to Henry III. of England, 216. And Sancia to his brother Richard of Cornwall, 220. His project of marrying his daughter Beatrice to Raymond of Toulouse, 229. His death, leaving Beatrice heiress of Provence, 230
- Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, advises the Count of Toulouse to defence against the papal crusaders, i. 177. His cities of Beziers and Carcassonne taken and the people murdered, 178. Overcome by treachery, 179. His imprisonment and death, 180
- Rayneval, M. de, minister of foreign affairs, v. 646
- Realists, their controversy with the Nominalists, i. 135
- Real Presence, controversy as to the doctrine of the, maintained by Berenger of Tours, i. 97
- Reason, Council of, formed iii. 328
- Reason, Goddess of, her worship substituted for the national religion, iv. 635
- Récamier, Madame, vies with Madame Stael in her parties, iv. 667
- Rekurs, M., home minister, v. 618
- Reding, colonel of the Swiss Guards, killed by the mob, iv. 526
- Red Republicans, display the Red Flag and *Bonnet rouge* on the *Place de Bastille*, v. 469. Their insurrection in July, 470, *et seq.* For a continued history of their proceedings, *see* Assembly; Convention; Directory; Napoleon I. and III.; Louis XVIII.; Charles X.; Louis Philippe; Government, Provisional.
- Reform, proposition for electoral, v. 518. Call for, as a remedy for national distress, 579
- Riforme* party stir up the insurrection, v. 589
- Reformation, commencement of the, ii. 511. Reuchlin and Erasmus, 512. Luther, 513. Condition of France in reference to the movement, 514. Formation of a tribunal in Paris for the trial and despatch of Lutherans, 516. Several put to death, 516, 518. Indignation of Francis I. in consequence, 518. Failure or success of the Reformation not due to princes, 570. Its progress in France in the middle of the sixteenth century, 636. Opposition of Henry II., 639. Difference of the Protestant movement in France and England, as well as in the north and south of France, iii. 3
- Regency of Louis, Duke of Anjou, ii. 5. Competitors for the regency after the death of Louis XIV., iv. 137
- Regent, San, conspires against First Consul, v. 99
- Reggio taken by Pope Julius II., ii. 437. Restored to the Duke of Ferrara, 456. Attacked by Lescun, 472
- Regnault, General, killed in the Workmen's insurrection, v. 629
- Regnier, or Ragenerius, Count of Hainault, his opposition to the King, i. 62
- Regnier, Count of Mons, dispossessed and exiled by Archbishop Bruno, i. 63. His son restored to Mons, 63
- Regnier, defeat of, at Maida, v. 135
- Religion, present and former views of, ii. 67, *note*. Decline of pure religious fanaticism in the reign of Henry III., iii. 190. Religious controversy at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 394. Condition of religion at the close of the seventeenth century, iv. 66-69. And in the time of Louis XIV., 209. Measures of the Convention against Religion and Religious Worship, 634
- Religious controversies, character of, i. 99
- Remi, St., Archbishop of Rheims, congratulates Clovis on his victory over the Romans, i. 4. Claims the vase of Soissons, 4. Converts and baptizes Clovis, 4, 5

REM

- Remi, Pierre, tortured and hanged by Philip VI., i. 390
- Rémusat, M., home minister, v. 525
- Renaissance, school and era of the, ii. 509
- Renaud, Count of Boulogne, destroys Philip Augustus's fleet at Dam, i. 188. Defeated and made prisoner at Bovines, 190. Imprisoned in the dungeons of the Louvre, 191
- Renaudie, De la, iii. 18. Summons the Protestants to Nantes, 18. Plans the conspiracy of Amboise, 19. Slain, 20, 21
- René I., d'Anjou (King of Sicily and Jerusalem), Lorraine and Bar bequeathed to, ii. 185. Defeated at Brenneville by the rival claimant, the Count of Vaudremont, 186. His daughter Margaret married to Henry VI. of England, 215. Anjou and Maine ceded to him in consequence, 215. Sum paid to him by Metz, 221. Urges the King of France to turn his arms against the Duke of Burgundy, 222. His death, and his territories confiscated, 342
- René II., Duke of Lorraine, arrested by Duke Charles of Burgundy, ii. 305. Terms of his freedom, 306. Turns against the Duke of Burgundy during the siege of Neutz, 316. Burgundy's vengeance, 316, 317. Joins the Swiss at Morat, where the Duke of Burgundy is defeated, 322. Enters his duchy of Lorraine, and occupies Nancy, 323. Leaves it for Switzerland, whence he returns with an army of Swiss, 323, 324. And defeats Duke Charles, who is killed, 324. His territory of Provence taken from him by Louis XI., 342. Raised up by Anne of Beaujeu as a rival to the Duke of Orleans, 363. Obtains the duchy of Bar, and admitted to the royal council, 363. Joins the league for restoring the authority of the Estates, 366
- René, Count of Nassau, sent by Charles V. to Francis I., ii. 532. His proposals, 533
- Renée, daughter of Louis XII., betrothed to Charles (afterwards Emperor Charles V.), ii. 451. Proposal to marry her to the son of the Marquis of Brandenburg, 464. Married to the Duke of Ferrara, 517. Invites Calvin to Ferrara, 535, *note*
- Rennes, taken by John of Montfort, i. 412. Besieged by Charles of Blois, and capitulates, 413. Opens its gates to the French, 532. Endeavours of Charles V. to induce it to submit to him, 547
- Rente, or loans, forced issue of, iii. 567
- Réole, taken by the English, i. 420
- Republic, the First, its history, iv. 466, *et seq.*
- Republic, the Second, its history, v. 601, *et seq.*
- Republican Parties (Red and Moderate) oppose Louis Philippe and his government, v. 579, 580. Disagreements between the leaders, 580. Yet all agree in denouncing the King, 580. Their banquets prohibited, 583. Expected émeute of, and De Morny's endeavours to pre-

REV

- serve peace, 584. None of the leaders counsel an émeute, 585. Commencement of the Revolution of February, 1848, 586. Progress of the insurrection, 587, *et seq.* Reject the regency, and create a provisional government, 595, 596. Form a second republic, 597, *et seq.* Views and aims of the Socialists and Terrorists, 608, *et seq.* Opposed by Lamartine, 610. Seek to expel the Moderates, 613. Fail in their efforts to coerce the Government, 615. The New Assembly, its constitution, government, &c., 317, *et seq.* Propose to revolutionise other nations, 619. Contest of parties, 620. New Assembly dissolved, but re-established by the Garde Mobile, 620-622. Insurrection of the Ateliers, 625-630. Increase of the Socialists, and their influence, 631. Another insurrection of, put down by Louis Napoleon, 662, *et seq.* Breaking up of these parties, *see* Red Republicans; Mountain; Convention; Directory; Gironde; Napoleon III.
- Republicans, Red, *see* Republican parties
- Republicanism, Moderate, extinguished by Louis Napoleon, v. 638
- Resnel, Marquis of, murdered, iii. 142
- Retz, De, follower of Catherine de Medicis, advises the King as to the Huguenots, iii. 138
- Retz, Cardinal de, becomes confessor to Louis XIII., iii. 433. His character and abilities, 587. Compared with Richelieu and Mazarin, 587. Threatened by the Queen, 588. His popularity, 588. The chief mover in the revolt in Paris in 1649, 592. His opinions respecting constitutional government, 593, 594. His rivalry of Mazarin, 603. His influence over the Duke of Orleans, whom he drives into opposition against Mazarin, 603, 604. Offered by the Queen-regent the place of prime minister, 609. Proposes to slay Condé, 609. Scene between him and the Prince in the Palace of Justice, 610. Attempt of De Rochefoucauld to murder him, 611. Obtains a cardinal's hat, 618. Escapes from assassination numbers of times, 618. Dreaded as a rival by Mazarin, 632. Arrested, 632, 634. His memoirs, 633. Resigns the archbishopric of Paris, and escapes to Rome, 633. His subsequent life, 633
- Reuchlin, his learning and works, ii. 512. Expelled from Cologne, 512. His 'Oculum Speculi' condemned by the University, 513
- Reunion, Edict of, iii. 205
- Reutlingen, treatment of, by Ulrich of Wurtemberg, ii. 465
- Reveillère, La, one of the five directors, v. 5. His character, 5, 6. Opposes Buonaparte in his Roman policy, 34. Establishes sect of Theo-Philanthropists, 35. Is estranged from Carnot, 35
- Reveillon, slander of his factory, iv. 412

REV

Revenue, fines as a source of, in the twelfth century, i. 121. Revenue becomes the great source of government power, ii. 215. Mode of raising the revenue in the time of St. Louis, 260. Contrasted with that of the Kings of England, 260. The revenue of France at the accession of Francis I., 495. The account of revenue and expenditure in 1484, 360. In the time of Francis I., 572. Of Charles V. at the same period, 572, *note*. Arrears and exorbitance of public expenditure at the commencement of the reign of Charles IX., iii. 36. Formation of the Council of Reason, 328. Condition of the finances at the early part of the seventeenth century, 404. Richelieu's fiscal system, 448, 449. Condition of the finances in 1626, 468. Richelieu's mode of dealing with finance, 470. State of the finances on the death of Louis XIII., 562. Their condition in 1654, 635. Burdens upon the revenue in the time of Louis XIV., 656. The revenue and expenditure of 1672 and 1679, iv. 52, 53. And in 1696, 57. Revenue and expenditure at the commencement of the eighteenth century, 85. Revenue and expenditure at the conclusion of the war of the Succession, 121. State of the revenue and expenditure at, in 1713-1719, 156, 157. Amount of the public debt at this time, 158, *note*. The revenue and expenditure in 1748, 249. State of the finances in 1769, 320. The French mode of drawing up financial accounts, 361

Revenues of Charlemagne, i. 26

Revolution of 1789, connection between it and the laws of 1685, iv. 21. The forerunners and promoters of the, 292, 293, 329. How far its course is attributable to fate, 333. Bread riots in the capital, 346. Effects of the assistance given by France to the Americans in promoting the Revolution, 355. Assembly of the Notables, the first actual step towards the Revolution, 381-383. The States General demanded by the Parliament, 390. Which is exiled to Troyes, 391. But recalled, 392. The royal sitting of Parliament, 395. Disturbances of the capital, 396, 397. Revolutionary measures of the people of Dauphiné, 401. Crowding of provincial vagabonds into the capital, 403. The Abbé Sièyes' question, 407. A social revolution that most aimed at in 1789, 409. The first act of revolution, 412. Resistance of the people to the troops, which are withdrawn, 424. Formation of the National Guard, 424. State of the provinces, 430. The royal power annihilated, 445. Legislative acts of the constituent assembly, 450. The flight to Varennes, 458. The executive power declared by the National Assembly to be in their own hands, 459. The Feuillants and Jacobins.

RIC

461. Dissolution of the National Assembly, 465

Revolution of Paris, time of Charles X., v. 393, *et seq.*

Revolution of the 22nd of February, 1848, its history and progress, v. 578, *et seq.*

Revolutionary tribunal, establishment of the, iv. 566, 567. Reorganised, 649. *See Assembly; Convention; Girondists; Mountain Révue retrospective*, publication of the, v. 615

Rewbell, one of the five directors, v. 5. His character, 6

Rhé, island of, devastated by the English, i. 308. Forts against the Rochellois erected in the, 471. Expedition of the Duke of Buckingham to the, 474

Rhethel, defeat of Turenne at, iii. 603

Rheims, cathedral of, ravaged by the Normans, i. 50. Enmity of the Carolingian princes to Adalbero, archbishop of, 67. Power and wealth of the church of, 77. Betrayed by its archbishop, 78. Denunciations of the Papacy uttered at the council of, 79, 81. Claim of Rheims to crown the French monarchs, 92. The church of Rheims defended by Louis the Fat against the Count of Rousi, 114. Coronation of St. Louis at, 206. Council at, summoned by Calixtus II., 124. Treaty of Wartzburg concluded at, 124. The Emperor Henry V. excommunicated at, 125. Rendezvous of the national army of Louis the Fat at, 126. Commercial rights assumed by the citizens approved of by Louis VII., 132. Coronation of Philip Augustus at, 148. His answer to the clergy of, 154. Coronation of John II. at, 447. Coronation of Charles VI. at, ii. 7, 8. Triumphant march of Charles VII. and Jean d'Arc to, 169, 170. Where he is crowned, 170. Coronation of Louis XI. in, 252. Rebellion in the town against the taxes, 256. Punishment of the insurgents, 256

Rheinfelt, battle of, iii. 515

Rhine, Richelieu's views as to the extension of the boundaries of France to the, iii. 505, 511.

The left bank of the, claimed and occupied by Louis XIV., iv. 33. All French conquests on the left bank given up by the French, 62

Rhine, League of the, formed, iii. 640

Rhine, Confederation of the, v. 126

Rhodes conquered and occupied by the Knights Hospitallers, i. 350, 351

Rhue, St., the nouvel apôtre, his atrocities in the Vivarais, iv. 16. Defeated at the battle of Agrim, iv. 41

Riberpré killed by Maréchal d'Ancre, iii. 411

'Rich, War to the,' iv. 169

Richard I. of England, when prince, does homage to Louis VII. for Aquitaine, i. 146. His government of Aquitaine, 155. Becomes heir-apparent, 155. Besieged by Philip Au-

RIC

gustus in Chateauroux, 155. Assumes the Cross, 156. Makes an onslaught upon Toulouse, 156. Makes war on his father, 156. Causes of the war, 156. Takes Le Mans, 157. Besieges his father in Tours, 157. Terms imposed upon his father, 157. Richard's departure for the Holy Land, 158. Takes Messina by storm, 158, 159. Marries Berengaria of Navarre, 159. His arrangement with Philip Augustus, 159. Captures Acre from Saladin, 159. Whom he defeats at Jaffa, 160. Imprisoned by the Duke of Austria and the Emperor of Germany, 160. Ransomed by Queen Eleanor, 160. Takes vengeance on Philip and his brother John, 160. Events of the war between the two monarchs, 161. Captures the military Bishop of Beauvais, 161. Creates Otho of Saxony Duke of Aquitaine and Poitou, 162. Embraces Otho's pretensions to the Empire, 162. Richard's death, 162

Richard III., King of England, got rid of as an enemy of France, ii. 363. Defeated by the Earl of Richmond, 364

Richard, Duke of Normandy, the guardianship of, claimed by King Louis d'Outremer, i. 58. Carried off by Osmond, 58. Given up to the Normans, 59. Marries a sister of Hugh Capet, 61

Richard II., Duke of Normandy, his power and action, i. 87

Richard III., Duke of Normandy, his ascendancy in France, i. 87

Richard, Duke of Cornwall, goes to the Holy Land, i. 219. Ransoms Amaury de Montfort, 219. Marries Sancia of Provence, 220. Accompanies Henry III. to France, 223. Obtains a truce from Louis IX., 223. Demands the restoration of Normandy from St. Louis, 232. Elected Emperor of Germany, 246. Accompanies his nephew, Prince Edward, to France, 257. His son Henry killed at Viterbo, 278

Richelieu, Plessis de, grandfather of the Cardinal, iii. 27. Commands the royal guard of Francis II., 27. His character, 28

Richelieu, Armand Duplessis de, Bishop of Luçon (afterwards Cardinal), his speech in the Estates on behalf of the clergy, iii. 405. Account of him, 405, 406. His address, 406. Becomes *secrétaire des commandemens* and almoner to Queen Anne of Austria, 409. Sent on a mission to the Prince of Condé, 410. Appointed secretary of state, 413. Accompanies the Queen to Blois, 416. Establishes the Conseil d'en haut, 419. Exiled to Avignon, 421. Returns to the Queen at Angoulême, 423. Brings about an accord between her and the court, 423. Advises a discontinuance of the war with the Huguenots, 433. Introduced to the council by La Vieue-

RIC

ville, 442. Commencement of his power, 443. Its nature at first, 443, 444. His despotic and secular tendencies, 445. His friend, Du Tremblay (afterwards Père Joseph), 446. Supports a matrimonial alliance between France and England, 447. Arranges a treaty between France and England for aiding the Dutch, 447. His active measures, 448. Causes the imprisonment of La Vieueville, 448. And becomes sole minister, 448. His fiscal system, 448, 449. His foreign policy, 449. Sends an army to the Valteline, 450, 451. Conclusion of the treaty with England, 451. Richelieu's tortuous policy, 452. Backs out of his engagement with Mansfelt, 452. Consequences of his breach of promise, 453. Lays the blame of the failure of the Italian expedition to the Huguenots, 454. Sends private promises to the Huguenots, 462. The Valteline given up in spite of him, 463. Conspiracy to assassinate him, 465. Adopts the King's public policy, 467. His scheme of naval supremacy, 468. His mode of dealing with finance, 470. His prohibition of duelling, 471. His dyke at La Rochelle, 476. Sends an envoy to Gustavus Adolphus, 476. His determination to take La Rochelle, 477, 478. Which surrenders to him, 479. Marches with the King into Italy, 480, 481. Turn their arms against the Huguenots, 481. Arranges a treaty of peace with the Huguenots, 483. The only system of government he could imagine, 485. The Queen-mother's open hostility to him, 487. His aims, 487. And intentions of humbling the house of Austria, 487, 488. Cardinal Berulle pitted against him, 488. Subsidises Gustavus Adolphus, 489. Declared prime minister and lieutenant-general, 490. Marches into Italy, 490. Trap laid for him, 491. Takes Pignerol, 491. His stormy interview with Mazarin, 491. Who brings about peace, 492. Endeavours of the Queen-mother to ruin Richelieu in the King's estimation, 497. Scene in the Queen's apartments, 499. Richelieu dismissed by the King, 499. Who restores him to power the same day, 500. Induces the King to get rid of the Queen-mother and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, 501. Richelieu's declaration respecting the affair, 502. Crushes both the noblesse and the Estates of the provinces, 502, 503. His subsidies to Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Bavaria, 505, *note*. Advances eastward towards the Rhine, 505. And invades Lorraine, 505. His views as to carrying the boundary of France to the Rhine, 506. Revolt of the provinces of the south, 506. Richelieu procures the condemnation and execution of Maréchal Marillac, 507. His reasons for

RIC

and against the execution of the Duke de Montmorency, 509, 510. Accepts Oxeustien's offers, and marches to the defence of German independence, 511. Successes of the House of Austria, 512. Richelieu concludes an alliance with Holland, 512. Disastrous campaign of 1636, 513. Obtains succours from Paris, 514. Plot to assassinate him, 514, 527. Secures Alsace to France, 516. Re-establishes French power in North Italy, 517. His efforts against the Spanish Low Countries, 517. Undertakes the commissariat himself, 517. His successes in Roussillon and Catalonia, 518, 519. His conquest of Artois, 520, 521. His services to his country, and tyranny, 521. His enormous expenditure, 523. His patronage of letters, 526. His jealousies, 526, 527. His severity to Queen Anne, 527, 528. And to Madame de Chevreuse and Chancellor Châteauneuf, 528, 529. Humiliates the Queen, 530. His treatment of the courtiers and grandees, 532. Formation of a league against him, 533. Marches into Catalonia, 536. His illness and despair, 537. Repairs to Tarascon, 537. Obtains a copy of the treaty of Cinq Mars with Spain, 538. His interview with the King at Tarascon, 539. Causes Cinq Mars and De Thou to be executed, 540. His diseases, and mistrust, 539, 540. His death, 541. And character, 544

Richelieu, Marquis de, brother of the Cardinal, killed in a duel, iii. 423

Richelieu, Duke de, marries Madame de Pons, iii. 600

Richelieu, Duke de, his villany, iv. 256. His persecution of the Huguenots, 256. Drives away Admiral Byng, and takes Port Mahon, 264. Obtains the capitulation of the English at Klooster-Seven, 270. Which he allows to evaporate, 272

Richelieu, Duke de, succeeds Talleyrand, v. 269. Gains the support and confidence of the Allied Powers, 291. Goes to Aix to meet other plenipotentiaries, 292. Succeeds in getting the evacuation of French territory, 292. His temporizing policy induces resignation of Decazes, 293. Resigns, 294. Requested by the King to form another ministry, 294. His difficulties, 295. His failure to form a ministry, 295. His resignation in 1821, 313

Richepanse, General, cuts off retreat of Austrians at Hohenlinden, v. 89

Richmond, Arthur, Earl of. *See* Arthur

Rieussec, Colonel, killed in the Fieschi plot, v. 495

Rieux, Marshal de, endeavours to promote a marriage between Anne of Brittany and the Count d'Albret, ii. 370. Withdraws from court, 370. But won over to the view of Henry VII., 371

ROB

Rieux, Count of, strikes the Prince of Condé, iii. 629

Rights of Man, Robespierre's, iv. 576

Rignyde, minister of marine, v. 381

Rimini, seized by the Malatestas, ii. 499

Rincon, envoy from France to Turkey, killed, ii. 552

Rio Seco, battle of, v. 153

Riom, castle of, invested by Charles of Valois, i. 309

Ripperda, Duke de, sent on a mission from Madrid to Vienna, iv. 191. Reconciles the two courts, 191. His views, 191. Falls into disgrace, 198

Rivière, La, minister to Charles VI., ii. 40. Murdered by Captain Jacqueville, 99, *note*

Rivoli, battle of, v. 26, 27

Roberjist, French plenipotentiary, murdered, v. 58

Robert I., the Devil, Duke of Normandy, his rebellion, and murder of his brother Richard III., i. 87, 88. His magnificence and chivalry, 88. His endeavours to aid the Anglo-Saxons against King Canute, 88. Prepares a naval expedition against England, 88. His death on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 90, 101

Robert II., Duke of Burgundy, his son killed at Mons la Puelle, i. 334

Robert II., son of Hugh Capet, educated by Gerbert, i. 63, 80. Crowned and associated with his father in the kingdom, 78. Liberates Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims, 80. His character as a ruler, 80, 81. Compelled to divorce his queen Bertha, 81. Marries Constance of Aquitaine, 81. His war in Burgundy, assisted by the Normans, 81. Lays siege to Auxerre, but fails to reduce it, 81. Acquires the town of Sens, 81. Gives his sister in marriage to the Count of Nevers, 81. New ideas and new movements of this reign, 82. Inauguration of the persecution of heretics, 86. His sufferings from the tyranny of the clergy and of his wife, 87. His death, 87

Robert the Frison, Count of Flanders, his victory over the French and Normans, i. 99. Joins the first Crusades, 104. At the capture of Jerusalem, 111.

Robert, Count of Flanders, the English subsidy to, refused by Henry I. of England, i. 118. Slain at Meau, 118

Robert III., Count of Flanders, his defence of Lille, i. 312. Defeated by Charles of Valois, 316. Goes with his father to Paris, where they are treacherously imprisoned by Philip IV., 316. Liberated from prison, and restored to his country, 334. *See* also Guy Robert de Dampierre. Refuses to do homage to Louis X. on his accession, 364. His son, the Count of Nevers, well received by Louis, 364. Supported by Bruges in his resistance to France,

ROB

372. Makes terms with France, 372. His death, 378
- Robert Guiscard, King of Naples, besieges Amalfi, i. 106. Determines to join the Crusades, 106
- Robert, second son of Louis VIII., receives Artois as his appanage, i. 200. Marries the daughter of the Duke of Brabant, 217. Compelled to refuse the Pope's offer of the imperial crown, 218. At the investiture of the Count of Poitou, 221. Assumes the Cross, 228. At the battle of Mansourah, 234, 235. Killed there, 236
- Robert, younger son of Robert II., his rebellion, i. 87. Obtains the duchy of Burgundy, 87
- Robert the Strong, entrusted by Charles the Bald with the defence against the Normans of the region between the Seine and Loire, i. 47. Created by Charles, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, 47, 48. Becomes count of Anjou, 47, 48. His death, 48
- Robert, brother of King Eudes, submits to Charles the Simple as his suzerain, i. 52. Governs the duchies of Paris and Orleans, 52. Promotes peace with the Normans, 52. Becomes godfather to Rollo the Norman, 53. Reclaims the crown of France, 54. Crowned king in Rheims, 54. Slain in battle near Soissons, 54
- Robert Short Hose, Duke of Normandy, defeated by his brother Henry I. of England, at Tinchebray, i. 117
- Robert, Count of Artois, commands for the imprisoned Prince of Salerno, i. 300. Takes Agosta, 300. Puts an end to English resistance in the south of France, 309
- Robert, Count of Artois, defeats the Flemings at Furnes, i. 314. His offer on behalf of the French nobles, of their lives and substance in defence of the King's privileges against the Pope, 323. Death of the grandson of the Count of Flanders in his keeping, 326. Marches against the Flemings at Courtray, where he is defeated and killed, 327
- Robert, Count of Artois (son of the preceding), claims his heritage, i. 369. Submits to a trial of his claim by his peers, 369. Constitutes himself a prisoner in Paris, 369. Marries the daughter of Charles of Valois, 393. Goes to England and becomes the companion of Edward III., 393, 395. Found guilty of forgery, and deprived of his estates, 395. Accompanies Edward in his expedition to Scotland, 395. State of the relations between England and France after Robert's residence in the former, 405, 406. Joins Edward in his invasion of France in 1340, 410. Pillages and devastates St. Omer, 410. Defeated and routed there, 410. Despatched by Edward with a fleet and army to Brittany, 415. Besieged in Vannes, 416. Mortally

ROB

- wounded there, 416. Buried in St. Paul's, 416. His sons liberated, 446
- Robert, Count of Clermont, youngest son of St. Louis, i. 272. His acquirement of Bourbon by marriage, and foundation of the Bourbon royal family, 272. Loses his reason at a tournament, 272, 298
- Robert, Count of Normandy, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Passes over into Asia, 107. Leads the advance at Antioch, 109. At the siege and capture of Jerusalem, 111.
- Robert of Paris, his death at the siege of Nicea, i. 108
- Robespierre, his republican principles, iv. 444, 460. Withdraws to escape arrest, 461. Becomes a member of the Legislative Assembly, 468. His modest opinion of himself, 475. Gains popularity by denouncing the court, 475. Rousseau, his model, 475. Bred a lawyer, his master advises him provincial practice, 475. His character and abilities, 475, 476. Madame de Stael calls the colour of his veins 'green,' 476. Embraces Dumouriez, 482. Denounces Lafayette, 483. Mocks the reconciliation of parties in the Assembly, 501. Welcomes the Federals, and urges their taking the oath to the king of nature, 502. Pointed out as the dictator to Barbaroux, 599. Refuses to listen to Pétion on the dethronement of the King, 509. His violence in the Assembly, 519. Intimidates the members, 519. Countermands humane measures of the Assembly, 519, 520. Directs the communes to suspend the courts, and to erect a revolutionary tribunal, 521. Choses a cabinet at a tavern opposite the guillotine, 522. Denounces a conspiracy in favour of the Bourbons, 523. Places Brissot and the Gironde in the category of *suspects*, 523. Returned member of the Convention, 535. Denounces the Gironde, 537. Defends his conduct as to the dictatorship, 539, 540. Accused by Louvet, 541. Lies hidden during revolution of August 10, 541. Objects to trial of Louis XVI., but proposes his execution, 547. Proposes a plan for public education, 557. Denounces Dumouriez, 565. Recommends a vigorous executive, 566. Proposes to march on the Convention and slaughter the Girondists, 567. Proposes the *Comité de Salut Public*, 570. Accuses the Gironde as accomplices of Dumouriez, 574. Brings forward his Rights of Man, 576. Denounces the Girondists in the clubs, 581. Sends Marie Antoinette to the scaffold, 604, *et seq.* The new constitution of the republic, 606, *et seq.* Member of the Committee of Public Safety, 609. Impresses his spirit on the committee, 610. Urges the Communes to sanguinary measures, 611. Dreams of nothing but plots against the Convention,

ROB

613. Changes his sentiments as to the sanguinary measures of the Mountain, 618. Wishes to spare Lyons, but overruled, 619. His hatred of Philip Egalité, 621. Establishes a bureau of police, 630. Carnot's account of his proceedings, 630. His measures qualified by humanity, 631. Rescues Danton, 633. His religious views, and measures, 633. Disapproves of the measures of Hébert and his colleagues for suppression of religion, 635. Advises that republican generals should not be executed, 635. Denounces diatribes of Desmoulins, and yet befriends him, 638, 641. His enmity to Danton, whom he sacrifices with Desmoulins to the Cordeliers, 641. Execution of the Dantonists, 644. Pays his addresses to Duplay's daughter, 644. Rejoices over the death of Danton, 645. Though a friend of Desmoulins, yet sends him to the scaffold, 645. Attempted assassination of, 647. Obtains a decree for dethroning the Goddess of Reason, 647. Proclaims the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, 647. Deserted and menaced by his colleagues, 647, 648. Reorganises the tribunal, 649. His alliance with Madame Theot, 650. St. Just demands dictatorship for, 652. His defence before the Convention, 653. His speech to the Jacobins on state of affairs in the Convention, 654. Disputes in the Convention lead to his being denounced and arrested, 649, *et seq.* Rescued by Henriot, but re-arrested, 657, *et seq.* Attempts suicide, but fails, 659. Tried and executed, 659. With his fall, the Reign of Terror ends, 659. His character and admirers, 659. Principles of his government, v. 453

Robespierre, the Younger, his atrocities at Toulon, iv. 625. Gets himself included in the proscription and arrest of his brother, 657. Released by the communes, 657. Re-arrested, and commits suicide, 659

Rochambeau, sent with an army to America, iv. 359

Roché Maille, La, conflict between the Huguenots and Catholics at, iii. 104

Roché-sur-Yon, La, besieged by De Clisson, i. 534

Rochefort, the Huguenots besieged in, iii. 109. Failure of an English attempt on, iv. 273

Rochefort, Marquis of, sent to threaten Utrecht, iii. 679. Captures Naarden, 679

Rochefoucauld, Duke de la, secured by De Retz, iii. 592. Demands Mazarin's exile, 593. Coldly received at court, 599. Joins the Princess of Condé in Bordeaux, 602. Has an interview with Mazarin in his camp, 602. His treatment of De Retz in the Palace of Justice, 611. His frequent attempts to cause the cardinal's assassination, 618. Wounded

ROD

in the fight between Condé and Turenne, 624. Banished from Paris, 632

Rochefoucauld, Duc de la, chief stay of the Feuillants, iv. 472. Bribes the journals to support the government, v. 335. Receives indemnity money, 346. His death, 359. Founds college at Chalons, 359. Disturbances at his funeral, 359

Rochefoucauld, Count de la, murdered, iii. 142

Rochefoucauld, Count, acts as pimp to Louis XVIII., v. 298

Rochefoucauld, Cardinal de la, dissuades violence against Marie de Medicis, iii. 423

Rochéjacquelein, Marquis de la, death of, v. 251

Rochéjacquelein, La, gains the battle of Les Aubiers, iv. 599. His death, 673

Rochelle, La, King John of England lands at, i. 166. Taken from the English by Prince Louis (afterwards Louis VIII.), 186. A force landed by King John at, to aid Otho IV., 189. Taken from Henry III. by Louis VIII., 198. Reluctance of the people to re-become English, 496. Defeat of the English fleet under the Earl of Pembroke at, 529. Its privileges confirmed by Louis XI., ii. 255. Turbulence of the people of, 555. Causes of their grievances, 555. Becomes the headquarters of the Huguenot party, iii. 101. The future Henry IV. presented to the people of, 102. The chief refuge of the Huguenots, 151. Failure of Strozzi's attempts on it, 151. Besieged by the Duke of Anjou, 152. Treaty of, 154. Discovery of Catherine de Medicis' plot for seizing the town, 157. Quarrels of the ministers and citizens with the Prince of Condé, 186. Refuses to pronounce the name of Henry IV., or follow his cause, 260. Determination of the Huguenots of, 396. Rebellion of the Rochellois, 430. Blockaded by the Duke of Epemnon, 441. Plan of the Rochellois for hostilities against the King, 434. Treated as a beleaguered city by Thoiras, 454. Demands the abolition of an obnoxious fort, 462. Non-performance of the conditions stipulated for by England, 471. Message sent by the Rochellois to England, 471. Preparations of the King to attack them, 473. Diversion of the English under Buckingham, 474, 475. Civil commotions in the town, 475. Surrounded by lines of circumvallation, 475. Richelieu's dyke, 476. Failure of English succour, 478. Surrender of the city, 479. The Protestants driven from, in 1657, iv. 7. A military conspiracy at, v. 315. The Four Sergeants of, 316

Rocroy, battle of, iii. 557

Rodney, Admiral, recaptures Gibraltar, iv. 358. His defeat of Count de Grasse, 367

Rodolph, the Norman, establishes himself in Beneventum, i. 86

ROD

- Rodolph of Hapsburg, elected emperor of Germany, i. 284
- Rodolph II., the Blind, Count Palatine, engages to assist Edward III. of England, i. 400
- Rœderer, M., warns the Assembly as to their conduct towards the mob of the 20th of June, iv. 491. Advises Mandar to attend the municipality, 511. Urges the King to escape, 513. Accompanies the King and royal family to the Assembly, 513
- Roger Trencavel, claims Beziers and Carcassone, i. 220. Defeated by John of Beauvais, 220. Promises St. Louis to accompany him to the Holy Land, 232
- Roguet, General, attacks the Lyonese, v. 455. Defeated by the insurgents, 455
- Rohan, Duke of, makes war upon his sovereign, Anne of Brittany, ii. 370
- Rohan, Henry, Duke de, his Huguenot policy, iii. 395. Plot for depriving him of the government of St. Jean d'Angely, 396. Induces the Huguenots to intercept the King on his return with his bride, 408. His firmness to the Huguenot cause, 430. His activity against the royalist commanders, 459. Brings about a peace between the Royalists and the Huguenots, 482. Left to his fate in the Valteline, 515. Holds Angers against the Mazarinians, 618. Driven out by Hocquincourt, 618. Banned from Paris, 632. Louis XIV.'s treatment of him, iv. 17
- Rohan-Guéméné, Duke of, his bankruptcy, iv. 376. Arrested by Valençay, 441
- Rohan, Chevalier de, executed for treason, iii. 694
- Rohan, Cardinal, his letters respecting Maria Theresa and Poland, iv. 376. His political ambition, 377. His faith in Cagliostro, 377. His mistress, Madame de Lamothe, 377. The *collier*, or necklace, 377, 378. Owns his culpability to the King, 379. His trial, 379
- Roland, Count of the Breton frontier, death of, i. 27
- Roland, M., appointed minister of the interior, iv. 481. Displeases the King by his uncouthness, 481. Subdued by the blandness of the King, 482. Urged to activity by his wife, 482. Distrusts Dumouriez, 483. Dismissed by the King, 486. Joins in the manifesto to the King, 487. His insulting, though warning, letter to the King, 487. Reinstated as a minister by the Assembly, 518. Marat proposes his arrest, 523. Endeavours to save the prisoners at Versailles, 529. Presents his report on Paris, 541, 545. Gets possession of secret papers of Louis XVI., 548. Resigns his ministry, 561. Arrest of, 585. Commits suicide at Rouen, 622
- Roland, Madame, her hatred of the court, iv. 482. Her influence over her husband and the

RON

- Gironde, 482. Her insulting, though warning, letter to the King, 487. Committed to the Abbaye, 585. Her execution, 621. Her exclamation on the statue of Liberty, 622
- Roliça, battle of, v. 156
- Rollo I., the Norman, obtains the duchy of Normandy from Charles the Simple, i. 52. Baptized at Rouen, 53
- Romagna, the, reduced by Cæsar Borgia, ii. 406, 411. The chief towns of, taken by the Venetians, 426. Recovered by Julius II., 431. Taken by the Austrians, v. 459
- Roman law, revival of the study of the, i. 170. Taught in the French schools at the beginning of the thirteenth century, 194. The civil law forbidden by the Pope to be taught in Paris, ii. 71
- Rome besieged by the Lombards under King Aistulph, i. 21. Relieved by King Pepin the Bref, 21. Confusion consequent on this event, 23. Besieged by the Lombards under Desiderius, 24. Visited by Charlemagne, 25. St. Peter's burnt by the Saracens, 43. Pilgrimages to Rome in the tenth century, 85. Entry of Charles VIII. into, 385. Condition of the city in 1503, 417. Pillaged by the Colonna faction, 496. Sack of the city by the soldiers of the Constable Bourbon, 498. Buonaparte arrives at, despoils the city, and sends the spoils to Paris, v. 32. Treaty of Tolentino, 32. Insurrection of Republicans at, 43. Republic formed at, 43. General Cavaignac sends an army to, in aid of the Pope, 639. Besieged by General Oudinot, 640
- Rome, King of, birth of, v. 178
- Rome, Church of, nothing taught by the, i. 172. Its sole guide in its decisions, 173. Its view of heresy, 173. Legacies to the Church universally considered as a duty, 175. Its complete triumph over the unfortunate Toulousans, 210-212. Its establishment of the Inquisition, 212. Its endeavours to embroil Christian princes, 218. Selfishness and worldliness of the, 239. A crusade against the Emperor Conrad IV., 239. Benefits conferred upon France by the Church, 311. Vindictive and profane policy of the Church, 312. Aversion for Rome throughout Europe, 312. *See also* Popes
- Romme, one of the Mountain, arrested and commits suicide, iv. 679, 681
- Romont, Count de, driven by the Swiss out of the Pays de Vaud, ii. 318
- Romorantin, Edict of, issued, iii. 25
- Roncesvaux, defeat of Charlemagne at, i. 27
- Ronsard, the poet, opposes the iconoclasts, iii. 59, *note*
- Ronsin, republican, sent to command in La Vendée, iv. 601. Denounced by Phelippeaux, 638. Arrested, 640. Executed, 640

ROO

Roosebecque, battle of, ii. 27, 28
 Roque, La, fortress of, taken by the French, and its garrison put to the sword, ii. 405
 Ros, Lord de, slain at the battle of Beaugé, ii. 138
 Rosas captured by the Duke de Noailles, iv. 48
 Rosbach, battle of, iv. 271
 Rosny, Sieur de, ejected from the sittings of the council of finance, iii. 316. In the Spanish army, 317. His collection of arrears of revenue, 326
 Rossignol, republican general, assists in getting up the insurrection of June 20, iv. 490. Commands in La Vendée, 601. Denounced by Philippeaux, 638
 Rothière, La, battle of, v. 219. Napoleon heads his Young Guards at, 219
 Rotopschin, governor of Moscow, burns the city, v. 189
 Rotterdam, insurrection of, iii. 129
 Roturiers, their elevation into the class of nobles stopped, i. 358. Origin of their name, 358
 Rouault, Maréchal, prevents the Burgundians from entering Paris, ii. 270
 Rousy, castle and count of, taken by mercenary free corps, i. 486
 Rouen, invaded by the Normans, i. 46. The Emperor Otho repelled from, 59. Besieged by Louis VII., but relieved by Henry II., 147. Unsuccessful attempt of Philip Augustus on, 160. The city afterwards taken by him, 165. Muster of his fleet at, for the invasion of England, 187. Liberties granted by, or sanctioned to, the people of, by Philip the Hardy, 296. Rout of the militia of, by the English, 429. Refuses an aide to John II., 456. The suburbs burned by the English under Henry of Lancaster, 459. Takes the part of the commonalty, 475. Insurrection against the tax-gatherers, ii. 22. The sedition put down, and the place treated as a captured city, 22. Insurrection of the citizens under Alain Blanchard, 122. Reduced to obedience by Charles, the dauphin, 122. Besieged by Henry V. of England, 127. Surrendered to him, 128. Henry V.'s Christmas at, 135. Execution of Jeanne d'Arc at, 180. The court of the Regent Bedford kept at, 184. The castle surprised by the partisan Ricarville, and the English displaced, 186. The place regained by the Regent, 186. Dunois twice appears before the town, 226. Which is disgracefully capitulated by the Duke of Somerset, 226. Charles VII.'s solemn entry into it, 226. Sum granted by the Estates to Louis XI., 256. The castle delivered up to the League by the widow of the Seneschal De Brezé, 274. Entry of Charles, Duke of Normandy, 276. Besieged

ROY

by Louis XI., and Charles compelled to surrender, 277. Declares for the Huguenots, iii. 57. Besieged and pillaged by the army of Charles IX., 69. Disturbances between the Catholics and Protestants, 115. Massacre of the Huguenots, 149. Captured by the Royalists, 264. Besieged by Henry IV. at the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth, 280, 282. March of the Prince of Parma to raise the siege, 283. The notables assembled by Henry IV., 327. Assembly of notables again, 417. Taken by Louis XIII., 424. Taken from Madame de Longueville, 601. The railway to, the first in France, v. 523
 Rouher, M., minister of justice, v. 646
 Rousseau, J. J., his attacks on government corruption, iv. 293. Impulse given by him to the Revolution, 293. Breaks with his brother philosophers, 295. His readers, noble and ignoble, 296
 Roussi, Count of, compelled by Louis the Fat to submit to the church of Rheims, i. 114
 Roussillon acquired by Louis XI., ii. 259. War with Aragon respecting it, 307. The province evacuated by the French, 307. Ceded to Ferdinand V. of Spain, 376. Failure of Louis XII. to reduce, 418. Invaded by the French, 553. Attempts of Condé to conquer it, iii. 517. Surrenders to the French, 519. Definitively ceded to France, 643
 Roussin, Admiral, takes possession of Portuguese fleet, v. 461
 Roussin, M., minister of marine, v. 525
 Rouvray, battle of, ii. 158
 Roux, constitutional priest, refuses to take charge of Louis XVI.'s will, iv. 555
 Rovere, Cardinal de la (afterwards Pope Julius II.), urges Charles VIII. of France to the conquest of Naples, ii. 381. See Julius II., Pope
 Roveredo, battle of, v. 23
 Roy, Count, supersedes Corvetto as finance minister, v. 294. Chosen minister, 298. Opposes the Five per Cent. Bill, 345. Becomes finance minister, 366. His management honest, 372. Refuses to take office under Polignac, 380
 Royalists, their treatment of imperialist generals, v. 310. Their general policy on gaining power, 310, *et seq.*
 Royalty, Philip Pot's speech on, ii. 361. Abolished by the Convention, iv. 536
 Roye, town of, burned by Sir R. Knollis, i. 526. Ceded to Philip III. of Burgundy, ii. 192. Secured by the Burgundians, 275. Occupied by Duke Charles of Burgundy, 301. Taken by the English, 479
 Royer-Collard, his speech on new law of elections, v. 304. Opposes the law of Septenniality, 331. Opposes the indemnity to the émigrés, 344. Opposes the Loi d'Amour, 357.

RUB

- Chosen president of the chambers by the King, 369. Reads the address of chambers, 385. Stigmatises the ministry of Casimir Périer, 472. Raises his voice against the press laws of September, 496
- Rubempré, Bastard of, his attempt on the life of the Count of Charolais, ii. 264, 265
- Rubempré, Catholic chief, his demands as a member of the League, iii. 184
- Rudolph of Hapsburg, Emperor of Germany, marches an army to Besançon, i. 310. His death, 310
- Rudolph II., Emperor of Germany, his intolerance, iii. 374. Espouses the cause of Saxony in the affair of Cleves, 374
- Ruremonde captured by Marlborough, iv. 86
- Rue, town of, bought over by Charles V., i. 523. Recovered by France, ii. 264
- Rue, De, agent of Charles II. of Navarre, put to death by Charles V. of France, i. 544
- Ruel, treaty of, iii. 596
- Ruelle, burned by the English, i. 424
- Russia, rise of, to be an empire, iv. 143. Menaces of, to England, 148. Declines neutrality in the Seven Years' War, 265. Defeat of the Russians at Zorndorf, 279. Their expulsion from Brandenburg, 269. Defeat the Prussians at Kunersdorf, 280. Mistake of bringing Russia and its armies into the centre of Europe, 314. Seizure of Poland, 603. For continued history of Russia, and its invasions, *see* Directory; Napoleon I.; Louis XVIII.
- Rustic population, the, compared with the civic, in political organisation, ii. 353
- Ruyter, De, his death, iii. 695
- Ryswick, peace of, iv. 60

- S**AARBRUCK, principality of, claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 23
- Saarlouis retained by the French by the peace of Ryswick, iv. 63
- Saarvelden, principality of, claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 23
- Sablé, treaty of, ii. 369
- Sacerdotal party, led by Prince Polignac, v. 374
- Sacerdotalism, Catholic, struck by Buonaparte, v. 91
- Sackville, Lord George, his conduct at Minden, iv. 279
- Sacrilege, new law of, v. 342, 343
- Safety, Committee of Public, iv. 570, 609
- Sague, La, seized, iii. 29. Discloses the plans of the Huguenots, 29
- Sailors, quarrel between French and English, i. 306
- Saintes, victory of St. Louis at, i. 224. Castle of, burned by Philip VI. 392. Salt insurrection at, ii. 601

SAL

- Saisons, Des*, society of conspirators, discovered by Gisquet, v. 516, 517
- Saladin, Sultan, defeats the Christians at the battle of Tyberiad, and captures Jerusalem, i. 155. Surrenders Acre to the Crusaders, 159. Defeated by Richard I. at Jaffa, 160
- Salamanca, battle of, v. 185, 206
- Salces taken by Condé, iii. 517. And retaken by the Spaniards, 517
- Saligny defeats Maligny and the Huguenots, iii. 29
- Salic Law, established in France, i. 370. Grounds for this exclusion of females from the succession, 370. Its consequences to France, 407, 408
- Salisbury, William Long-Épée, Earl of, destroys the fleet of Philip Augustus at Dam, i. 188. Defeated and made prisoner at Bovines, 190. Accompanies Henry III. to France, 223. Joins St. Louis in the Fifth Crusade, 232. At the battle of Mansourah, 234, 235. Killed there, 236
- Salisbury, Earl of, relieves Brest, 535
- Salisbury, Thomas Montacute, Earl of, attentions paid to his wife by the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 147. Defeats the Constable of France at Crevant, 149. Reduces the small towns on the Loire, and joins the Duke of Bedford before Orleans, 155, 156. Killed, 156
- Sallandrouze, M., moves an amendment to address in the chambers (1847), v. 528
- Salt, the gabelle, or tax on, taken off by Philip the Long, i. 376. Gabelles and store-houses of, established by Philip of Valois, 418. The duties on, in 1542, ii. 555, 556. Insurrection in the salt districts, 599. The duties in 1774, iv. 338. Enquiries of Necker into its operations, 362. Repealed, 470. Reimposed, v. 60. Clamour against it, 611. Abolished, 616
- Salt mines of Wielitz, handed over to Alexander of Russia, v. 168
- Salpêtrière, massacres at the, iv. 528
- Saluzzo, Marquis of, commands a French army before Naples, ii. 417. Defeated and compelled to surrender, 418. Sent by Francis I. with a small army to Italy, 495. Raises the siege of Naples, 504. Entrusted with the command of the French in Italy, ii. 538. His treachery, 538. Offers to make Constable Montmorency his heir, 594, *note*
- Saluzzo, marquisate of, occupied by the Duke of Savoy, iii. 221, 225. The Duke of Savoy's claim to the, 343.
- Salvandy, M., sent as envoy to Spain, v. 565. His intrigues, 565
- Salvation, a general, a tax so called, iv. 282
- Salzburg given to the Duke of Tuscany, v. 91

SAN

Sanco, King of the Wenden Slavons, i. 11
 Sancerre, rising of the Huguenots of, iii. 151.
 Severity of the siege of, 154
 Sancier of Provence, married to Richard, Duke of Cornwall, i. 220
 Sancy obtains the adhesion of the Swiss soldiers for Henry IV., iii. 251. Sent into Germany to raise troops, 260. Enables the Genevese to hold out against the Duke of Savoy, 275. Sent on a mission to England, 324. His change of religion, 360
 Sand, Madame Georges, writes a Socialist journal, v. 612. Excites the populace to insurrection, 612
 Sandwich, Earl of, sent on a mission to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 240. Concludes the treaty there, 245
 Sans-culottes meet in Genovéfan convent, v. 9. Their conspiracies, &c., *see* Jacobins; Directory; Convention; Mountain; Gironde
 Santerre, the Brewer, heads mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine, iv. 490. His conduct towards the King, 494. Refuses to aid Barbaroux, 567
 Santana taken by the French, iv. 155
 Sapin, judge of Parliament, hanged by Condé, iii. 69
 Saracens, the, overrun Africa and pour into Spain, i. 14. Their invasion of Gaul, 14. Defeated by Charles Martel at Poitiers, 17. Necessity for uniting the Christian world against them, 19. Their destruction of St. Peter's at Rome, 43. Their invasion of Spain, 101. Indignities and exactions of the Saracens suffered by the pilgrims to the Holy Land, 101. Their request for the aid of the Christian against the Mogul, 219. Their successes over, and cruelty to, the Christians, 254, 257
 Saragossa, battle of, iv. 106
 Sardinia conquered by the English, iv. 99. Ceded temporarily to the Duke of Bavaria, 117. Given to him by the treaty of Radstadt, 119. Given to Victor Amadeus of Savoy, 151. The island taken by the Spaniards, 151
 Sarzana besieged by Charles VIII., ii. 383
 Saumur, ceremony of the investiture of the Count of Poitou at, i. 220. Given up to the Duke d'Alençon, iii. 170. Assembly of Huguenots at, 337, 395. Taken by the Vendéans, iv. 599. Conspiracy of the military at, v. 315
 Sauve, Madame de, iii. 171
 Sauzet, M., defends Chantelauze, v. 429. Minister of public instruction, 487. Chancellor, 499. President of the chambers, 597. His conduct in the regency question, 597. Deserts his post, 598
 Savary, arrest of, by Malet, 196
 Saverne, meeting at, iii. 52

SAX

Savigliana, fortress of, restored to Savoy, iii. 165
 Savoisy, treasurer of Charles V., compelled by Anjou to give up his secret, ii. 7
 Savona, interview between the Kings of France and Aragon at, ii. 425. Proposal of the French to supersede Genoa by, 503. Its fortifications razed by the Genoese, 504. Attacked by the Duke of Savoy, iii. 453
 Savonarola, his invocation to Charles VIII. and advice to the Florentines, ii. 388
 Savoy, resolution of Francis I. to occupy, ii. 533. Held by Francis I. and the ducal house confined to the castle of Nice, 542. Restored by Henry II. of France to the duke, 636, 648. Treaty between France, Venice, and Savoy to liberate the Grisons and the Valteline, iii. 440. Affairs of, in 1637, 516. Offered by Charles Emmanuel to France in exchange for the Milanese, iv. 202
 Savoy, Count of, leads the vanguard of the French on the Second Crusade, i. 138. Attacked by the Turks, 138
 Savoy, Bastard of, refused admittance by the Parlement, ii. 459. Killed at Pavia, 485
 Saxe, Marshal Count, gains the battle of Fontenoy, iv. 231-233. Gains the battle of Raucoux, 234. His invasion of Holland, 238. Defeats the Duke of Cumberland at Laufeldt, 239. Besieges Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom, iv. 239. Which latter is carried by storm, 239. Causes of his desire for peace, 239. Invests Maestricht, 245. His opinion as to the conquest of Holland, 246. Louis XV.'s remark on this opinion, 247
 Saxe-Cobourg-Cohary, princess of, married to Duc de Nemours, v. 523
 Saxe-Hildburghausen, Duke of, commands the Germans of the cercles, iv. 271. Defeated at Rosbach, 271
 Saxons, the German Franks led by King Clothaire against the, i. 7. Defeat Clothaire and the German Franks, 7. Necessity for uniting the Christian world against them, 19. Defeated by Pepin the Bref, 20. Charlemagne's first expedition against the, 24. Their capital, Æresburg, taken, and their idol, the Irmensal, burnt, 24. Their struggle under Witikind with Charlemagne, 27. Who overruns their territories, 27. Receive baptism at Paderborn, 27. Endeavours of the Emperor Lothaire to raise the Saxon serfs against his brethren, 42
 Saxony eaten up by Wallenstein's army, iii. 494. Signs the peace of Utrecht, iv. 116. Condition of, in 1740, 214. Deserts the Austrian cause, 217. Joins Frederick the Great, 220. Armies of, hamper him and are sent back, 220, 221. Occupied by Frederick, 266. Who compels the Saxon army to sur-

SCH

render, 267. Occupied by the Austrians, 280. *See* Napoleon I.

Scheffer, joins conspiracy at Befort, v. 315, *et seq.*

Scheldt, endeavour of Joseph II. to open the, iv. 374. Expedition to the, v. 169. Dispute about the, 476

Schellenberg, fortress of, taken by Marlborough, iv. 89. Prince Eugène at, 90

Scherer, General, commands the republican army and defeats the Austrians, v. 17. Refuses to follow up his successes, for which he is rebuked by Buonaparte, 17. Commands the army in Italy, is defeated, and loses all the fruits of Buonaparte's victories in Italy, 57

Schneider, his atrocities at Strasburg, iv. 623

Schneider, M., minister of war, v. 518

Schomberg, Marshal Count, becomes chief of finance, iii. 433. Superseded by La Vieuville, 440. Advises the alliance with Spain, 461. Against the reduction of the army, 469. His administration of finance blamed by the King, 470. Throws a force into the Isle of Rhé, 475. At the affair of Montserrat, 481. Marches to the relief of Casale, 492. Defeats Monsieur and Montmorency at Castelnaudary, 509

Schomberg, Frederic, Duke of, lands with an English and Dutch army at Lisbon, iv. 92. But fails to effect any good, 92

Schools, monastic, of Bec and Cluny, i. 134. The school of Paris and its teaching, 134. The controversy between the Nominalists and the Realists, 135. Abelard, 135, 136

Schools founded and patronised by Philip Augustus, i. 194

Schwalbach, congress of German princes at, iii. 675

Schwarzenburg, Prince, his advice to the Emperor Alexander, v. 161. Commands Austrian and Russian armies, 208. Orders a retreat for Dresden, 210. Renews his offensive operations, 211. Battles of Leipzig, 212, *et seq.* Defeated at La Rothière, 219. Defeated at Guignes, 221. Offers an armistice, 221. Defeated at Montereau, 221. Sends the Prince of Lichtenstein with offers of an armistice to Troyes, 222. His proposal enrages Alexander and Blucher, 222. Captures the heights of Paris, 228

Schweidnitz recaptured by Frederick the Great, iv. 287

Schwerin, Marshal, his gallantry at Mollwitz, iv. 216. Invades Moravia, 220. Killed at Prague, 269

Scotia, Nova, ceded to England, iv. 117

Scotland, assistance afforded by, to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., ii. 138, 148. Six thousand Scotch led into France by Earl

SER

of Douglas, 149. Their total defeat at Verneuil by the Duke of Bedford, 150. A body of Scotch, under John Stuart, join the Count of Clermont and the Royalists, 158. Defeated at the battle of Herrings, 158

Search, right of, junction of all the maritime powers in opposition to the, iv. 358. A cause of quarrel with England, v. 554

Sebastian, St., taken by the French, iv. 155

Sebastiani, Count, becomes foreign minister, v. 421, 441. Sent ambassador to London, 533. Discusses with Lord Palmerston terms of alliance with France, 533. Advises Louis Philippe to reform his measures, 581. *See* Louis Philippe; Palmerston, Lord

Secchia, La, engagement at, iv. 204

Secret Societies, attempt to put down, v. 481

Sedan fortified by Turenne and the Huguenots, iii. 361. Expedition against, 363. Surrenders to the King, 364. Surrendered to France, 540

Seguier, president of the Parlement, his speech to Henry II., ii. 620. Appointed keeper of the seals, iii. 609

Seguier, President, his remark on Duchess of Angoulême's order 'Passez,' v. 382

Seguiran, Protestant pastor of St. Pol, hanged, iii. 459

Segur, Marquis of, appointed minister of war, iv. 358, 365

Semblançay, treasurer of Francis I., accusations against, ii. 474. Executed, 475

Seminara, battles of, ii. 391, 414

Semonville, M. de, meets municipal council and proposes repeal of ordonnances, v. 405

Senard, M., home minister, v. 630

Sénart, revelations of, iv. 631

Senate, the French, proclaim Buonaparte emperor, v. 117

Senatus Consultum of Buonaparte, v. 173

Seneffe, battle of, iii. 689

Senegal, a French settlement, iv. 288

Seneschals, St. Louis's edict repressing abuses of the, i. 242

Senlis, assembly of, declares Hugh Capet king, i. 68, 69. Taken by the Jacques, 477

Senneterre, La Ferte, at the battle of Rocroy, iii. 557. Wounded, 558

Sens, town of, acquired by King Robert, i. 81. Communal rights sold to the town of, by Louis VII., 132. The prelate of, slain by the citizens, 132. Besieged and taken by Henry V., of England, ii. 137. Massacre of the Huguenots at, iii. 57

Sens, Archbishop of, slain at Agincourt, ii. 114

Senlis, ii. 375

Septenniality, law of, v. 331, 347

Serbelloni, governor of Avignon, joins the Catholics against the Huguenots, iii. 65

Serfage, abolition of, i. 494

SER

Serfs, their elevation into the class of rent-payers stopped, i. 358

Sergeants, Four, of La Rochelle, v. 316, *et seq.*

Sergents, or king's soldiers, and the provinces, Philip the Long's regulations as to the, i. 376

Sergius, a Roman chief, in the interest of the Frank party at Rome, i. 23, 24. His eyes put out by Desiderius, King of the Lombards, 24

Serres, M. de, his repartee on M. de la Bourdonnaye, v. 206. Brings forward new laws of elections, 304

Servan, the Girondist, appointed minister of war, iv. 481. Dismissed by the King, 486. Proposes a camp of 20,000 men to overawe the King and court, 487. Quarrels with Dumouriez, 488. Reinstated by the Assembly, 518

Sever, St., the Lord of, humbled by Louis the Fat, i. 116. Taken from the English, but re-captured, 309. Taken by Bertrand du Guesclin, 529

Severin, St., minister of France, his reasons for peace, iv. 247

Severino, San, Galeaz de, escapes from the massacre in Spain, ii. 380. General of Ludovico Sforza, 405. Attacked by the French, and abandons all defence, 405

Seigné, Madame de, an exception to the vice of her age, iii. 651. Charm and brilliance of her 'Letters,' iv. 208

Seville, peace of, iv. 199

Sèze, De, defends Louis XVI., iv. 551

Sforza, Ludovico, Duke of Milan, his enemies, ii. 380. Beseeches the French to march on Naples, 380. Signs a treaty with him at Lyons, 380. Joins the enemies of the French, 387. His duchy claimed by Louis XII. of France, 403. Driven from his dominions by the French, 405. Occupies Como, and prepares to give battle to the French, 406. Betrayed by the Swiss, 406. His imprisonment and death, 407

Sforza, Cardinal Ascanius, joins his brother, the Duke of Milan, against the French, ii. 406

Sforza, Frederick, at Milan, ii. 473. Repulses the French at Bicocca, 473

Sforza family, extinction of the, ii. 536

Shrewsbury, battle of, ii. 49

Shrewsbury, John Talbot, Earl of, conducts an expedition to Dieppe, but fails, ii. 214. Remains in the hands of the French as a hostage, 226. Sails up the Garonne to recover Gascony, 229. Killed at Castillon, 231. *See* also Talbot, John.

Siam, offer of the capital of, to Louis XIV., iv. 27

Sicard, Abbé, miraculous preservation of, iv. 525

SIL

Sicily, state of, in the thirteenth century, i. 282. Tyranny of Charles of Anjou in, 282-284. Policy of Charles of Anjou in, 285. His oppression of the people, 286. The Sicilian Vespers, 286. The crown of Sicily offered by the people to Peter III., King of Aragon, 289. Who accepts it, 289. Termination of the war in, 302. Invaded by Charles of Valois, who is compelled to return to France, 317. Held by France, iii. 695. The crown of, given up by Victor Amadeus, iv. 151. Given to Austria, 155. Transferred from the Austrians to the Spanish Bourbons, 205. Occupied by England, a bar to Napoleon in Italy, v. 148.

Sidney, Sir Philip, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, iii. 144

Sidon, surrendered, v. 537

Sienna surprised and garrisoned by the French, ii. 612

Sièyes, the Abbé, his question, 'What is the Tiers Etat?' iv. 407. His teachings, 409. Becomes a member of the Legislative Assembly, 467. Returns to the Convention, and proposes a law for its defence, 669, 670. Becomes one of the directors, v. 5. Refuses office, 6. His law of Puritanic democracy, 33. His revolutionary plans, 49. Sent to Berlin, 52. Made consul, 75. His model constitution, 77, 103

Sigebert, first King of Austrasia, i. 8. His triumph over the Avars, 8. Marries Brunehild, daughter of the Gothic King of Spain, 8. Forms a court at Metz, 8. Keeps down the turbulence of the grandees, 10. Assassinated by Queen Fredegonde, 10

Sigebert II., King of Austrasia, his accession, i. 11

Sigismund, King of Hungary, raises a crusade against the Turks, ii. 45

Sigismund, King of the Romans, his efforts to terminate the papal schism, ii. 103. His endeavours to save Huss from death, 106. Fails to obtain Church reform, 107. Goes to France and England to endeavour to make peace between the Burgundians and Armagnacs and between the English and French, 118. Compels the Pope to summon the Council of Basle, 217. Recognises the independence of the Duke of Burgundy in the Low Countries, 218

Sigismund, Duke of Austria, enters into an alliance with the Swiss, ii. 310

Silesia occupied by Frederick the Great, iv. 215. Ceded to Frederick, 221. Occupied by the Austrians, 272. Who are compelled to retreat by the battle of Leuthen, 272

Silhouette, controller-general, his war finances, iv. 282. Driven from office, 282. His management of the finances, 307

Sillery, Chancellor, demands the acknowledg-

SIL

- ment of Queen Marie de Medicis as regent, iii. 385. His rivalry with Villeroy, 397
- Silvester II., Pope. *See* Gerbert.
- Siméon, expatriation of, v. 37
- Simon, Duke de St., accompanies Louis XIII. to Versailles, iii. 500. Falls into disgrace with Richelieu, 529. Character of his 'Memoirs,' iv. 127, 208. His ability as a writer, 147. Opposes Dubois, 147, 156. Conducts the young princesses to Madrid, 183
- Simon, Duc de St., his revolutionary principles, v. 453
- Simon the Cobbler commissioned to bring up the Dauphin as a sans-culotte, iv. 613, 614
- Simonians, St., their doctrines and propagation among the weavers of Lyons, v. 454. Their principles and history, 543
- Simonneau, mayor of Etampes, his memory celebrated by the Feuillants, iv. 486
- Sinamari, S. America, expatriation of Constitutionalists to, v. 37
- Sinigaglia, Borgia's murder of the mercenary leaders at, ii. 416
- Sinzheim, combat of, iii. 688
- Sion, Cardinal of, commands the Swiss for the Duke of Milan, ii. 453, 454. Defeated, 454
- Sisteron held by the Huguenots, iii. 65. Who evacuate it, 65
- Sixteen, the, of Paris, iii. 262. Put down by the Duke of Mayenne, 263. Declare that Henry IV. had forfeited the crown, 268. Left uncontrolled, 278. Resolve to put down the moderate party in the city, 281. Put three judges of the Parlement to death, 281. The principal actors hanged by Mayenne, 282. Their exertions to prevent the meeting at Suresne, 293
- Sixtus V., Pope, his election, iii. 204. His negotiations with Henry III. of France, 205. Excommunicates the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, 205. Sends an army to the Rhone, 221. Threatens to excommunicate Henry III. of France, 238. Proposes to invade France, 262. Sends Caietan as nuncio to Paris, 262. His death, 276
- Slave Trade, the, monopolised by England, iv. 117. A cause of quarrel with England, v. 554
- Slavery, causes and manner of the cessation of ancient, i. 36. Abolished by the Legislative Assembly, iv. 471. Equivocal measures of the Assembly produce anarchy amongst the Mulattoes and Blacks, 471
- Slaves, Christian, at Tunis, ii. 532
- Slavons, cross the Elbe and the Saale, i. 11. Form a kingdom under Sanio, 11. Conquests of Charles Martel over the, 17. Lands taken from the, by the Carolingians, given to Louis, younger son of Louis the Debonnaire, 38

SOI

- Smalcaldic League, mission from Francis I. to the, ii. 535
- Smith, General Sir Sydney, defends Acre, v. 48. Furnishes Buonaparte with file of newspapers, 66. Suggests treaty of El Arisch, 93
- Smolensko, battle of, v. 183-186. Burning of, 186
- Sobieski, John, King of Poland, routs the Turks and saves Vienna, iv. 25
- Socialists, their demands on the Provisional Government, v. 608. Louis Blanc their chief professor, 609. Madame Sand and her journal, 612. Alarmed at result of elections, 613. Seek to expel the Moderates, 613. Their measures overruled, 614. Procession of the Clubs, 614. Seek to coerce the government and fail, 614, 615. Their plot defeated, 615, 616. The party greatly increased, 619. Lamartine warns the new government on their exclusion from government, 619. Their schemes for revolutionising other nations, 619. Create an insurrection, and dissolve the New Assembly, 620-630. This insurrection counteracted by Garde Mobile, who re-establish the New Assembly, 622. Insurrection of the Ateliers, 625-630. Socialism increases in importance, 631. United with all the ultra-republicans, 631. Again rise in insurrection, under Ledru Rollin, 642. Suppressed by Louis Napoleon, 643. Measures adopted for crushing Socialism, 644-648
- Société des Familles, discovery and seizure of, by Gisquet, v. 516
- Société des Saisons, its condition at Revolution of February, 1848, v. 587
- Société dissident get up the revolution of February 1848, v. 587
- Société du 10 Decembre, formed, v. 651. Their plot to assassinate Changarnier, 651
- Societies, Secret, attempt to put down, v. 481
- Soissons, taken from the Romans by Clovis, i. 4. Story of the vase of, 4. The forces of Charles the Simple routed by Duke Hugh and Count Heribert at, 54. Condemnation of Abelard at the Synod of Soissons, 135. Meeting of French barons at, to arrange the descent of Philip Augustus upon England, 187. Garrisoned by the Burgundians, ii. 102. Besieged by the King and the Armagnacs, 192. Who take and sack it, 193. Gathering of the recalcitrant nobles at, iii. 413. Besieged by Guise and Auvergne, 413
- Soissons, Count de, at the investiture of the Count of Poitou, i. 221
- Soissons, Count of, brother of the Prince of Condé, joins Henry of Navarre with supplies from England, iii. 209. Pardoned by the King, 224. His intrigues, 276. His defection, 288. Escapes from Amiens, 329. His intermeddling in the affairs of Savoy

SOI

SPA

375. His turbulent intrigues, 385. His absence from court at the death of Henry IV., 385. Has a pension and the government of Normandy, 386. His death, 398
- Soissons, Count de, his part in the defence of Angers, iii. 425. Goes into exile, 466
- Soissons, Count of, his incapacity, iii. 513. Retires with his army to Compiègne, 514. Joined by Condé, 514. Joins a plot to assassinate Richelieu, 514, 527. At Sedan, 533. Joins a conspiracy to march an army to Paris, 533. His victory and death, 533, 534
- Soissons, Countess of, iii. 642
- Solferino, battle of, v. 22. How gained by Napoleon III., 23
- Solyman, Sultan, his aid craved by Louise, Regent of France, ii. 486. Overruns Hungary, 505. Besieges Vienna, 505. Retreats before Charles V., 519. His preparations for war against Christendom, 524. His march, 525. His arrangements for the subjugation of Italy, 541
- Sombreuil, M. de, saved by his daughter, iv. 527
- Somerset, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of, besieges Buacé, but fails to take it, ii. 214
- Somerset, Edward, Duke of, Protector of England, his weakness and unpopularity, ii. 603
- Somerset, John Beaufort, Earl of, besieges and takes Honfleur, ii. 207, 208. His government of Normandy, 225. Bishop Basin's portrait of him, 225. His refusal to give redress to wronged French and Bretons, 225. Resumption of war between England and France, 225. Holds Rouen, 226. Which he afterwards disgracefully capitulates, 226. And retires upon Caen, 226. Receives reinforcements there from England, 226. Driven out of Caen, 228. Lands at Eu, and arrested, 260
- Somme, the towns of the, obtained by Burgundy for two lives, ii. 275. Towns recovered by Louis XI., 298. Surrender of the towns to Louis XI., 329
- Sommerive, governor of Provence, his cruelties to the Huguenots, iii. 47. Commands for the Catholics in Provence, 65
- Sonderbund, in Switzerland, dissolution of the, v. 572
- Sorbonne, its reputation and authority in the fourteenth century, i. 361. Proves the Pope to be fallible, 361, *note*. Its condemnation of the doctrines of Reuchlin, ii. 513. Takes the field against Luther, 514. Persecutes the Protestants, 516. Its opposition to the divorce of Henry VIII. from Queen Catherine, 523. Its enmity against Margaret of Navarre, 529. Its joy at the severity of Francis I., against the Protestants, 531. Its support of orthodoxy, iii. 4
- Sorcery, belief in, in the fourteenth century, i. 363
- Sorel, Agnes, introduced by Yolande of Aragon to Charles VII., ii. 187, 201. Her discernment and patriotism, 233
- Soubise, castle of, besieged and taken by Du Guesclin, i. 530
- Soubise, murdered, iii. 142
- Soubise, Marquis of, brother of the Duc de Rohan, his firmness to the Huguenot cause, iii. 430. Capitulates to the King in St. Jean d'Angely, 431. Undertakes to take possession of the mouths of the Loire, 434. Admiral of the Rochellois, 455. His attitude in 1625, 455. Captures the royal fleet and the town of Blavet, 455. Defeated by the Dutch and French fleets, 458. Retreats to England, 459. Resides at Charlton House, 472. Joins the Duke of Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé, 474
- Soubise, Marquis of, commands a French army on the Saale, iv. 271. Defeated at Rosbach, 271. Defeats the Prussians at Lutterberg, 278. Gains the *bâton* of marshal, 278
- Soubrany, one of the Mountain, arrested, and attempts suicide, iv. 679, 681
- Soult, Marshal, encounters Sir John Moore at Corunna, v. 157. Defeated at Talavera, 167, 169, 179, 180. And at Oporto, and driven out of Portugal, 168. Defeated again at Cadiz, 178. And defeated at Vittoria, 204. Made war minister, but suspected by the court, 240, 424. Created a peer of France, 295. Quells the disturbances at Lyons, 456. His conduct during the insurrection of July, 470. Becomes president of the council, 473. His resignation, 487. Requested to form a ministry, but unsuccessful, 513. Becomes president of the council, in the coalition ministry, 514. Proposes to form a ministry, 517. Resigns, 524. Arranges with Lord Palmerston relative positions of Turkey and Mehemet Ali, 530
- Southampton burned by the French, i. 408. The French repulsed before, 541. Expedition against France fitted out at, 423.
- South Sea Company, failure of the, iv. 165.
- Spain, invasion of, by the Saracens, i. 14. Its domestic strife with the Saracens, 101. Invaded by Philip the Hardy, 292. Lends the Bretons assistance against the French, ii. 369. Condition of its army at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 409, 418. Result of the struggle of the sixteenth century between France and Spain, iii. 345, 346. Designs of Henry IV. against, 365. Conclusion of a truce between Spain and Holland, 370. How regarded in the reign of Louis XIII., 445. Plan of a league for humbling the House of Austria, 449. Schemes of Louvois against Spain, iv. 32. Extent of its terri-

SPA

tories at the extinction of the House of Austria, 70. Treaty for the partition of, 74. Second partition treaty, 76. Spanish affairs at the commencement of the eighteenth century, 145. Intrigues and ambition of the court at this time, 149. Seclusion of the Spanish monarchs, 149. Alberoni's policy, 150. Destruction of a Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng, 153. Conclusion of a treaty with England, 182. The alliance between Austria and Spain met by one between England, France, and Prussia, 193. Failure of the Austro-Spanish alliance, 198. Alliance of Spain and France, 201. Colonial policy of Spain, 212. War declared by England against, 212. Projected invasion of, v. 150, *et seq.* Its government by Godoy, 151. Murat seizes Madrid, and orders Ferdinand to France, 153. Abdication of Ferdinand, 154. War in, 154, *et seq.* Separation between Spain and her colonies, 308. Her liberal constitution, 308, 309. Invaded by the Duc d'Angoulême, 323. Differences with Portugal, 349. Intrigues respecting the Spanish marriages, 563, *et seq.*

Spandau, surrender of, v. 131

Spanish succession, negotiations of Louis XIV. respecting the, iii. 659. Death of Philip IV., 662. Treaty of partition between France and Austria, 664. Illness of the King of Spain, 57. His death, 70. Rival claims to the succession, 71. Temporary arrangement come to, 74. Succession of the Duke of Anjou, 80. Commencement of the war of the succession, 83

Spectacles, Church, prohibited, ii. 218

Spenser, Henry le, bishop of Norwich, leads a crusade against Flanders, ii. 31. His successes there, 32

Spinola, Marquis de, Spanish general, occupies the Palatinate, iii. 433. Takes Breda and an English army, 453. Threatens Calais, 453. Fails to make an impression upon Holland, 467. His scheme of forming a navy against it, 467. Besieges Casale, 476, 480. Again sent to invest Casale, 490. Dies there, 492

Spires, devastations of the French at, iv. 36

Spoleto, fortress of, held by Charles VIII., ii. 385

Spurs, battle of, ii. 440

Staël, Madame de, her return to Paris, iv. 667. Labours to unite Directory and Constitutionalists, v. 35. Persuades Barras to appoint Talleyrand foreign minister, 41. Her opinion of Buonaparte, 41. Persecuted by first consul, 114

Staffarde, defeat of the Piedmontese at, iv. 41

Stafford, Lord, spurns Guise's offer of protection, iii. 220

STR

Staines, treaty at, between King Henry III. and Prince Louis of France, i. 193

Stainville, Count de, appointed minister of foreign affairs, iv. 276. Created Duke de Choiseul, *which see*

Stair, Lord, answer of Louis XIV. to, iv. 131. Brings about an alliance between France and England, 144-146. His mistrust of Law and his schemes, 173. Commands the army, under George II., at Dettingen, 226

Stanhope, James, Earl, gains the battle of Almenaza, iv. 105. And Saragossa, 106. Surrenders at Villa Viciosa, 106. His friendship with the Abbé Dubois, 147, 148. Sent on a mission to Madrid, 152

Stanislas Leszczyński, his residence in Paris, iv. 192. His daughter, Marie, married to Louis XV., 193. His claims to the throne of Poland supported by France, 201, 202. Elected king by the Poles, 203. But compelled by the Russians to flee to Dantzic, 203. Abdicates the crown of Poland, and accepts the duchy of Lorraine, 206

Star, Order of the, instituted by John II. of France, i. 446, *note*

Staremberg, Count, defeated by the French at Villa Viciosa, iv. 106

States, small, in Europe, obstacles to the tendency to separate and settle into, i. 18, 19

States-General. *See* Estates

Steinkirk, battle of, iv. 43

Stephen, King of England, his cause favoured by Louis VII., i. 136. Louis's sister married to Stephen's son Eustace, 136. Relinquishes his claim to Normandy, 136

Stephen, Count of Chartres, joins the First Crusade, i. 104. Runs away from the siege of Antioch, 108

Stephen II., Pope, applies to Pepin the Bref for aid against the Lombards, i. 20. Goes to France, 21. Receives Ravenna, 21

Stephen III., Pope, election of, i. 23. Attempts to assassinate him, 23. Denounces the marriage of Charlemagne with the daughter of Desiderius as profane, 23. His death, 24

Stephen, one of the chief inquisitors, put to death by the Albigenes, i. 224

Stochach, battle of, v. 55

Stofflet, raises standard of revolt in La Vendée, is unsuccessful, and shot at Angers, v. 15

Stafford, Admiral, bombards Beyrouth, v. 537

Strafford, Lord, negotiates the peace of Utrecht, iv. 109

Strasbourg seized by Louis XIV., iv. 24. Retained by the French by the peace of Ryswick, 62. Civil war in, 430. Revolutionary atrocities in, 623. Conspiracy of Louis Napoleon at, v. 506

STR

Straten, Van der, murders the Count of Flanders, i. 125

Strikes, universal among trades in Paris, v. 545

Strozzi, the military engineer, at Metz, ii. 611.
At the siege of Calais, 629. Joins the army at St. Denis, iii. 95. One of the military masters of the Duke of Anjou, 97. His manifestly treacherous intentions, 133. His campaign in Portugal, 195

Stuart, John, joins the Count of Clermont with a body of Scotch, ii. 158. Commands at the taking of Genoa, 424

Stuart, Robert, of Aubigny, reaches Montmorency's camp near Arignon, ii. 539

Styria, persecution of the Protestants of, iii. 426

Styrum, Count, defeated by Villars at Hochstedt, iv. 87

Suabia, its league with Bavaria, i. 20. Conquest of, by Pepin the Brev, 20. Under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy, 309. League of the towns of Suabia, Alsace, and Switzerland, 310

Suabian League drives out Duke Ulrich from Wurtemberg, ii. 527, 528

Suard, sentenced to expatriation, v. 37

Sudermania, Duke of, chosen king of Sweden, v. 173

Suffrage, Universal, discussed in the Chambers, v. 542. Adopted by the Chambers and Provisional Government, 611

Suffolk, Earl of, slain at Agincourt, ii. 114

Suffolk, William de la Pole, Earl of, at the battle of Crevant, ii. 149. Takes command at the siege of Orleans, 157. The entrenchments stormed by Jeanne d'Arc, 166. The siege raised, 166. Suffolk retires to Jargeau, 167. Where he is taken prisoner by Jeanne d'Arc, 168. Arranges a marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, and a peace with France, 214, 215. Results of his patched-up truce, 224. Sends reinforcements to the English in Lower Normandy, 226. Put to death, 228

Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, married to the Queen-dowager of France, ii. 452. Leads an English army into Picardy, 479. Withdraws into Flanders, 479

Suffolk, De la Pole, Duke of, in the French army at Pavia, ii. 484. Killed there, 484

Suger, minister of Louis the Fat, arguments used for his master in the Chronicle of, i. 127. Hesitating policy of his master and himself, 131. Releases Abelard from the penalty inflicted on him by the Synod of Soissons, 135. Becomes viceregent during the absence of Louis VII. in Palestine, 137. His death, 139

Suleau, Royalist, killed by Theroigne de Méricourt, iv. 511

Sully, Duke of, advises Henry IV. to offer to

SWI

resume the Catholic faith, iii. 289, 290.

Commands the artillery sent against the Duke of Savoy, 349. Takes Montmeillan, 349. His quarrel with the King's mistress, 350. His political and religious views, 359. His pliancy in matters of religion, 360. Presides at the Huguenot Synod of Châtellerault, 362. Marches against Sedan, 363. But prevented from using his artillery against it, 363, 364. His interview with Queen Elizabeth, 366. His mission to James I., 368. Presents his homage to the Queen-regent, 385. Guards the treasure from the Queen and her favourites, 386. His policy rejected by the Regent, 387, 388. His withdrawal from office and from the council, 388. His policy with respect to the Huguenots, 395. Warns Louis XIII. of his danger, 412

Superstition, establishment of, i. 10. Superstition in Europe in the tenth century, 85

Supreme Being, fête of the, inaugurated, iv. 647, 648

Suresne, conference at, between Henry IV. and the Catholic leaders, iii. 294

Susa occupied by the French, iii. 481

Sutor, the monk, denounces Fabre and Erasmus, ii. 516

Suwarrow, General, assists the Austrians, v. 54, 58, 59. Encounters Joubert, 63. Defeats Moreau, 64. Supplants the Archduke Charles, 64

Swearing, profane, ordinances of St. Louis respecting, i. 245

Sweden establishes itself as a German power, iii. 576. Joins England and Holland in the Triple Alliance, 665. Its want of independence in 1671, 676. Bound to France, 676. Defeat of its army at Fehrbellin, 692. Decline of its power, iv. 143, 144. Embraces the cause of the Pretender, 148. Dethronement of Gustavus of, v. 172. Bernadotte, chosen as heir apparent to throne of, 173

Switzerland, its first appearance in French history, ii. 219. Origin of their independence and confederacy, 219. Their resistance to the House of Austria, 219. Which obtains the aid of France, 220. Defeat of the Swiss at the battle of St. Jacques, 220. Conclusion of peace at Ensishheim, 220. An alliance between Austria and the Swiss promoted by Louis XI., 310. League of the Swiss with Alsace and Suabia, 310. Who drive the Burgundians out of Alsace, 312. All the prisoners taken by Charles the Rash put to death, 317. Charles's ally, the Count de Romont, driven out of the Pays de Vaud, 318. Personal appearance of the Swiss, 318. Their bravery in the field, 318. Their offers of submission to the Duke of Burgundy rejected, 319. Besieged in the castle of Grandson, which is taken and the defenders hanged,

SYB

319. The Burgundians totally routed by the Swiss at the battle of Granson, 319, 320. Annihilation of the Burgundian army by the Swiss at Morat, 321. The cause of Burgundy espoused by the Swiss, 338. Swiss mercenaries in the French armies, 340. Offers of the Swiss to join the army of Charles VIII. in Italy, 391. Conduct of the Swiss mercenaries in the French and Italian armies opposed to each other, 407. They defeat the French at Novara, 438. A Swiss army joins the army of the League of Cambray, 437. And seizes Locarno, Chiavenna, and the Valteline, 437. Invade Burgundy, and lay siege to Dijon, 439. Terms which they obtain, 440. Endeavours of Francis I. to purchase their neutrality, 453. Defeated at Marignano, 455. Mercenary habits of the people denounced and forbidden by Zwingle, 530. The Swiss at the battle of Cerissoles, 560, 561. Their defence of the Tuileries, iv. 509, *et seq.* Their noble conduct, 512. Fire upon the insurgents, 516. Treacherously murdered by the mob and gendarmes, 516. Some saved by the Assembly are massacred at the Abbaye, 526. Invasion of Switzerland by the Directory, v. 45. Dissolution of the Swiss Sonderbund, 572. Disturbances in Switzerland on account of the suppression of religious freedom, 572. Assisted by Lord Palmerston, 572

Sybille, daughter of Baldwin V. of Jerusalem, married to Guy de Lusignan, i. 155

TAGLIACCOZZO, battle of, i. 256

Tagliamento, battle of, v. 30

Taille, species of warfare called the, i. 211. Amount of the taille at the accession of Francis I., ii. 495. The taille in the beginning of the seventeenth century, iii. 404. Burdens on the, in 1626, 470. Amount of the taille in the time of Cardinal Richelieu, 524. The tax at the end of the seventeenth century, iv. 49. Repealed, 470

Taillebourg, battle of, i. 224

Tailor, the court, burnt by Henry II., ii. 639

Talavera, battle of, v. 167, 169

Talbot, John Lord, retires from Orleans to Meung, ii. 167. Which he evacuates, 168. Made prisoner by Jeanne d'Arc at Patay, 168. Placed in command of an army, 188. Offers battle to Charles VII. at Pontoise, 212. Created Earl of Shrewsbury, *which see*

Tallard, Marshal Count, sent on a mission to London, iv. 73. Marches into Bavaria, 89. Defeated by Marlborough at Blenheim, 90

Talleyrand-Perigord, Cardinal, his endeavours to prevent the battle of Poitiers, i. 462

Talleyrand, Prince, Bishop of Autun, his re-

TAR

port on church property, iv. 446. Becomes a member of the Anti-Jacobin Club, v. 9. Appointed minister of foreign affairs, 41. Persuades San Julien, to sign preliminary peace agreement, 88. Deprecates severity of Napoleon to Austria, 125. His negotiations with the Allies, 222. And with the Allies to reseat the Bourbons, 229. Receives the abdication of Napoleon, 232. Appointed minister of foreign affairs by Louis XVIII., 235, 260. Reforms the Chamber of Peers, 266. Recommends an amnesty 267. Opposed by the Emperor Alexander, 268. Resigns, 269. Declares against the invasion of Spain, 323. Appointed ambassador to London, 427. Refuses the presidency of the council, 472. Objects to the secondary part assigned to France in affairs of Portugal, 489

Tallien, his atrocities at Bordeaux, iv. 623. His attachment to Madame Fontenay leads to his conspiring against Robespierre, 650, 655. Declaims against St. Just and Robespierre, 656. Adroitly manages the Mountain, 662. Allows the Jacobin Club to resume its sittings, 663. Attempted assassination, 664. Accused by Cambacères, 665. Expelled from the Jacobins, seeks alliance with the reformed Centre, 665. Sanctions the removal of Marat's remains to the Pantheon, 665. Moves arrest and deportation of leaders of the Mountain, 672. Supports the Convention in resisting the Montagnard insurrection, 679. Joins in resisting the Royalists, 686. Denounces Lanjuinais, 689. Endeavours to excite the Convention, but defeated by Thibaudeau, 689, 690

Tallien, Madame, her famous saloons, iv. 667

Talon, Omer, his address to Louis XV., iii. 582

Tancarville, Count of, defeated by Edward III. at Caen, i. 423. Surrenders to Thomas of Holland, 424

Tancarville, Count of, killed at Poitiers, i. 464

Tancarville, Earl of, slain at the battle of Beaugé, ii. 138

Tancred of Sicily, joins the First Crusade, i. 107. Refuses to do homage to the Emperor Alexis I., 107. His valour at Nicea, 107. Marches into Silicia and takes Edessa, 108. His part in the siege and capture of Jerusalem, 111

Tangiers, bombarded by the French, v. 561

Tanquerel, his violence against the Huguenots, iii. 48

Tanquerville, De, killed at Courtray, i. 327

Tardif, judge of Parlement, beheaded by the Sixteen, iii. 281

Tardvenus, muster of the, in Champagne, i. 498. Defeat Jacques de Bourbon at the battle of Brignais, 499. Their plundering excursions in all directions, 499

TAR

Tarente, Duchess of, appeals to the mob, to save the Queen's attendants, iv. 517
 Tarento, Prince of, deserts Duke Charles of Burgundy on the field, ii. 324
 Tarragona seized by Los Velez, iii. 519. Besieged by La Mothe Houdancourt, 570
 Tarsus taken by the Crusaders under Baldwin of Boulogne, i. 108
 Tartar invasion of Europe, under Genghis Khan, i. 218
 Tartas besieged by the English, ii. 214. Relieved by Charles VII., 214
 Tarvis, Col de, battle of, v. 30
 Taschereau, M., publishes the *Révue retrospective*, v. 615
 Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, reduced by Pepin the Bref, i. 19. Condemned, and his duchy abolished, by Charlemagne, 26
 Tavannes, Marshal de, his cruelties to the Huguenots in Burgundy, iii. 64. One of the military masters of the Duke of Anjou, 97. Gives Condé and Coligny warning of their danger, 101. Defeats the Huguenots at Jarnac, 102, 103. Gains the battle of Moncontour, 105-107. Attends the council preceding the St. Bartholomew massacre, 138. His part in the massacre, 144
 Taverni, M., murdered, iii. 143
 Taxes levied by Philip I. on prelates and merchandise, i. 97. The maletôte of Philip the Fair, 311. A fifth levied on land, and a twentieth on moveable property, by Philip the Fair, 328. A confederation of nobles and commons formed to oppose a tax of Philip the Fair, 354. Singular taxes of the Bishop of Amiens, 397. The financial measures of Philip of Valois, 418. The immunities of the nobles from taxation abrogated by John II., 455, 456. His fiscal system resisted by the commons, 456. Imposition of a property or income tax, 456. The taxes paid by the Estates to Charles V., 539. Turbulence of the Parisians, and their refusal to pay heavy taxes, ii. 8-10, 13. Reforms of Charles VII. in the mode of levying, 223. Charles VII.'s mode of raising, 247. His esleus, 247. Odiousness of the tax upon drinks to the Germans, 309. Severity and iniquity of the taxation of Louis XI., 348. Views of Comines as to the right of taxation, 350. The unprivileged classes alone subject to taxation, 356. The taxes diminished by Louis XII., 397. Amount of the taxes in the time of Francis I., 572. The nobles exempted from payment, 573. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, iii. 404. Severity of the rule of solidité in the seventeenth century, 522. Exorbitant taxes in the time of Mazarin, 637. Chamillard's destructive taxation, iv. 85. Taxes in 1706, 97, 98. State of the, in

TER

1716, 158-160. The income-tax of Paris Duvernay, 194, 197. Income again taxed one-tenth, and tontine annuities created, 203. In 1747, 251. The war-taxes caused by the Seven Years' War, 282. Attempt to make a broad plan of municipal institutions the basis of a fairer system of taxation, 305. Fiscal hardships in 1774, 339. The *vingtième* suspended, 397. Repeal of the taille, capitation tax, and gabelle, 470. M. Humann's plan for collecting the, v. 548
 Tax-gatherers, King Clothaire's edict against the arbitrary conduct of, i. 7
 Téligny, Huguenot envoy to the court from La Rochelle, iii. 115. Plays at ball with the King and the Duke of Guise, 135. His opinion of the King's character, 137. Murdered, 142. His property given to La Noue, 151
 Tellier, Père le, confessor to Louis XIV., iv. 123. Revives the persecutions of the Protestants and Jansenists, 123, 124, 126, 127. Dismissed, 141
 Tello, Don, brother of Henry II. of Castille, commands the Spanish centre at Navarette, i. 514
 Templars, put to death in Jerusalem by Saladin, i. 155. Their quarrel with the Hospitallers at Jerusalem, 227. Exterminated there by the Infidel, 227. The subsequent massacre of the order, 232. Their losses at the battle of Mansourah, 236. Origin of the quarrel of Philip the Fair with the, 339. Condition of the fraternity at this period, 339, 340. A general arrest of French Templars effected, 341. Crimes charged against them, 341. Their alleged creed, 341, 342. Refusal of the Pope to sign any bull for the dissolution of the order, 345. A commission to examine them named by the Pope, 345. Many of them tortured and burned, 347, 348. Their order condemned and dissolved by the council of Vienne, 350. Their property ordered to be handed over to the Hospitallers, 350
 Temps, newspaper, police break up the, v. 394
 Tencin, Cardinal, introduced by Fleury into the council, iv. 225
 Tende, Comte de, favours the Edict of January, iii. 65. Refuses to allow the murder of the Huguenots, 149
 Tenth, a, granted by Pope Clement III. to the Kings of England and France from the clergy for the Third Crusade, i. 156
 Terracina, fortress of, held by Charles VIII., ii. 385
 Terrai, Abbé, finance minister, his insolent public robberies, iv. 292. Re-establishes venality in municipal offices, 306. His character as a finance minister, 320. His taxation, 327. Debt left by him, 350

TER

- Terror**, Reign of, begins, iv. 589, *et seq.* See Mountain. Its end, 690. See Gironde; Convention; Napoleon I.
- Terrorists** (*see* Assembly; Convention; Gironde; Mountain; Napoleon I.), their demands on the government, v. 608, 609. Their sentiments and intentions, 609. Object to the Garde mobile, 609. *Red flag* their symbol, and *red* their colour, 609. Lamartine opposes them, 610. Madame Sand and her Socialist journal, 612. Alarmed at result of elections, 613. Seek to expel the Moderates, 613. Their measures overruled, 614. Procession of the Clubs, 614. Seek to coerce the government, and fail, 614, 615. Their intrigues published in the *Révue retrospective*, 615. Their plot defeated by Lamartine, 615. Their schemes for revolutionising other nations, 619. Measures of the New Assembly being obnoxious, they dissolve it, 619. Form a new government, which in its turn is overturned by the Garde mobile, 620, *et seq.* Insurrection of the Ateliers, 625-630. United with the Socialists, 631. See Socialists; Republicans; Napoleon III.
- Tertre**, Du, agent of Charles II. of Navarre, put to death by Charles V. of France, i. 544
- Teschen**, treaty of, iv. 373
- Tessé**, Marshal, his negotiations with Russia and Prussia, iv. 143. Sent by the Regent Bourbon to Philip V. of Spain, 189
- Teste**, M., becomes minister of commerce, v. 487. Minister of justice, 518. And minister of public works, 540. His corruption, 576
- Testri**, battle of, i. 13
- Tetbold**, or Thibaud, made count of Chartres, i. 60. Quarrels with the church of Rheims, 61
- Teutonic** tribes, advance of the, into Gaul, to conquer and divide its provinces, i. 3. Basis and peculiarity of Teutonic institutions, 34. Feudalism in Teutonic countries, 33, 36. Their introduction of chivalry into the world, 75
- Tharin**, Bishop of, becomes preceptor of Duke of Bordeaux, v. 354
- Themines**, Marquis de, kills the Marquis de Richelieu in a duel, iii. 423. Killed at Montauban, 432
- Theobald**, Count of Chartres and Blois, asks the King for the castle of La Puiset, and is refused, i. 116. War in consequence, 116. Goes to war with Louis the Fat, 118
- Theodoric**, Gothic King of Italy, his rivalry with Clovis, King of the Franks, i. 5. His death, 6
- Theodoric** of Burgundy, his victory over the Austrasians, i. 11
- Theodoric** of Alsace becomes Count of Flanders, i. 127
- Theo-philanthropists**, sect of, first established by La Reveillère, v. 35

THI

- Theot**, Madame, her alliance with Robespierre, iv. 650. Imagines herself another Johanna Southcote, 650
- Theotmel**, defeat of the Saxons by Charlemagne, at, i. 27
- Thermes**, De, takes Dunkirk, ii. 632. Defeated at Gravelines, and made prisoner, 632
- Thermidorians**, the, restore the liberty of the press, iv. 665. Their vacillating conduct encourages the Jacobins, 665. Their dissensions with the old members of the Plain, 684. Their struggle with the Royalists, 686. Their principles, v. 33
- Théroutanne**, besieged and taken by the English, under Henry VIII., ii. 439. Besieged and taken by the Emperor Charles V., 614. Rased, 614
- Theudebald**, son of Theudebert, King of East France, i. 6
- Theudebert**, son of Theuderich, King of East France, leads an army into Italy, i. 6
- Theuderic**, King of East France, accession of, i. 6. His conquests, 6. End of his race, 6
- Thibaud II.**, King of Navarre, marries the daughter of St. Louis, i. 247. Who reconciles him to the court of Brittany, 247. Joins St. Louis in a crusade, 271
- Thibaud**, Count of Chartres. See Tetbold
- Thibaud**, Count of Champagne, refuses to accompany Louis VII. to Toulouse, i. 133. At war with the King, 133. His son assumes the Cross, and joins the Second Crusades, 137
- Thibaud**, Count of Champagne, in the ranks of the Crusaders against the Albigenses, i. 199. His devotion to Queen Blanche, mother of St. Louis, 205. Insulted by Philip, Count of Boulogne, and joins the League of the Barons, 206. Repents and does homage to the King and Queen-mother, 207. Accepts Yolande of Brittany as his affianced wife, 208. But breaks again with the barons, 208. War declared against him by the barons, 208. Agrees to go to the Holy Land, 215. Succeeds to the kingdom of Navarre, 215. Cedes his French possessions to the crown of France, 216. Crowned king of Navarre, 216. A competitor raised up by his enemy Philip of Boulogne, 216. Goes to the Holy Land, 219. At the ceremony of investiture of the Count of Poitou, 221
- Thibaudeau**, deputy, iv. 679 Defeats the measures of Tallien, 690. Becomes a member of the anti-Jacobin club, v. 9
- Thierry**, Château, the Emperor Charles V. at, ii. 563
- Thierry**, the King's valet, murdered by the mob, iv. 526, 527
- Thiers**, M., proposes the Duke of Orleans to be head of the government, v. 407, 409. Brings the consent of Madame Adelaide to the muni-

THI

cial commission, 409. Quits office, 438. Becomes minister for the home department, 473. Arrests the Duchess of Berry, 473. Becomes minister of public works and commerce, 479. Does not incline to free trade, 479. Stops the republican journals, 484. Resigns, but resumes office, 487. Becomes president of council, 499. Recommends an Austrian alliance, 502. Objects to Metternich's propositions respecting the alliance, 502. Dismissed by the King, 503. His ministerial qualifications, 504. Declines to take part in Guizot's cabinet, 510. Opposes Molé's measures, 512. Forms a Coalition ministry, 514. Adopts the English policy towards Spain, 514. Dissension in his cabinet, 515. Resigns, and offered, but refuses, an embassy, 515. Forms a new cabinet, 525. Settles the Eastern question, 525. His government praised by Odillon Barrot, 528. Dissatisfied with the Eastern treaty, 530. Proposes war with England, 530. Determines to fortify the capital, 535. Despatches Count Walewski to Ibrahim Pasha, 535. Besought by the King not to desert him, 538. Recalls the fleet from Alexandria, 539. Draws up the royal speech, which leads to his resignation, 539, 540. His angry discussion with M. Guizot, 540, 541. Scorns universal suffrage, 542. Cause of his being driven from power, 551. Sent for by the King to form a new ministry, 590. His conversation with the King on the appointment of Bugeaud to command the troops, 591. Advises the King to command the suspension of hostilities, and the monarchy is lost, 591. Advises King's retirement to St. Cloud, 593. Arrested, 661. Sent to Strasbourg, 664

Thionville, besieged and taken by Henry II. of France, ii. 632. Defeat of the French near, iii. 517. Taken by Condé, 569

Thirty-six, Council of, appointed, i. 469. Functions of the, 469

Thoiras, General, his treatment of the Rochelois, iii. 455

Thomas, Prince, of Savoy, defeated at Avain, iii. 512

Thomas, Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V. of England, command assigned to him at the siege of Rouen, ii. 127. Placed in command of Paris, 138. Defeated and slain at the battle of Beaugé, 138

Thomas of Holland, surrender of the Counts d'Eu and Tancarville to, i. 424

Thoré, brother of Damville, brings reinforcements to the Huguenots, iii. 169. Arrested, 179

Thou, Christophe de, first president of Parliament, his speech on the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 146

Thou, De, president, compared, as a statesman,

TOL

to Secretary Villeroy, iii. 398. Sent to Mezières to treat with the malcontent grantees, 399

Thou, De, the younger, his part in a conspiracy against Richelieu, 535. Arrested, 539. His execution, 540

Thouars, surrender of the partisans of Edward III. in, i. 532. Capture of, by the Vendéans, iv. 599

Thouars, Admiral Dupetit, commands the squadron to the Pacific, v. 556. Takes possession of the islands, 556. Dethrones Queen Pomare, 557

Thouars, Viscount of, surrenders La Rochelle to Louis VIII., i. 198

Thouars, Guy de, defends Poitou for King John of England, i. 166

Three Days in July, insurrection of, v. 470. Ministry of the, 487

Throgmorton, Sir N., captured at Bourges, iii. 67

Thuringia reduced by Theudebert, King of East France, i. 6. Settlement of the Saxons in, 7. Purchased by Adolph of Nassau, 310

Thuriot, member of Committee of Public Safety, iv. 609. Arrest and deportation of, 672

Thurot, Admiral, his descent on Carrickfergus, iv. 277.

Tiers Etat, or Deputies, first assembly of the, i. 269. The Abbé Sièyes' question, 'What is the,' iv. 407. A double number of representatives accorded to the, 407. How treated by the court and nobility, 413. Proclaims itself the national assembly, 415

Tiers Parti, formation of the, v. 433, 478. Increase of, 486. Formation of the new ministry of, 487. Defeated, 488. Carry the elections of president and vice-president, 497. Form the new cabinet, 499

Tillay, Jamet du, causes the death of the Dauphiness, Margaret of Scotland, ii. 234

Tilly, General, captures and sacks Magdeburg, iii. 504. Defeated by Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig, 505. And on the Danube, 505

Tilsit, treaty of, v. 137. Meeting between Napoleon and Alexander at, 137

Time bargains, first example of, iv. 169

Tin, staple of, fixed by Edward III. at Calais, i. 437

Tinville, Fouquier, accuses Marie Antoinette of unnatural crimes, iv. 613, 614. Execution of, 676

Tirlemont captured and sacked by the French, iii. 512

Tithes paid to lay chiefs in Languedoc, i. 175

Tobacco monopoly, Colbert's, iv. 52

Toisé, La, tumult in Paris against, iii. 563. Withdrawn, 567

Tolbiac, battle of, i. 4

- Toledo, Don Pedro de, his mission to the court of France, iii. 371
- Tolentino, treaty of, v. 32
- Tombs, destroyed by the Huguenot iconoclasts, iii. 58
- Tonneins besieged by Louis XIII., iii. 435
- Tonnerre, Count, slain at the battle of Verneuil, ii. 150
- Tonnerre, Clermont, minister of marine, v. 314
- Tontines, invention of, iv. 56. Tontine annuities created, 203
- Töplitz, meeting of sovereigns at, v. 497
- Torcy. *See* Colbert, Jean Baptist.
- Torcy, Marquis of, opposes the succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain, iv. 78. Converted to the opposite opinion, 80. Fails to make terms with the Dutch, 102, 103. Set aside, 142
- Torgau, battle of, iv. 280
- Tories, ascendancy of the, in the English councils, iv. 107. Their desire for peace, 107
- Torres Vedras, lines of, v. 171, 181
- Torstenson defeats the Imperialists at Leipzig, iii. 515
- Tortona taken by the French, ii. 405. Lost by them, iii. 569. Acquired by the King of Sardinia, iv. 206. Surrendered, v. 19
- Tortosa taken by Los Velez, iii. 519
- Touchet, Marie, her son by Charles IX., iii. 160. Her daughter, mistress of Henry IV., 352
- Toul taken by the French, ii. 610
- Toulon, given by Francis I. to the Turks for winter quarters, ii. 558. Persecution of the Protestants of, iii. 18. Attempt of Prince Eugene upon, iv. 98. Sea-fight between the English and French and Spanish combined off, 228. Surrender of, to the English, 623. Recaptured by Carnot and Napoleon Buonaparte, 624. Its fleet and forts destroyed by Admiral Hood, 624. Atrocities of the commissaries in, 625. Buonaparte sails from, for Egypt, v. 47
- Toulouse invaded by the Normans, i. 46. Claimed by Henry II. of England, 143. Learning of the Arabs introduced into the schools of, 172. The Albigensian heresy in, 175. Castle of, in the hands of De Montfort, 181. Battle of, 181. Taken by De Montfort at the battle of Muret, 183. In possession of the Dominicans, 185. Regained by Count Raymond, and De Montfort and the monks driven out, 185. Besieged by De Montfort, who is killed, and the siege raised, 186. Unsuccessful expedition of Philip Augustus against, 193. Endeavour of the Pope to resuscitate the crusade against, 193, 194. The county reduced by military prelates, 211. And ceded to the French crown, 211. The county acquired by the King of France, 243.
- The county lapses to the French crown, 279. Establishment of Toulouse as a new centre, with its Parliament, 280. Abuses in the administration under Philip the Fair and Philip of Valois, 396. Threatened by the Black Prince, 455. The Archbishop of, preaches against the Black Prince and gains over many towns from the English, 524. Progress of the war between Catholics and Protestants in, iii. 66. Massacre at, 66. Protestants burned by the judges in, 108. Massacre of the Huguenots at, 148. Struggle between the Loyalists and Leaguers in, 236. Inclines to declare for Henry IV., 309. Submits to Henry IV., 320. Protestant executions at, in the eighteenth century, iv. 291. Quarrel of the Parliament of Toulouse with the Governor of Languedoc, 308. Disturbances at, v. 548
- Touques, landing of Henry V. and the English at, ii. 122
- Touraine given by Henry I. to the Count of Anjou, i. 91. Fortresses of, taken by Philip Augustus, 165. The duchy given by Charles VII. to the Earl of Douglas, ii. 149. Arthur, Count de Richmont, created count of, 152. Given in appanage to the Duke d'Alençon, iii. 173
- Tournaments, encouraged by Philip the Hardy, but forbidden by Louis the Saint, i. 298. The tournament at Chalons, 298
- Tournay, discovery of the tomb of Childeric at, i. 3. Besieged by Edward III. of England, 410. Deprived of its liberties by Charles V., 518. Resettled by Flemings, and its liberties restored, 518. Tricked into receiving a French garrison, ii. 335. Louis XI.'s treatment of it, 335. Adolph of Gueldres repulsed from before, 337. Taken by Henry VIII., 440. Restored to the French crown, 462, 467. Besieged by the Emperor Charles V., 472. Given up to the Emperor Charles V., 506. Captured by the allies, iv. 103. Recaptured by Marshal Villars, 114. Ceded to Holland, 116. Besieged and captured by Louis XV., 232, 233
- Tournelle, the, its tolerance of Protestantism, ii. 645
- Tournelle, Madame de la. *See* Châteauroux, Duchess of
- Tournelles, palace of the, destroyed, iii. 85
- Tournon, Cardinal de, sent by Francis I. on a mission to the Pope, ii. 528. Lessens the influence of Montmorency with the King, 528. Fills the first place at the court of Francis I., 550
- Tours, great monastery of, given to Robert the Strong, i. 47, 48. Meeting of the Estates at, in 1468, ii. 288. Henry II. besieged and taken by Prince Richard at, 157. Meeting of the Estates of 1484 at, ii. 357.

TOU

And in 1506, 422. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots of, iii. 64. The united Royalists and Huguenots attacked by the Duke of Mayenne at, 245
 Tours, Edict of, iii. 277
 Tours, Guy de, appointed regent of Brittany, i. 166
 Toussaint l'Ouverture, kidnapped and sent to France, v. 96
 Tourville, Admiral, his engagement with the English and French off Beachy Head, iv. 37. Defeated by the English at La Hogue, 43
 Towns, what gave importance to, in the ninth century, i. 71. And in the tenth, 71, 72. Dislike of the Carolingians for walled towns, 72. Rise and condition of towns in the Middle Ages, 82-84. Their struggles to obtain freedom and independence, 84. State of the episcopal towns, 84. Municipal freedom given to towns by Henry I. of England and by Louis VI. of France, 120. And by the lesser nobles, 121. Charters granted by Louis the Fat, 122. Zones into which M. Thierry divides the communal movement in France, 124, *note*. Orleans, Sens, and Rheims granted communal rights, 132. Arrangements of Philip Augustus for the affairs of the towns during his absence in the East, 157. His policy in dealing with them, 167. Reason why the townsfolk espoused the cause of Philip Augustus against Flanders, 189. The liberties of French towns trodden under foot by the legists in the thirteenth century, 386. Causes of the gradual decay and disappearance of communes, 387. Supineness of the citizens, 387. Their backwardness in taking the field, 388. Different treatment of the nobility and townsfolk under Philip VI., 395. Immunities granted by John II. to all towns requiring them, 448. Hostility of the townsfolk to the nobility, 494. Subsequently organise their defence in alliance with the noblesse, 496. Condition of citizens in France in the time of Charles V., 518. Reversal of the victory of Crecy and Poitiers by the townsfolk of France, and not by the King, 531. Antagonism of the noble and civic classes at the close of the fourteenth century, ii. 3. Inability of the Regent to collect taxes, 13. Municipal organisation not permitted to the great towns of France, 14. Consequences of this, 14. Mistake of John Sans Peur in crushing the middle classes, 62. Privileges granted to towns by Louis XI., 255. Rebellion of some against his taxes, 256. Period of the decline of civic commonwealths and town superiority, 278. In what the strength of towns consisted, 283. Comparisons between the civic and rustic systems of political organisation,

TRE

353. The modern Italian experiment of governing in a municipal spirit, 354. Fatal results of the municipal system in North Italy, 379. Attachment of the townspeople to the Duke of Guise and his cause, iii. 227. Want of courage and wisdom always shown by the civic class in France, 240. Remain passive in the struggle between Royalty and the League, 240. Disappearance of civism with the failure of the Reformation in France, 400. Attempt to extend a broad plan of municipal institutions, iv. 305. Abolition of the venality of municipal offices, 306. Civism extinguished by Louis Napoleon, v. 638
 Tracy, M. de, proposes law for abolishing penalty of death, v. 422
 Trade, taxes on, in the fourteenth century, i. 418
 Trades, formation of corporations of, i. 268, 269
 Trafalgar, battle of, v. 125
 Traitants, offer of the, to Mazarin, iii. 586
 Trapani, Count, proposed to marry Queen Isabella, v. 567
 Trautmansdorf, Count, sent by the Emperor Ferdinand III. to make peace with France, iii. 573
 Travail, Droit au, a St. Simonian principle, v. 454
 Travot, General, trial of, v. 281
 Treason considered a pastime by the nobles, ii. 289
 Treaties of Peace :—
 Aix-la-Chapelle, iii. 667. Almenara, iv. 105. Amboise, iii. 75. Amiens, v. 97. Andelys, i. 163. Arisch, v. 93. Arras, ii. 103, 192, 222. Austerlitz, v. 125. Auxerre, i. 88. Barcelona, ii. 376. Barrier, iv. 104. Bergerac, iii. 89. Bicêtre, ii. 82. Blois, ii. 420. Bologna, ii. 456. Boulogne, ii. 525. Breslau, iv. 221. Brittany, i. 490. Bucharest, v. 182. Cambray, or Lady's Peace, ii. 506. Campo Formio, v. 40, 87. Canterbury, ii. 462. Carlowitz, iv. 81. Chartres, ii. 65. Chaumont, v. 224. Cherasco, v. 19. Cintra, v. 156. Conflans, ii. 274. Crespy, ii. 564. Dardanelles, v. 546. Dresden, iv. 234. Ensisheim, ii. 220. Erfurt, v. 150, 156. Etaples, ii. 375. Family Compact, iv. 283. Field of the Cloth of Gold, ii. 468. Fleix, iii. 190. Fontainebleau, v. 232. Frankfurt, ii. 369; iv. 229. Germains, St., iii. 111. Hague, iii. 461. Hanover, iv. 193. Hubertsburg, iv. 288. July 15, v. 530. Kloster-Seven, iv. 270. Lady's Peace, ii. 506. Leoben, v. 31. London, v. 96. Longjumeau, iii. 99. Loo, iv. 83. Luneville, v. 89, 90. Lusigny, v. 222. Lyons, ii. 380, 412. Madrid, ii. 492; iii. 473. Menchould, St., iii. 99. Monsieur, Paix de, iii. 173. Montpellier, iii. 439. Neustadt, iv. 317.

TRE

Nice, ii. 540. Nimeguen, iii. 701. Noyon, ii. 462. Nymphenburg, iv. 217. Orleans, iii. 483. Paridoff, v. 88. Paris, iv. 288; v. 231. Passau, ii. 608. Petersburg, St., v. 177. Poischwitz, v. 204. Prague, v. 205. Pyrenees, iii. 642. Quadruple Alliance, iv. 151, 155, 182. Radstadt, iv. 119; v. 57. Ratisbon, iii. 495; iv. 26. Rennes, ii. 374. Rochelle, La, iii. 154. Ruel, iii. 596. Ryswick, iv. 60. Sablé, ii. 369. Saragossa, iv. 106. Senlis, ii. 375. Seville, iv. 199. Staines, i. 193. Teschen, iv. 373. Tilsit, v. 137. Tolentino, v. 32. Triple Alliance, iii. 665; iv. 83, 148. Troyes, ii. 136, 154. Turin, v. 19. Ulm, iii. 573. Unkiar-Skellessi, v. 529. Utrecht, iv. 109-116. Vaucelles, ii. 619. Vercelli, ii. 391. Verdun, i. 42. Vervins, iii. 195. Vic, iii. 505. Vienna, iv. 193, 206; v. 167. Vigevano, iv. 59. Villa Viciosa, iv. 106. Warsaw, v. 450. Westphalia, iii. 571, 575. Worms, or Wurtzburg, i. 124; iv. 245.

Trebbia, battle of the, v. 59

Trélat, M., proposes half measures for relief of the Ateliers, v. 625

Tremblay, Du. *See* Joseph, Père

Tremouille, Sire de la, joins a crusade against the Turks, ii. 45. Defeated and taken prisoner at Nicopolis, by Bajazet, 46. Ransomed, 46

Tremouille, George de la, quarrels with Jacquerville in the palace, ii. 99. Placed about the person of Charles VII., 154. Conspiracy to assassinate him, 187. His life saved, but compelled to leave the King, 188. Joins the Praguerie, and is pardoned by the King, 207

Tremouille Louis de la, marches an army into Brittany, ii. 366. Takes Vannes, and besieges Nantes, 366, 367. Raises the siege, 367. Defeats and takes Orleans prisoner at St. Aubin, 368. At the battle of Tornova, 389. Louis XII.'s generosity to him, 395. Reinforces the French army in Novara, 407. Marches with an army to Naples, 416. Defeated by the Swiss at Novara, 438. Shut up in Dijon, 439. His concessions to his assailants, 440. His defence of the northern towns against the English, 479. Left by Francis I. to reduce the castle of Milan, 482. Abandoned by his Grison levies, 483. Falls at Pavia, 485

Tremouille, La (temp. Hen. IV.), refuses to recognise Henry IV. as king, iii. 255. His death, 360, 361

Trencavel, treaty of peace at, i. 143

Trent, Council of, convoked, ii. 579. Broken up by the Pope, 597. Results of the, iii. 80

Treport ravaged by the English, ii. 568

Treves, meeting of the Emperor Frederick IV.

TUN

and Duke Charles of Burgundy at, ii. 305. Given up by France, iv. 62

Treviglio taken by the Venetians, ii. 428

Treviso, Duc de, killed in the Fieschi plot, v. 495

Trials, establishment of, by single combat and by ordeal, i. 10. Abolished by Louis IX., 249. Recommended by Louis X., 365

Trionon, palace of the, iv. 30

Tribunal, Revolutionary, established, iv. 566, 567. Reorganised, 649

Trieste, captured by the Venetians, ii. 426

Trilingual College, founded by Francis I., ii. 513

Triple Alliance, formation of the, iii. 665. Reformed, iv. 83, 148

Triumvirate, the Catholic, iii. 40. Temporary submission of the court to the, 42. Sends orders to Provence to put down the Huguenots, 47. Their entry into Paris, 55. Seize the King and his mother, 56

Trivet, Sir Thomas, leads an army over the Pyrenees to the relief of Pampeluna, i. 546. Joins an expedition to relieve Brittany, 550. Joins the Crusade into Flanders under the Bishop of Norwich, ii. 32

Trivulzio, Giovanni Giacobbo, Marshal, at the battle of Tornova, ii. 389. Shares command of the French army with Charles d'Amboise, 405. Appointed by Louis XII. to the government of Milan, 406. Driven out by an insurrection, 406. Defeats Sforza, who is taken prisoner, 406. His sister's castle of Mirandola taken by Pope Julius II., 432. From whom he wrests Bologna, 432. Defeated at Novara, 438

Tron, St., taken from Burgundy by the people of Liege, ii. 286

Tronchet, advocate, defends Louis XVI., iv. 550

Tronson, member of anti-Jacobin club, v. 9

Troubadours, origin of the, i. 89. And of the language and literature of the, 172

Troyes, treaty of, ii. 136, 154

Troyes, besieged by Jeanne d'Arc, ii. 169. Opens its gates to her, 170. Cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots of, iii. 64. Massacre of the Huguenots in, 148. Entry of Napoleon into, v. 221

Tuchins, formation of the bands of the, ii. 12

Tugenbund, birth of the, v. 161. Secret societies of the, 198

Tuileries, the, built, iii. 85, *note*. The people charged by the dragoons in the gardens, iv. 423. The royal family brought from Versailles to the, 440. The First Consul takes up his residence at, v. 78

Tunis, a king of, deposed by Peter III., King of Aragon, i. 271. Landing of the Crusaders under St. Louis at, 271. Louis's death there, 272. Expedition of the Emperor Charles V. against, ii. 532. Christian slaves at, 532

TUR

Tarenne. *See* Bouillon, Duke of.

Turenne, Marshal, his exploits in conjunction with Condé, iii. 570. Failure of his strategy upon the Rhine, 573. His victory at Zumarshausen, 574. Promises to come to the support of the party opposed to Mazarin, 595. Threatens the northern provinces, 602. Captures Le Catelet, 602. Defeated at Rhethel, 603. Takes the command of the King's forces against Condé, 619. Saves the King and court at the bridge of Jargeau, 619. Baffles Condé, 619, 628. Whose army he defeats at Etampes, 621. Compels the Duke of Lorraine to quit the kingdom, 621. His fight with Condé in the Faubourg St. Antoine, 623. His tactics in 1652, 1653, 635. Besieges Valenciennes, 636. Joins Louis XIV. in the Low Countries, 662. Routs the Spaniards under Marsin, 663. Accompanies the King to Holland, 677. Baffles the armies of the Emperor and of Brandenburg, 684, 685. Attacks the allies at Sinzheim, 688. Summons the *arrière-ban*, 690. Retreats into Lorraine, 691. But returns and defeats the Imperialists at Mulhausen, 691. His death, 693

Turenne, Marshal, his conversion to Catholicism, iv. 8, 17

Turgot, Robert Jacques, appointed minister of marine, iv. 343. His character and views, 344. Advanced to the treasury, 345. Renews the free circulation of corn, 346. His other reforms, 346. The King's confidence shaken in him, 347. Appoints the Count of St. Germain to the war department, 348. Abolishes the *corvée*, 349. His financial policy, 350. His character, 350. His treatment of Necker, 350. His enemies, 350. His opinion of the quarrel of England with its American colonies, 352. Dismissed, 353. His death, 366

Turin, occupied by Francis I., ii. 536, 542. His troops besieged in, 538. Taken by the Savoy princes, and the Dowager Duchess driven out, iii. 516. Armed by the people against the French, iv. 40. Besieged by the French, who are defeated by Prince Eugène, 96, 97. Insurrection in, v. 309. Political changes in, 573

Turkey, decline of its power, iv. 144. Stirred up by France to attack Russia, 317. Loses the Danubian provinces in consequence, 317. But restored, 317. Proposed dismemberment of, v. 138, 140. Treaty of peace with Russia, 182. Flings itself into the arms of Russia, 491. Sultan Mahmoud taken under the protection of Russia, 529. His empire divided between Russia and Egypt, 530. Battle of Nezib, 530. Interference of England and France, 530. Discussions as to the boundaries of the empire by the European Powers, 530, *et seq.*

ULR

Turks, their invasion of Asia Minor, and indignities inflicted by them on the Christians, i. 102. Their acts of tyranny noted by Peter the Hermit, 102. Their destruction of the vanguard of the Crusaders, 105. Attempt under Corbogath, or Kerbogha, to recover Antioch from the Crusaders, 109. Who put them to flight, 109. Their destruction of the German hosts in the Second Crusade, 138. Formation of a crusade against them, ii. 45. Defeat Sigismund, King of Hungary, at Nicopolis, 45, 46. Their inroads into Europe, 103. Their conquest of Constantinople, 241. Efforts of the Duke of Burgundy to raise a crusade against them, 241. Their capture of Otranto, 379. Their encroachments in Europe, 412. Attacked in Metelin, 413. Their defeat of the Hungarians at Mohacz, 496. Threaten the Empire, 505. Besiege Vienna, 505. Retreat before Charles V., 519. Their menacing preparations against Europe, 524. Their proposed invasion of Italy defeated, 541, 542. Capture and burn Nice, 557, 558. In winter quarters in Toulon, 558. Montluc's opinion of them as soldiers, 558, *note*. Their ravages in the Mediterranean, 632. Defeated at St. Gothard, iii. 650. Routed and driven from before Vienna by Sobieski, iv. 25. Defeated by Prince Eugène at Zenta, 84. Proposed dismemberment of their Empire, and their later history, *see* Napoleon I.; Louis Philippe

Tuscan mercenaries hired by Philip the Fair against the Flemings, i. 333

Tuscany, the presidie, or ports of, conquered by France, iii. 574. Given to Don Carlos, iv. 155. The Duke of, excluded from Italy, v. 90. Receives Salzburg in exchange, 91. Given to the Duke of Parma, 91. Made a French province and given to Buonaparte's sister, 149

Tuscany, Leopold, Grand Duke of, his flight, v. 573

Tyberiad, battle of, i. 155

Tyrol, failure of the Bavarians to reduce the, iv. 87

Twelve, the number, as fittest for all purposes of judgment or council, i. 169, and *note*

Twelve, Committee of, its proceedings, iv. 570

ULLOA, St. Jean de, captured by Prince Joinville, v. 511

Ulm, treaty of, iii. 573. Evacuation of, v. 88. Surrender of, 122

Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, expelled from his dominions, ii. 465. Driven out by the Swabian League, 528. His part taken by Francis I., 529. Reinstalled by the battle of Laufen, 529

UTI

- Uti possidetis* principle of Napoleon in treaty of Vienna, v. 167
- Unigenitus, the Bull, accepted by the French clergy, iv. 181. Acquiescence with the bull required of the Jansenists of Paris, 257
- Union, Catholic, formed, iii. 222
- Union, Great Council of, established by the Duke of Mayenne, iii. 237. Dissolved by the Duke of Mayenne, 263. Resuscitated by the Parisians, 280
- United States of America (*see also* American Colonies) enter into an alliance with France, iv. 356. End of the civil war, 359. Seizure of their vessels proposed by Napoleon, v. 174
- University of Paris, the, under Philip Augustus, i. 194. Its reputation and authority in philosophy and dogma, 361. Deprecates civil war, ii. 52. Opposes the Mendicant monks in France, 69. Constitution of the University, 70. Its independence and importance at the beginning of the fifteenth century, 70. Papal means of preserving its orthodoxy, 71. Its efforts to suppress the Papal schism, 71. Passes decrees independent of the Church of Rome, 76. Its proposals for making peace between the parties of Orleans and Burgundy, 82. Its declarations against the government, 83. Charges brought against it by the Carmelite, Pavilly, 92. Humbled by Louis XII., 398. Its condition in the reign of Francis I., 460. Becomes the stronghold of monkery, 511, 512. Condemns Reuchlin's '*Oculum Speculi*,' 513. Its opposition to the divorce of Henry VIII. from Queen Catherine, 523. Its condition in the time of Francis I., 574. Handed to the priesthood, v. 330
- University of Prague, foundation and doctrines of the, ii. 74. Its denunciation of Papal indulgences, 75
- Unkiar Skelessi, treaty of, v. 529
- Urban II., Pope, his quarrel with the Emperor of Germany, i. 103. Causes Peter the Hermit to preach the Crusade, 103. Goes to France and convokes the Council of Clermont, 104. His address to the Assembly, who decide upon the first crusade, 104
- Urban IV., Pope, his devotion to St. Louis, i. 254. His horror of Manfred, King of Sicily, 254. Whose kingdom he offers to Charles of Anjou, 255
- Urban V., Pope, visited at Avignon by John II. of France, i. 501. Endeavours to liberate France from the military companies, 509. Preaches a crusade against Pedro of Castille, 509. A large sum extorted from him by the companies, 510
- Urban VI., Pope, preaches a crusade against Flanders, ii. 31. And appoints Henry le Spenser to be its leader, 31. His character, 71

VAL

- Urbino, Duke of (nephew of Pope Julius II.), leads the Papal troops against the French, ii. 431. Stabs the Cardinal Legate of Pavia, 432
- Ursins, Juvenal des, appointed provost of the merchants of Paris, ii. 40. Advocates peace with England, 203
- Ushant, battle of, iv. 356
- Usury of the money-lenders at the commencement of the eighteenth century, iv. 158
- Utrecht, submits to the French, iii. 679. Peace of, iv. 109-116
- Uxelles, Marshal d', becomes head of a council for foreign affairs, iv. 142. His unfitness for the time, 146
- VACCA, Admiral de, assists in destroying the English fleet off Rochelle, i. 529
- Vadier, exiled by the Convention, iv. 671
- Vair, Du, chancellor, superseded by Secretary Barbin, iii. 413. His zeal in transferring the property of the Huguenots in Bearn to the Catholics, 420
- Valazé, the Girondist, commits suicide, iv. 620
- Valençay, his endeavours to goad the Huguenots of Montpellier into rebellion, iii. 440. Arrests De Rohan, 441
- Valence, execution of the factious at, iii. 47. The town taken by the Huguenots, 57
- Valence, Montluc, Bishop of, advises the Huguenot chiefs to leave Paris, iii. 133. Goes to Poland, to support the Duke of Anjou's election, 153
- Valence, General, besieges Maestricht and Venloo, iv. 563. Defeated by the Archduke Charles at Neerwinden, 564
- Valenciennes taken by the partisans of Louis of Nassau, iii. 129. Besieged by Turenne, 636. Taken by storm by the French, 696. Captured by Duke of Cobourg, iv. 603
- Valentinois, Duchess of, Diana of Poitiers created, ii. 593
- Valenza, taken by the French, ii. 405, 622. Besieged by Marshal Créquy and the Duke of Savoy, iii. 513
- Valery, St., occupied by Charles of Navarre, i. 485. Retaken by the Regent, 486. Recovered by France, ii. 264. Captured by Duke Charles of Burgundy, 302
- Valette, Duc de la, flies to England from Richelieu, iii. 532
- Valette, Cardinal de la, friend of Richelieu, iii. 500. His part in the campaign of 1635, 513
- Vallier, Saint, arrested, but saved through his daughter, ii. 478
- Vallière, Mademoiselle de la, her connection with Louis XIV., iii. 651. Induced to go into a cloister, 10

VAL

- Valmy, battle of, iv. 533. Attack on the French at, declined by the Duke of Brunswick, 544
- Valogne, besieged by the English, ii. 228. Who raise the siege, 229
- Valteline, seized by the Swiss, ii. 437. Massacre of the Protestants of the, iii. 428. League formed to liberate it from the House of Austria, 440. Expedition sent by Richelieu to the, 449-451. Given up by Louis XIII., 463. Successes of the French in the, 513. Taken from them by the Spaniards, 515
- Vandamme, General, defeated and taken prisoner at Königstein, v. 210
- Vaneck, leader of the sections, demands restoration of the Mountain *régime*, iv. 670
- Vannes, Robert of Artois besieged in, i. 416. Entrenched by Edward III. of England, 416. Surrenders to Du Guesclin, 534. And to La Tremouille, ii. 367
- Varlet, arrest of, iv. 580. Released, 582
- Vasari, his picture of the St. Bartholomew massacre, iii. 147
- Vase of Soissons, story of the, i. 4
- Vassy, massacre of the Huguenots of, iii. 52, 53
- Vatismenil, becomes minister of public instruction, v. 369
- Vauban, Marshal, takes Lille, and fortifies it, iii. 663. Takes Luxemburg, iv. 26, 34. Captures Mons, 41. Invited to dinner by Louis XIV., 41. His invention of the present mode of fixing bayonets, 45
- Vaublanc, proposes the Assembly should adjourn to Rouen, iv. 508
- Vauboiss, General, defeated by Davidowitsch, v. 25
- Vaucelles, truce of, ii. 619. Ruptured at the instigation of the Pope, 621
- Vauchamps, battle of, v. 220
- Vauchuse, army of, enter Avignon, and massacre its principal citizens, iv. 498
- Vaucouleurs, meeting of Philip IV. with the Emperor Albert at, i. 315
- Vaud, Pays de, the Count de Romont driven out of the, by the Swiss, ii. 318. Who evacuate it on the approach of the Duke of Burgundy, 319
- Vaudemont, Louis de, liberated from imprisonment, ii. 305
- Vaudemont, Count of, failure of his attempt on Naples, ii. 496
- Vaudois, doctrines of the, i. 174. *See* Waldenses
- Vaudremont, Count of, defeats René of Anjou at Brenneville, and gains possession of Lorraine, ii. 186
- Vaudrey, Colonel, his complicity in the Strasbourg plot, v. 506. Acquitted by the Strasbourg jury, 508. Implicated in Louis Napoleon's plot, 536, *et seq.*
- Vaulabelle, M., minister of public instruction, v. 630

VEN

- Vaurus, Bastard of, his cruelties, ii. 139. Taken by Henry V. of England, and hanged, 139
- Vega, Garcilasso de la, killed, ii. 540
- Veillane, battle of, iii. 491
- Velasco, Constable of Castille, invades France, iii. 314. Joins Mayenne, and marches westward, 314
- Velez, Los, Captain-general, sent to reduce Catalonia, iii. 518
- Venant, St., taken by the English under the Bishop of Norwich, ii. 32
- Vendée, La (Vendeans), insurrection in, iv. 572. Progress of the insurrection in, 599. Battle of Les Aubiers and capture of Thouars, Fontenay, and Saumur, 599. Vendeans attack Nantes, but fail, 600. Their country ravaged by Westermann, 601. Opposed by the veterans of Mayence, 602. Defeated and crushed by Kleber, 602. Retire into Brittany, 602. Revival of the insurrection in, 673. Put down by General Hoche, 674, 675. Insurrection again in, v. 251. The rising in, headed by Duchess de Berry, 464
- Vendôme, Antoine, Duke of. *See* Antoine de Bourbon.
- Vendôme, Duke of, sent to command in the north, ii. 472. Sent to succour Paris, 479. Summoned by the Regent Louise to Lyons, 486. Besought by the Parisians to claim the post of regent, 486
- Vendôme, Duke de, refuses to be included in the treaty of St. Menchould, iii. 399. Withdraws to Brittany, and fortifies Blavet, 399. Joins the recalcitrant *grande*s at Soissons, 413. His part in the defence of Angers, 425. Fails to blockade Soubise in Blavet, 456. Favours a conspiracy to kill Richelieu, 465. Arrested, 466. Flies to England from Richelieu, 532. Recompensed by Queen Anne for his attachment to her cause, 555. Open rebellion of him and his family, 560. Exiled, 561
- Vendôme, Duke of, the government of Burgundy given to him, iii. 601. Defeated by Blake, 638. His capture of Barcelona, iv. 63. Appointed to the command in Italy, 86. His successes in Piedmont, 94. Defeated at Oudenarde, 100. Gains the battle of Villa Viciosa, 106
- Vendome, Count of, sent on an embassy to Henry V. of England, ii. 110. Taken prisoner at Agincourt, 114
- Vendôme, Count of, accompanies Charles VII. in his entry into Paris, ii. 195. Advocates a continuation of the war with England, 203. Joins the rebellion of the nobles against a standing army, 205. Submits, and is pardoned, 207. Restored to his grand mastership of the household, 213
- Vendôme, the Chevalier (natural son of Henry

VEN

- IV.), favours a conspiracy to kill Richelieu, iii. 465. Arrested 466
- Vendôme, Cardinal of, his intrigues, iii. 276. Opposes concessions to the Huguenots, 277. His treason and bigotry, 286
- Vendôme, Place, in Paris, statue of Napoleon replaced on column of, v. 522
- Venice, league of the Italian States against the French formed at, ii. 387. Defeat of the Venetians at Tornova, 389. Its quarrel with Milan respecting Pisa, 403. Proposals of Louis XII. to the Republic, 403. Cremona conquered by, 405, 406. Endeavours of the Emperor Maximilian to form a league against it, 412. Proposed league between France and the Empire for crushing it, 412, 421. Assistance afforded by it to the Spaniards in Naples, 416. Opposes the armed entrance of Maximilian into Italy, 426. Capture of Trieste and Fiume by it, 426. Conclusion of peace, 426. Naval power of Venice, 427. Formation of the League of Cambray against, 427. Defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello, 428. And their consequent losses, 429. Join a league against France, 433. Recover their towns from the French, 437. Their humiliation, 438. Help Francis I. to recover Milan, 455. Treated with coolness by Francis, 456. Recover Verona, 456. Take Ravenna from Pope Clement VII., 499. Make peace with Charles V., 519. Ministerial revolution in the city, iii. 261. Banishment of the Jesuits, 376. Join France and Savoy against Spain, 376. Treaty between France, Venice, and Savoy, to liberate the Grisons and the Valteline, 440. Insurrection of the people of, v. 30
- Venloo captured by Marlborough, iv. 86. Besieged by Valence, 563
- Ventadour, De, governor of Languedoc, his representations of the condition of Roussillon, ii. 554
- Ventimiglia acquired by Charles of Anjou, i. 247
- Vercelli taken by Spain, iii. 516. Treaty of, ii. 293
- Verdun, treaty of, between the Emperor Lothaire and his brothers, i. 42. Taken by Lothaire, Count of Laon, 66. Taken under the protection of Charles VII. of France, ii. 221, 222. Ceded to the Duke of Calabria, 275. Taken by the French, 610. Battle of, iv. 523
- Vere, Robert de, in the Fifth Crusade, i. 235. Killed at the battle of Mansourah, 236
- Vere, Sir F., governs Ostend, iii. 366
- Vergennes, Count de, his advice as to the quarrel between England and her colonies, iv. 352. His secret succours to the Americans, 355. His character, 372. His payment of five millions to Austria, 374. His death, 383
- Vergniaud, the Girondist, becomes member of

VEX

- the Legislative Assembly, iv. 467. Advises that sixty members should go to the King's help, 491. Seeks to tranquillise the people, 494. Arraigns the King, 499. Calls upon parties in the Assembly to unite and lay aside their dissensions, 500. Votes the adjournment of the King's dethronement, 504. Makes overtures to the King for the Gironde, which are rejected, 504. Promises protection and safety to the King, 514. Proposes measures for a National Government and for the King's safety, 518. Counteracted by the Jacobins, 519. Exclaims against the massacres in the prisons, 531. Anticipates the fate of the Gironde, 536. Supports appeals to the people on behalf of the King, 553, 554. Protests against the revolutionary tribunal, 569. His coolness in the insurrection of 31st May, 585. His retort on Couthon, 589. Imprisoned, 618. His trial and death, 619, 620
- Verigny, General de, killed in the Fieschi plot, v. 495
- Vermandois, the, claimed at the death of Queen Margaret by Philip Augustus, i. 153. The Estates summoned to meet in the, 476
- Vermandois, Count of, joins the First Crusade, i. 104
- Verneuil, taken and burnt by Louis VII., i. 146. Burned by the English under Henry, Duke of Lancaster, 459. Reconciliation of the court with the Orleanists at, ii. 99. Taken by the French under Dunois, 225. Battle of, 150
- Verneuil, Marquise de. *See* Entragues, Henrietta d'
- Vernon burned by the English, i. 424
- Verona taken by Charlemagne, i. 24. Submits to the French, ii. 429. Recovered by Venice, 456. Battles and sieges of, v. 21, 23-26
- Versailles, enormous expense of, iii. 668. Waterworks at, iv. 30, 31. Broken into by the Bread rioters, 347. Character acquired by the court of, 375. The 'orgies of Versailles,' 435. The march on, 437. The palace invaded by the mob, and narrow escape of the Queen, 439. Massacre of prisoners at, 529
- Vertus, Count de, joins a plot to carry off Charles VI. from Paris, ii. 93
- Vervins, negotiations for peace with Spain at, iii. 333, 343. Treaty of, 345
- Vervins, M. de, condemned to death for having surrendered Boulogne to the English, ii. 596
- Vesc, De, favourite of Charles VIII. of France, abets his master's designs on Italy, ii. 380
- Vesoul captured by the Spaniards, iii. 314
- Vespers, the Sicilian, i. 286
- Vexin, the, i. 112. Claimed and invaded by William Rufus, i. 112. Who is opposed by Louis the Fat, 112.
- Vexin, the, promised as a dowry by Louis VII. to his daughter Margaret, i. 143. Who

VIA

- marries Henry, son of Henry II. of England, 143
- Viana, Prince of, murdered by Juan II. of Aragon, ii. 259
- Vicenza submits to the French, ii. 429. Recovered by Venice, 430. Retaken by the French, 431
- Vic, treaty of, iii. 506
- Vicenza, Duke of, signs treaty of peace at St. Petersburg, v. 177
- Victor Amadeus I., Duke of Savoy, gives Mazzarin powers to make peace with the French, iii. 492. Besieges Valenza, 513. His death, 516
- Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, marries Mademoiselle de Valois, iv. 32. His independence of Louis XIV., 32. Louvois' dislike of him, 39. Compelled to join the French against the Waldenses, 40. Attacked by the French, 40. Gives up the French alliance, and declares war against the Emperor, 40, 41. Defeat of his troops at Staffarde, 41. Nice and the coast of Piedmont occupied by Catinat, 41. Whom he drives beyond the Alps, 42. Repels the advances of Louis XIV., and invades Dauphiné, 47. Defeated by the French at Marsaglia, 47. Makes peace with Louis XIV., 58, 59. Refuses to exchange Savoy and Piedmont for Naples and Sicily, 79. Joins France, 83. His daughter betrothed to Philip V. of Spain, 83. Baffled by Prince Eugène, 84. His defection from the French, 87. Loses his chief forces, iv. 94. Defeats the French before Turin, 96. Drives them out of Fenestrelle and Exilles, 99. Obtains the crown of Sicily, which he exchanges for that of Sardinia, 117. His other gains from the peace of Utrecht, 117. Compelled to exchange the crown of Sicily for that of Sardinia, 151. Abdicates in favour of his son, 202. Plots to recover his throne, but confined by his son, 202
- Victor, Marshal, Duke de Bellune, describes the Toulon massacres, iv. 625. With Lannes defeats Ott at Montebello, v. 84, 85. Defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, 179. Gallantly defends the bridge over the Beresina, 193. Blamed by Napoleon, 221.
- Vidame de Chartres, his remark on the attempt to murder Coligny, iii. 137. Escapes from the Bartholomew massacre, 144
- Vienna, siege of, by the Turks under Solymán, ii. 505. Threatened by the French and Bavarians, iv. 87, 89. Treaty of, 193. Peace of, 206. Taken by the French, v. 123. Arrival of Napoleon at, 162. Congress of, receive news of departure of Napoleon from Elba, 242. Disputes of, 243. Interfere in affairs of Spain, 322
- Vienne, the Fifteenth General Council held at, i. 349. Proceedings at, 350

VIL

- Vienne, Admiral de, invades the northern counties of England, ii. 35. Joins a crusade against the Turks, 45. Taken prisoner at Nicopolis, 46
- Vieuville, Marquis La, appointed finance minister to Louis XIII., iii. 440. His character and policy, 440. Causes the dismissal of the Brularts, 441. Introduces Richelieu to the council, 442. His jealousy of Richelieu's influence, 448. Arrested and sent to Amboise, 448. Appointed finance minister, 615
- Vigée places the Convention under a guard of the sections, iv. 580
- Vigevano occupied by the Duke of Orleans, ii. 389. Treaty of, iv. 59
- Vigo, capture of the Spanish galleons at, iv. 92
- Vilaine, Begue de, appointed to the care of military affairs, by Charles VI., ii. 40
- Villa Viciosa, battle of, iv. 106
- Villafranca taken by the French, ii. 453. Battle of, v. 57
- Villandrado, the Spanish mercenary, his armed bands and insolence to Charles VII., ii. 202. Who pursues and compels him to submit, 202
- Villaret, Admiral, defeated by Lord Bridport, iv. 674
- Villars, Marshal, his punishment of the Huguenots of Aigues Mortes, iii. 17. His victory at Hochstedt, iv. 87. Defeated and wounded at Malplaquet, 103, 104. His victory at Denain, 114. Recaptures Tournay, Douai, and Bethune, 114. Takes Landau, 118. Besieges and takes Freyburg, 118. Negotiates the peace of Radstadt, 117. His discontent with affairs, 153. Refuses to command the army for the invasion of Spain, 154. Proposes war with the Emperor, Charles VI., 202. Appointed to command under the King of Sardinia, 203. Whom he joins in the Milanese, 203. Retires in disgust, 204. His death, 204
- Villars, Admiral de, his defence of Rouen against Henry IV., iii. 282. Surprises the besiegers, 285. Gives up Rouen to Henry IV., 311. Entrusted with part of the command of the north, 316. Slain before Dourlens, 316
- Villate, Captain de, killed in the Fieschi plot, v. 495
- Villejuif occupied by Sir Robert Knollis, i. 526
- Villèle opposes St. Cyr, v. 290. And Decazes, 291. Opposes the new law of elections, 304. Appointed finance minister, 313. His character and policy, 319. Appoints Montmorency to be foreign secretary, 320. Declines going to Congress at Vienna, 321. His policy as to Spain, 322, 324. His domestic policy, 330. Passes the law of Septenniality, 331. Opposed by Royer Collard, 331. Proposes to reduce law of Five per Cents., 332. Opposed by Archbishop of Paris, 332. Op-

VIL

posed by Chateaubriand, 333. Succeeds Chateaubriand *ad interim*, 334. Establishes censorship of press, 335. Opposed by all parties, 336. Used by the King to relieve him in cares of state, 337. Announces a bill of indemnity to émigrés, 342. His measures of reduction of Five per Cents., and law of sacrilege, 342. Neglects Ouvrard, and sends him to prison, 346. Counteracts schemes of Chateaubriand, 348. Declines Canning's propositions to aid the Greeks, 349. Decline of his influence, 349. Approves of Canning's policy, 350. His fall, 351. Recognises independence of Hayti, 351. Chateaubriand's enmity against, 355. Opposed by La Bourdonnaye in his measures for gagging the press, 355, 356. Advises new elections for the chambers, 364. His great unpopularity, 364. Superseded, 366. Summary of his government, 366. His party once more raise their head, 374. His retirement to his country seat, 379

Villemain, Royalist Academician, deprived of his place, v. 357

Villemain, M., minister of public instruction, v. 518, 540

Villeneuve, Admiral, attempts to decoy Nelson to the West Indies, and returns to Cadiz, v. 121. Defeated at Trafalgar, 125

Villeneuve, town of, built by Edward III., i. 432

Vilquier, Madame de, mistress of Charles VII., ii. 232, 234

Villeroi, Marshal, replaces Catinat in Italy, iv. 84. Defeated by Prince Eugène, 84. Captured by the Prince in Cremona, 86. Marches against Marlborough at Namur, 94. Defeated at the battle of Ramillies, 94. Appointed guardian of the Dauphin, 131. Dismissed by Dubois, 183, 185

Villeroy, Secretary, opposes the demands of the King of Spain, iii. 263. His apology, 308. Offends Queen Elizabeth, 321. His advice to the King as to his religious policy, 359. His pliancy to his master, 360. Richelieu's character of him as a statesman, 398. Advises the Queen to send an army against Mezières, 398. Recalled to office, 416

Vimori, defeat of the German Huguenot auxiliaries at, iii. 213

Vimiera, battle of, v. 156. Treaty of, 157

Vincennes, park of, first walled in, and stocked with game, i. 82. Residence of Isabella, queen of Charles VI., at, ii. 121. Death of Henry V. of England at, 140

Vincent, arrested, iv. 640. Executed, 640

Vincy, battle of, i. 15

Vintimille, Madame de, mistress of Louis XV., iv. 214. Her death, 243

Visconti, Galeaz, marriage of his son with Isabella of France, i. 191

WAL

Visconti, Galeaz, Duke of Milan, set aside, ii. 374. Married to a daughter of Alphonso of Spain, 374. His interview with Charles VIII. of France, 381. His death, 383. His son compelled to become a monk, ii. 408

Visconti, Valentine, married to Louis, Duke of Orleans, ii. 46. Who is murdered, 53. Justice demanded by her, 56. Goes with her children to Paris, 63. Returns to Blois, 64. Cherishes thoughts of vengeance against her husband's murderer, 64. Cherishes Du Bois the Bastard of Orleans, 64. Her death, 77

Viterbo, murder of Henry, son of the King of the Romans, at, i. 278. Held by Charles VIII., ii. 385

Vitrolles, M. de, offers to municipal council recall of the ordonnances, v. 405. His proposition to the King, 406

Vitry, the people of, burnt to death in the church of, i. 133

Vitry, Marquis de, rallies to Henry IV., and surrenders Meaux, iii. 307. His manifesto addressed to the noblesse, 308. Keeps Paris quiet, 310

Vitry, Marquis de (son of the former), assassinates the Maréchal d'Ancre, iii. 414. Takes his seat on the benches of the judges, 417

Vittoria, battle of, v. 204, 207

Vivara's, operations of Louis XIII. against the Huguenots in the, iii. 482. Their rise, iv. 16

'Vive la Pologne,' cry of the Socialists, v. 621

Vivien, M., minister of justice, v. 525

Voltaire, his early life and rise, iv. 207. His 'Lettres sur les Anglais,' 207. His residence in England, 207. Influence of his works, 210. His principles of negation, 210. Adopted and promoted by Frederick the Great, 289. His exposure of the clergy, 293

WAGRAM, battle of, v. 165

Waifer, Duke of Aquitaine, crushed by Pepin the Bref, i. 20

Walcheren, disasters at, v. 169

Waldeck, duchy of, claimed by Louis XIV., iv. 22

Waldeck, Prince of, attacked by Luxemburg at Fleurus, iv. 38

Waldenses, origin of the tenets of the, i. 86. Persecuted by Philip Augustus, 152. Their doctrines, 174. Massacre of those of Provence, ii. 581-584. Massacre and persecution of the, by the French, iv. 39. Their emigration to Geneva, and return to their valleys, 39, 40

Wales, an expedition into, sent by Charles V. of France, i. 524

Walewski, Count, despatched to Ibrahim Pacha, v. 535

Wallenstein, ravages of his army, iii. 494. Which is disbanded, 495

WAL

- Walpole, Horace, his friendship for Cardinal Fleury, *iv*. 198
- Walpole, Sir Robert, his indifference to Continental politics, *iv*. 201. His policy and its consequences, 211. Declares war against Spain, 212. Driven from power, 223. His character, as a statesman, compared with that of Cardinal Fleury, 223
- Walsingham, Sir F., his anticipation of the St. Bartholomew massacre, *iii*. 125, *note*. His reprobation of the St. Bartholomew massacre, 150
- War, private, ordinance of St. Louis against the right of, *i*. 225, 249. Law of the Emperor Frederick II. as to, 225. Reallowed to the nobles of Burgundy by Louis X., 365. Forbidden by Philip V., 372. Regulations of Philip the Long as to summonses to war, 377. Condition of the art of, in the early part of the fourteenth century, *ii*. 116. Queen Elizabeth's advice respecting, *iii*. 34. Decline of religion as a chief cause of European, *v*. 64
- Warwick, Richard Nevil, Earl of, ravages the coast of France, *ii*. 260. An exile in France, 296. Sends over 4,000 men against the Duke of Burgundy, 298
- Warsaw, duchy of, proposed transfer of, to Jerome Buonaparte, *v*. 138. Insurrection at, 425, 428. Its horrors, 449. Entered by General Paskewitch, 450. Its fall, 450
- Washington, George, defeated by the French colonists on the Ohio, *iv*. 258, 263
- Waterloo, battle of, *v*. 252, *et seq.*
- Wattignies, victory of, *iv*. 615, 616
- Weavers of Lyons, spread of St. Simon's principles among, *v*. 454. Rise in insurrection, 454, 455
- Wellesley, Sir Arthur (Duke of Wellington), defeats Junot at Vimiera, and expels him from Portugal, *v*. 136. Drives Soult from Oporto, 168. Enters Spain, 168. Defeats Soult at Talavera, 167, 169, 179. Retires into Portugal, which he makes the base of future operations, 169, 171, 180. Torres Vedras lines, 171, 180. Defeats Massena at Albuera and Fuentes, 178, 206. At Busaco, 181. Followed by Massena to Torres Vedras, 181. Defeats Marmont at Salamanca, 185, 206. Routs the French at Vittoria, and liberates Spain, 204. His successes induce Austria and her allies to waver, 205. Advances to Burgos, but retreats to Ciudad Rodrigo, 207. Gains battle of Vittoria, 204, 207. Prepares to invade France at Bayonne, 216, *et seq.* Preparations for the campaign of Waterloo, 251. Defeats Napoleon there, 253. Restores Louis XVIII. to his throne. 255-258. His opinion of Fouché, 259. Opposes spoliation of the Louvre, 261. Refuses to interpose for Ney, 275. Remon-

WIL

- strates with the King on misrule of the chambers, 280. His liberal intentions towards France, 292. His opinion regarding insurrection in Belgium, 427
- Welsh, the, at the battle of Crecy, *i*. 429
- Wenceslas of Luxemburg, Duke of Brabant, his quarrel with the Dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, *i*. 526. Defeated by them, 526
- Wentworth, Lord, governor of Calais, *ii*. 628. Besieged by the Duke of Guise, 628, 629. Surrenders the town to the French, 629
- Werther, Baron, his dialogue with Perrier respecting 'The Public Law of Europe,' *v*. 460
- Wesel evacuated by the French, and occupied by the Prussians, *iv*. 288
- West, Company of the, formed, *iv*. 165. Its transactions, 168
- Westermann, General, commands in La Vendée, *iv*. 601. Routed at Chatillon, 601. Imprisoned by the Convention, 601. Tried and executed, 642-644
- Westphalia, commencement of negotiations for the peace of, *iii*. 571. Conclusion of the peace, 576
- Westphalia, Jerome Buonaparte made king of, *v*. 143
- Weyer, M. Van de, and Sebastiani, intrigue for placing Duke of Nemours on the Belgian throne, *v*. 434
- Whale Fishing Company, Colbert's, *iv*. 52
- White Capes, the, of Ghent, *ii*. 16, 17. Their defeat of the Count's party at Ghent, 17. Invest Oudenarde, 17. Led by Philip von Arteveld, 18, 19
- Whitworth, Lord, his conversation with General Buonaparte, *v*. 108-112. Unable to entertain peace propositions, he leaves France, and war declared, 113
- Wiasma, division of the French army at, *v*. 192
- Wielicz, John, his work, *ii*. 68. Effects of his efforts in France, 69. Slow progression of his doctrines in England, 74. His ideas respecting the Pope and the Church, 105
- Wielitz, salt mines of, handed over to Alexander I. of Russia, *v*. 168
- Wight, Isle of, towns of the, burned by the French and Spanish fleets, *i*. 541. Ravaged by the French, *ii*. 567
- Wilhemstadt, battle of, *iv*. 287
- Willehad, Saint, becomes bishop of Bremen, *i*. 28
- William I., the Conqueror, his accession to the duchy of Normandy, *i*. 90. His parentage, 90. Besieges Geoffrey Martel in Domfront, and surprises Alençon, 91. Defeats the troops of Henry I., 91. His conquest of England, 93. Destroys the independence of Le Mans, but regrants its ancient privileges, 100. His friendship for

WIL

- the civic classes, 100. His tomb at Caen destroyed, iii. 59
- William of Holland, Emperor of Germany, takes the part of the D'Avesnes in Hainault, i. 216. Opposed by Charles of Anjou, 246
- William I., King of Holland, his treatment of Belgium, v. 426. Insurrection at Brussels and other towns, 426. Insists on retaining Luxemburg, and consequent war, 446. Its possession guaranteed by treaty, 447. Declares war against Belgium, 448. Not satisfied with arrangements as to Luxemburg, 476
- William I., the Lion, King of Scotland, takes part against Henry II., but is taken prisoner, i. 147
- William II., Rufus, King of England, claims and invades the Vexin, i. 112. Opposed by the young King Louis the Fat, 112
- William III., King of England, when Prince of Orange, commands a Dutch army opposed to Louis XIV., iii. 677. Overruled by De Witt, 677. Withdraws to Utrecht, 678. His firmness, 682. Proclaimed stadtholder, 683. And rejects all proposals of surrender, 684. Recaptures Naarden, 686. Defeats the French at Seneffe, 689. And rejects all offers from them, 690. Lays siege to Oudenarde, 690. And captures Grave, 690. Mediocre results of his campaigns, 696. Defeated by the Duke of Orleans at Peene, 696. Marries Mary of England, 699. Opposes the peace of Nimeguen, 701. Attacks the Duke of Luxemburg at Mons, 702. Recovers the chief influence in Holland, iv. 23. Forms a league with the Emperor, Spain, and Sweden, 25. Opposed by his brother, Louis of Nassau, 26. His successful invasion of England, 34. Defeats the French in Ireland, and returns to Holland, 41. Unable to relieve Mons, 41. Defeated at Steinkirk, 43. And at Neerwinden, 46. Captures Namur, 48. His revenue, 57. Signs the peace of Ryswick, 60-63. His character as a diplomatist and general, 61-63, 73. Opens a secret conference with the French at Ryswick, 61. Established in his sovereignty in England by the peace of Ryswick, 63. Negotiations opened with him by Louis XIV., 72. Reforms the Triple Alliance, 83. His death, 85
- William IV., Prince of Orange, elected stadtholder, iv. 238
- William VI., Prince of Orange, assumes the power of stadtholder, iv. 393
- William, son of Henry I. of England, the fortress of Gisors given to, i. 118. Married to Matilda, daughter of Foulques of Anjou, 125. His death by shipwreck, 125
- William, last Duke of Aquitaine, his death, i. 128. His death on pilgrimage, 128

WIT

- William, Duke of Cumberland, his part in the battle of Dettingen, iv. 227. Commands an army of English, Dutch, and Austrians, 231. Defeated at Fontenoy, 232, 233. His retreat, 233. Defeated at Laufeldt, 239. Spurns peace with France, 244. Takes an army from England for the defence of Hanover, 266. Keeps behind the Weser, 269. Defeated at Hastenbeck, 270. His capitulation at Kloster-Seven, 270.
- William, of Melun, the Crusader, runs away from before Antioch, i. 108
- William of the Long Sword, Duke of Normandy, assassination of, i. 57
- William, a brother of Tancred of Sicily, his death at the siege of Nicea, i. 107
- William, Count of Juliers, killed at Mons la Puelle, i. 334
- William, Count of Poitou, his hostility to Hugh Capet, i. 77. Who fails to reduce his county, 77. Subsequently humbled by the Count of Perigord, 77
- William, Archbishop of Tyre, returns from Syria with news of the defeat of the Christians, i. 155
- William, Sir Roger, commands the English at Rouen, iii. 287
- Willibrod, St., Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Germans, i. 17. His conversation with Radbod, 17. Becomes bishop of Utrecht, 18
- Willoughby, Lord, defends Paris against the Royalists, ii. 194. Compelled to evacuate the city, 194
- Willoughby, Lord, joins Henry IV. of France with an English army, iii. 259
- Wilson, Sir Robert, his conversation with Kutusoff, v. 191
- Wimpfen, General, persuaded by fugitive Girondists to head their insurrection, iv. 593. Dispatches Puisaye to resist the Parisians at Evreux, 594. His advice to the Girondists, 594. Proscribed by the Mountain, 594
- Winchester, Cardinal of, efforts of the Duke of Bedford to reconcile him with the Duke of Gloucester, ii. 155. Fits out an armament against the Hussites, 170. Present at the recantation of Jeanne d'Arc, 178
- Windsor, residence of King John II. of France at, i. 470
- Winfred. *See* Boniface
- Witepsk, battle of, v. 183-185
- Witkind, Saxon chief, his struggle with Charlemagne, i. 27. Who entirely subdues the Saxons, 27. Baptism of Witikind, 27
- Witt, Cornelius de, attacked by assassins, iii. 680. And murdered, 683, 684
- Witt, John de, Pensionary of Holland, his position and abilities, iii. 660. His friendship with France, and not with England.

WIT

660. His negotiations with Louis XIV., 661. His political maxim, 672. His disengagement of the hostility of France, 674. His perplexity, 674. Overrules the Prince of Orange, 677. Attacked by assassins, 680. And murdered, 684
- Wittgenstein, General, defeated by General St. Cyr, v. 186. Cuts the French army in three at Wiasma, 192. Intercepts the passage of the Beresina, 193. Succeeds Kutusoff, 200. Defeated at Leipzig, 201
- Wolfe, General, his conquest of Quebec, iv. 274. His death, 274
- Wolsey, Cardinal, his motives for preferring Charles V. to Francis I., ii. 468. Receives pensions from both, 468. Meets the Emperor at Bruges, 471. Betrays France, 471. His instructions to the envoys in France after the capture of Francis I., 488. Effects an alliance between England and France, 499. His desire to substitute learning for monkery, 521. His death, 521
- Women, birth of the chivalric adoration of, i. 89. Causes of this, 89. Excluded from the royal succession in France, 370
- Woodville, Lord, leads forces into Brittany, ii. 367. Killed at St. Aubin, 368
- Woollen cloth, staple of, fixed by Edward III. at, i. 437
- Workmen, employment of, their demands unsatisfied, v. 625. Their insurrection, 626-630. Put down by General Cavaignac, 630. The prisoners *deportés*, 632
- Worms, or Wurtzburg, treaty of, i. 124. Destruction caused by the French at, iv. 36. Treaty of, 245
- Wrangle, Marshal, defeated by the Elector of Brandenburg, iii. 692
- Wrede, De, defeat of, by Napoleon at Hanau, v. 214
- Wright, Captain, murder of, v. 116
- Wringfield, Sir Anthony, his death, iii. 321
- Wurmsor, General, succeeds Beaulieu, v. 21. Defeated at Lonato, 22. At Castiglione, 22. At Roveredo, 23. At Bassano and Verona, 23. Receives succours under Alvinzi, 24. Surrenders Mantua, 27
- Wurtemberg, Duke Ulrich, driven out from, ii. 528. Given by Charles V. to his brother Ferdinand, 528
- Wurzburg, battle of, v. 24
- Wynne, James, conducts an expedition from France to Wales, i. 524

ZWI

Xantrailles, the royalist chief, captured by the Regent Bedford, ii. 186

YOENS, John, chief of the boatmen of Ghent, leads the White Capes, ii. 16. Who plunder the Count's house at Wandelghaen, 17. And put down the Count's party at Bruges, 17. Poisoned at a banquet, 17

Yolande, of Brittany, affianced to Prince John, i. 207. His death, 208. Offered to, but refused by, Thibaud of Champagne, 208. Married to the Count de la Marche, 208, *note*.

Yolande of Aragon, mother-in-law of Charles VII., her influence over him, ii. 187. Introduces Agnes Sorel to him, 187, 201. The duchy of Lorraine lapses to her, 305. Transfers her claim to her son, René II., 305

York, Edward, Duke of, slain at Agincourt, ii. 114

York, Richard, Duke of, the Regent, offers battle to Charles VII., ii. 212

York, Frederick, Duke of, besieges Dunkirk, iv. 615. Retreats from Ostend, 661. Commands the British forces at Helder, v. 66

York, General, commander of auxiliary corps, unites his forces to the Russians, v. 199. Defeat of, at Vauchamps, 220

Ypres, armed combatants of, in the time of Philip Augustus, i. 153. Rise of, against the French, 326. Opposition to Count Louis in, 390. Taken by the White Capes, ii. 17. Recaptured by the party of the Count, 18. Taken by Charles VI. of France, 27. Besieged by the English crusaders under the Bishop of Norwich, 32. The siege raised, 32. Ceded to Holland, iv. 116. Reduced by Louis XV., 229

ZACH, General, taken prisoner at Marengo, v. 86

Zachary, Pope, sanctions the deposition of the Merovingians, i. 19

Zannequin, Colas, takes command of the West Flemings, i. 391. Defeated by Philip VI. at Cassel, 391

Zenta, battle of, iv. 84

Zorndorf, the Russians defeated by Frederick the Great at, iv. 279

Zumalacarreguy, General, successes of, v. 501

Zumars-hausen, battle of, iii. 574

Zurich besieged by the Swiss, ii. 219. The siege raised, 220

Zurich, battle of, v. 65

Zuthphen, proposal to give it to the Duke of Orleans, ii. 547. Surrender of, iii. 679

Zwingle, at the battle of Marignano, ii. 454.

Denounces and forbids the enlistment of mercenaries in the Protestant cantons, 530

XAINTES reduced by the Duke of Anjou, iii. 107. Captured by le Grand Condé, 616

Xaintonge, the English attacked in, by Philip VI., i. 392. Reluctance of the people to re-become English, 496. Accord between the Catholics and Huguenots at, iii. 48

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET



20252

Author Crowe, Tyre Evans

HF

C9534h

Title History of France. Vol.5.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket

Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."

Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

